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**SHOW:** NBC 5 News at

April 15, 2002, Monday AM

**NETWORK:** WMAQ-TV

**MEDIUM:** Television

**TYPE:** Television

**LENGTH:** 195 words

**BODY:**

START: 04.01

Mideast war. Secretary of state Powell warns that Israel and Lebanon borders violence may get worse.

Visual -Scenes of Collin Powell arriving. Powell told Arafat that the suicide bombings must stop.

Press Conference - Colin Powell, secretary of STate, taking about the useful and constructive talks.

Visual - Sharon and Powell.

Interview - Condoleeza Rice, National Security, stating that Israel has to be aware that they will never resolve this problem by war alone.

Interview - Nasser Al **Kidwa**, Palestinian Rep. to the UN, talking about the need for the primal court.

Interview - ARien Gold, Sharon advisor, talking about the violence. Bodies are being ordered to be turned over To Palestinians for burial. Powell is headed

back to Jerusalem. Brook Heart reporting. 2000 people gathered in Skokie to show their support for Israel.

Visual -scenes of residents.

Press Conference - Rep. Jan Schakowsky, talking about the 37 terrorist attacks.

Interview - Abed Aroui, Palestinian Comm Center, talking about the bodies being mixed in the rubble. The Israel supreme court ordered for bodies to be returned.

END: 07.06

**SEGMENT-ID:** 8

**PROGRAM-ID:** wmaq05000415

**LOAD-DATE:** May 17, 2002

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CNN

**SHOW:** PEOPLE IN THE NEWS 11:00

April 13, 2002 Saturday

Transcript # 041300CN.V78

**SECTION:** News; International

**LENGTH:** 6321 words

**HEADLINE:** Profiles of Yasser Arafat, Colin Powell

**BYLINE:** Paula Zahn, Andrea Koppel

**HIGHLIGHT:**

Profiles of Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat and U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell.

**BODY:**

THIS IS A RUSH TRANSCRIPT. THIS COPY MAY NOT BE IN ITS FINAL FORM AND MAY BE

UPDATED.

ANNOUNCER: Next on PEOPLE IN THE NEWS, with a region exploding in violence, the Palestinian leader at the center of the crisis.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

YASSER ARAFAT, PRESIDENT OF PALESTINIAN NATIONAL AUTHORITY: Let us return back to the peace of the brave.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ANNOUNCER: A hero and man of peace to some.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

HANAN ASHRAWI, PALESTINIAN LEGISLATOR: He moved to peacemaker because he made the historical decision.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

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ANNOUNCER: An enemy and man of violence to others.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BENJAMIN NETANYAHU, FORMER ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER: He's an arch terrorist. He's a master terrorist.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ANNOUNCER: A man of contradiction, Yasser Arafat.

Then, he's a former soldier sent to the Middle East to negotiate peace.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

COLIN POWELL, SECRETARY OF STATE: The entire international community as a result of those conversations will together and stand behind this vision of two states living side-by-side.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ANNOUNCER: A kid who started on the streets of New York and ended up in Washington's inner circles.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: We came from a kind of family that raised you and sort of programmed you for success.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ANNOUNCER: The story of a Vietnam veteran, Gulf War hero and now secretary of state, Colin Powell. Their stories ahead on PEOPLE IN THE NEWS.

PAULA ZAHN, HOST: Welcome to PEOPLE IN THE NEWS. I'm Paul Zahn. His future uncertain. His power in question. His dream of a Palestinian state in jeopardy. And still, Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat remains as defiant and as resilient as ever. His story now on PEOPLE IN THE NEWS.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

Y. ARAFAT: We are in need of agents sending international forces to stop this aggression and this escalation -- military escalation against our people.

ARIEL SHARON, PRIME MINISTER OF ISRAELI: Chairman Arafat should be isolated as the head of the Palestinian Authority who's responsible for terrorist acts on one end and not taking any preventive steps on the other hand.

ZAHN: The terror and hostilities have reached new levels in a conflict that has been smoldering for decades. A wave of Palestinian suicide bombings kills dozens of Israeli civilians during the Passover holiday. The Israeli Army, under orders from Ariel Sharon, pounds Palestinian positions in the occupied territories, effectively trapping Yasser Arafat in his own compound.

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A renewed cycle of violence and retribution with one man in the cross hairs.

DAVID SHIPLER, AUTHOR, "ARAB AND JEW": Arafat is now talking about being a martyr. Palestinians are much more enthusiastic about Arafat than they were. It's contributed to his popularity and it's made him more relevant than ever, ironically.

ZAHN: Yasser Arafat's life story is a reflection of the Palestinian movement. He was born in 1929, one of seven children. His birthplace, like other details of his life, is a source of some speculation. He claims to have been born in Jerusalem but his birth certificate says Cairo. His mother died when he was four and his father sent him to Jerusalem to live with his uncle for several years.

JOHN WALLACH, ARAFAT BIOGRAPHER: His childhood was painful for him. He was shunted back and forth from one relative to another. He never really had a mother and father that he knew very well. He likes to say today that that homelessness, that sense of not having a parent, not having a mother and father is parallel to the homelessness of the Palestinian people themselves.

ZAHN: In 1937, Arafat rejoined his father, three sisters and three brothers in Cairo. They lived in a mixed neighborhood, Arab and Jewish.

WALLACH: He had Jewish friends. He even played basketball on a Jewish team. So this is someone who has been familiar with the struggle, the Zionist struggle for independence from his early years or at least from his teenage years and I think that that had a deep influence on him.

LARRY KING, CNN HOST: Do you think we will see Jewish children and Palestinian children playing together, growing together, being friends?

Y. ARAFAT: It my boyhood, we were doing the same.

KING: Your cousins?

Y. ARAFAT: Yes, not to forget that we never said the other Jews. We used to condemn our cousins. This is the history. Abraham is our -- is mine.

KING: You never hated the Jews?

Y. ARAFAT: Never, otherwise I will not be a real Muslim.

ZAHN: The creation of Israel in 1948 drew Arafat to the ranks of Palestinian nationalists who wanted to destroy the Jewish state. While studying engineering at Cairo University, he arranged the smuggling of weapons from Egypt into Palestine.

WALLACH: He promoted himself as the leader of the Palestinian Student Union, that he was going into the desert to seize weapons that had -- old weapons that the British left behind from the days when Egypt had won its independence.

ZAHN: When Egypt went to war with Israel in 1956, 27-year-old Yasser Arafat fought for the Egyptians. After the war, another Arab defeat, Arafat began to focus on displacing the Jewish state to secure a homeland for Palestinians. He co-founded Alpha Tau, which would later become the militant wing of the PLO and

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an instrument of guerrilla tactics and deadly terror.

WALLACH: Terrorist activities began against Israel in 1966 and 1967 when attacks took place in Israel itself, blowing up railroad stations and water facilities, dams.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

ZAHN: When PEOPLE IN THE NEWS continues, from militant warrior to national hero.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

ZAHN: June 1967, a dramatic and sudden shift in the Arab-Israeli conflict and a turning point for Yasser Arafat. Israel facing attack from Arab neighbors intent on destroying the Jewish state launches a pre-emptive military strike.

In six days, Israel triples in size, having captured territory from Jordan, Syria and Egypt and raises the Star of David over each Jerusalem.

SHIPLER: Israel was the underdog before the '67 War and was celebrated triumphantly. It was seen as the David that had slain the Goliath.

WALLACH: This was such a devastating defeat for the Arabs that the Palestinians said to themselves, they're never going to be able to deliver independence for us.

ZAHN: Frustrated with the lack of strong leadership in the Arab world, the Palestinians turned to Yasser Arafat. He was elected chairman of the PLO with hopes of putting Palestine on the map and wound up on the cover of "TIME" magazine.

WALLACH: Arafat was now emerging as a figure who not only confronted Israel, but confronted established Arab regimes. This was the beginning of kind of Arafatism nuisance to the Arab leaders, which to some extent, he still is today.

ZAHN: Arafat's obsession with a Palestinian state has been on display ever since, even in the way he dresses. The traditional headdress Arafat wears, the Kuffieh, has symbolic meaning.

ASHRAWI: He always wears it to look like the map of historical Palestine. So he combines many things, a political message of culture, the message of personal matters and a sign of continuity and commitment.

The Palestinians feel the kuffieh is a sign of plight, of dignity, of national identity, of a homeland.

ZAHN: A homeland that has so far eluded them. After the Six Day War, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians fled the West Bank in Gaza into refugee camps in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. The fate of these refugees, their earning for their own state and Israel's need to guarantee the security of its own people, is at the heart of the conflict that has played out over the last 30

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years, a struggle for land and peace with little common ground.

Y. ARAFAT (through translator): The establishment of a Palestinian state with holy Jerusalem as its capital is the only guarantee for security, peace and

stability in the region and the world.

NETANYAHU: Arafat is out to destroy the state of Israel. So what did Arafat send out the PLO to liberate? What was the Palestine? And the answer is Israel, any part of Israel and any border.

ZAHN: Under Arafat's leadership in the early '70s, the PLO and its various factions turned terrorism into a household word. One of these factions carried out a series of hijackings in Europe and the Middle East, including five in one week in September 1970, which ended with three emptied planes being blown up in the Jordanian Desert.

This was followed by other notorious terror plots -- at the 1972 Olympics in Munich, the killing of 11 Israeli athletes, gunning down passengers at the Rome and Vienna Airports and assassinating political figures. Arafat never personally claimed responsibility for these acts, but he never condemned them either.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: The taking of civilian lives, the hijacking of airlines, these are deemed to be terrorist attacks.

Y. ARAFAT: You are -- you are -- you are mentioning the hijacking. You are neglecting the crux of the whole issue. We are under occupation and according to the United Nations Charter and resolution and decisions, we have the right to resist against occupation by all means.

NETANYAHU: He's an arch terrorist, he's a master terrorist, he's the one who brought to the world, the -- you know, the terrorist start-up of producing airline hijackings, of taking people hostage, of kidnapping and murdering diplomats, including American diplomats in Khartoum. You name a terrorist technique; he's either thought about it or perfected it.

ZAHN: Despite the terror attacks, Arafat was invited to speak to the U.N. General Assembly in New York in 1974.

Y. ARAFAT (through translator): Today, I have come bearing an olive branch and a freedom fighter's gun. Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand. Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand.

ZAHN: Israel boycotted, but for Arafat and the PLO, the implications were clear.

NASSER AL-KIDWA, PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVE TO U.N.: What was significant, of course, was the symbol of the world buddy, recognizing the Palestinian National Liberation Movement and its leader, thus, recognizing the legitimacy of the Palestinians' struggle.

ZAHN: Recognition by the U.N. did not change the ways of Arafat and the PLO. In 1982, the PLO now based in Lebanon launched a series of deadly attacks against Israeli forces.

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Israel invaded Lebanon and troops led by then Defense Minister Ariel Sharon pushed all the way to the gates of Beirut, literally driving Arafat and the PLO

out to sea.

Y. ARAFAT: I was under siege one year ago. And I am in another siege this year. What's the difference? It's a contradicting. It's a revolution.

SHARON: He came here only for one purpose and that is to destroy, to destroy and to take back his world, to destroy the terrorists' PLO Palestinian organizations.

ZAHN: Arafat was on the run again. He went to Tunis. Then several years later, as Palestinians in Israeli occupied territories staged a violent uprising, Arafat finally indicated that the PLO might be willing to compromise. At a special assembly of the U.N. in Geneva, Arafat not only recognized Israel's right to exist, he uttered the words many had been waiting years to hear.

Y. ARAFAT: I repeat for the record that we totally and absolutely renounce all forms of terrorists.

ZAHN: With a single speech, came hope that years of fighting just might come to an end. But the time for terror was over.

ASHRAWI: He moved to peacemaker because he made the historical decision. He did that and that had to be recognized and he did change the course of history.

ZAHN: But more than 10 years later, Arafat's words are being used against him. That story when PEOPLE IN THE NEWS continues.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

ZAHN: Having owned the door to peace with his historic speech to U.N., Yasser Arafat was still a man without a homeland.

Y. ARAFAT: You know it is not an easy life to live every night in different place and two different beds.

ZAHN: He had so many enemies; he practically lived on an airplane and rarely slept in the same place.

Y. ARAFAT: In this airplane, even my colleagues don't know where we are going to.

ZAHN: But Arafat would prove himself the consummate survivor. In 1992, his plane crashed in a sand storm in the Libyan Desert and he escaped with his life. He developed a blood clot on his brain afterwards but beat that too.

Shortly after his brush with death, Arafat went public with surprising

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personal news. A year earlier, he had secretly married a Christian-Palestinian woman who was half his age, a woman some had mistaken for his mistress.

SUHA ARAFAT, WIFE: It was terrible for me because when I'm married to a man and the entourage would say, "It's his mistress." It's too much this political entourage of the peers, all which is gossiping all the time.

ASHRAWI: I really think it's a very, very simple case of falling in love with



a younger woman, who was working in his office, and they wanted to have a more permanent relationship.

ZAHN: Newly married and in declining health, Arafat seemed more reflective, more intent than ever on finding peace, according to people close to him. And in September 1993, the life-long warrior for Palestine sealed an important agreement by shaking hands with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. The Oslo Accords put in writing that the Jewish people were entitled to a state of their own and Arafat was vilified by many Palestinians for signing the deal.

Y. ARAFAT: Making the peace is more difficult than to make war. Any -- and so any -- any officer, any general can make a peace -- they can make war, but to make peace, it means the courageous man to implement peace.

ZAHN: Israeli hard-liners didn't like the Oslo deal either. Among other things, it allowed Arafat to move to Gaza and establish the Palestinian Authority there. Now, the Israeli's mortal enemy would be living in her midst.

MORTIMER ZUCKERMAN, CONF. OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS: They thought for a moment that he was going to become like Mandela in South Africa or Gandhi in India or indeed David Ben-Gurion in Israel, but was it willing to make the necessary compromises to bring about a peaceful resolution? It turned out that this was a false hope.

ZAHN: Despite anger on both sides, Yasser Arafat, Yitzhak Rabin and Israeli foreign minister Shimon Peres were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts though the award itself was controversial.

NETANYAHU: Does anyone take seriously Arafat's Nobel Prize? I think it was one of the low points of the Nobel Prize.

ZAHN: By this time, the pursuit of peace and the Palestinian state was all consuming for Arafat. He and his wife, Suha, had a baby girl in July of 1995, but their family life was somewhat unusual. Suha had her own apartment upstairs where Arafat seldom ventured. He claims that he didn't have time for his own daughter because he was father to all Palestinian children.

S. ARAFAT: It's a strange relation. She sees this man 10 minutes in the morning and he goes, surrounded by bodyguards. And she sees his pictures on the TV. She sees his pictures on -- in the pipes, in the lunar pipes, in the little gardens around. I say "papa," but she does not understand what is this man.

ASHRAWI: I told him once, "Don't you miss her?" And he said, "Yes, but I can't afford to think about it." So his life has been taken up with the struggle. It doesn't mean he's not a father or he's not -- he doesn't have these human or paternal feelings, but I think reality has deprived him of the

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chance to express them, to exercise them and to be with his family.

ZAHN: The personal and political spears so often separate converged for Arafat in September of 1995 when an Israeli right-wing extremist assassinated Prime Minister Rabin. It does a blow to the peace process and a personal blow



to Arafat.

S. ARAFAT: I got this phone call and he was -- he stayed all night without saying one word. No, but it was -- it was that his partner at peace was killed.

AL-KIDWA: I remember seeing him once in his office after the assassination of him, a few days after and he was really in distress.

ZAHN: Whatever Arafat's personal distress, Rabin's killing put the peace process on life support where it remained until 1998 when the two sides held peace talks again.

At Camp David, in fall of 2000, the Israelis offered the Palestinians much of the land Israel had occupied after the 1967 Six Day War. The deal didn't include total Palestinian control of Arab East Jerusalem. Arafat rejected it.

SHIPLER: It's a Catch 22 situation for him. The more moderate he becomes with the Israelis, the less creditability he has with the Palestinians. The more militant he is, the more creditability with the Palestinians and the less consolatory the Israelis will be.

Now, how you work your way out of that, I'm not sure. Arafat doesn't seem clever enough to do it. He's a good survivor. He's not so good as a leader who can move a situation into a different era.

ZAHN: Long before the current crisis, pressures were mounting on Arafat from all sides, pressure to once and for all denounce terror and put a stop to the attacks.

Y. ARAFAT: It was the attack. Did President Bush succeed to stop the attack of bin Laden? You have the biggest power all over the world. I am doing a 100 percent of my effort, but no one all over the world can give 100 percent of that.

ZUCKERMAN: He puts a lot of tigers into a cage. He organizes these tigers in different cages and then, he says to the people who control the gates to the cages, "Why don't you open those gates?" And then he says, "Oh, my goodness, the tigers are killing people. I'm really shocked."

ZAHN: At the same time, Arafat has felt pressure from his own people, many of whom feel he has lost touch with the heart of the movement.

WALLACH: The economy of the areas has deteriorated.

ZUCKERMAN: My goodness, the tigers are killing people. I'm really shocked.

ZAHN: At the same time, Arafat has felt pressure from his own people, many of whom feel he has lost touch with the heart of the movement.

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SHIPLER: The economy of the areas has deteriorated. People are really desperate. They're desperate economically. Young Palestinians call their parents the failed generation, because they failed to bring either peace or statehood, and they blame Arafat for that.

ZAHN: And yet, Arafat has shown he is nothing, if not resilient. At 72, he again finds himself on the brink with Israel.

Y. ARAFAT: It's aggression against our people.

ZAHN: At this crucial moment, he faces the same dilemma, how to pursue peace with his enemies, while appeasing his own people, a dilemma that so far he has been unable to resolve.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

ANNOUNCER: Coming up next week, if the Palestinians are battling to forge a nation, he's fighting to protect one.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

ARIEL SHARON, PRIME MINISTER OF ISRAEL: Peace might be discussed only when there will be full cessation of terror.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ANNOUNCER: An in-depth look at Ariel Sharon and Israel's war for survival, next week on PEOPLE IN THE NEWS. But just ahead, he's the man in the middle of the Mid East crisis. Colin Powell, and the search for peace, when we return.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

ANNOUNCER: PEOPLE IN THE NEWS continues with Paula Zahn.

ZAHN: Welcome back to PEOPLE IN THE NEWS. When President Bush decided that enough was enough in the Middle East, the man he called on to help the tensions was the very same man that a number of American Presidents have turned to in times of crisis, Colin Powell. Here's Andrea Koppel.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

ANDREA KOPPEL, STATE DEPARTMENT CORRESPONDENT: A generation's old crisis escalating once again past the boiling point. The Palestinians and Israelis living in close quarters, still deeply separated by hostility and violence. The United States and the international community are calling for an end to the bloodshed.

COLIN POWELL, SECRETARY OF STATE: Violence of whatever form, whether one would call it an act of terrorism or an act of resistance, at this point is counterproductive.

KOPPEL: Now, Secretary of State Colin Powell has been enlisted by President Bush to reestablish the broken down lines of communication. Powell has served three previous administrations, every president since Jimmy Carter, accumulating

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four stars and becoming Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the country's top military leader.

But now the career soldier is a diplomat. This is not the first time Powell's stature and experience have helped bolster the Bush Administration. As the first member of the new cabinet to be announced --

GEORGE W. BUSH, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: And ask him to become the 65th Secretary of State of the United States of America.

KOPPEL: Powell gave instant credibility to the President-Elect, the candidate who lost the popular vote and who lacked experience in international affairs.

SEN. JOSEPH BIDEN (D-DE), FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE: Powell is a man of independent stature. He has built a reputation based on the force of his personality. He has what the military folks call a command presence.

KOPPEL: Though the courtship between Bush and Powell was long, the honeymoon was brief.

JOHANNA McGEARY, TIME FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT: For a time, Colin Powell was finding himself in the position where, in the minds of lots of other people, he wasn't the preeminent voice of American foreign policy. Diplomats abroad would listen to what Colin Powell had to say and then turn around and ask, but what does Vice President Cheney think? What does Defense Secretary Rumsfeld think? What does National Security Adviser Rice think?

KOPPEL: But in the wake of the escalating crisis in the Middle East, and the September 11th terror attacks, Powell's 35 years of military experience and crisis management are clearly in high demand. As a policy maker, Powell is seen as a steady hand, and the White House benefits when one of the most admired men in the nation uses his mythic status to reassure the public.

POWELL: Our war on terror will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped, and defeated. My friends, we know it will take time. It will take effort. We will be patient. We will be persistent, and I can assure you that under President Bush's leadership we will not rest until the job has been done and civilization is safe again.

KOPPEL: Powell's journey to the corridors of power in Washington began in the tough streets of New York. He was born in 1937 and his parents soon settled in the Bronx, where they managed to keep their kids out of the trouble that tempted so many others.

POWELL: Frankly, it was a very fine upbringing that I received in the South Bronx. We had our problems of drugs and crimes and none of our parents was very, very rich. In fact, they were all quite poor.

KOPPEL: His parents, immigrants from Jamaica, worked in the garment district, his mother, Maude, a seamstress; his father, Luther, a shipping clerk foreman. They had come to New York with a dream, determined their children would have a bright future.

MARILYN BERNES, SISTER: We came from a kind of family that raised you and sort

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of programmed you for success. You know, the expectations were there that you would go forth and achieve.

KOPPEL: Colin and his sister Marilyn were taught that education was the key to success, but all the way through high school, young Colin was hardly passionate about school.

BERNES: Oh, well I think everybody knows that, you know, his studies were pretty average when he was in school.

KOPPEL: But the melting pot of 1940s New York educated him in other ways.

POWELL: And I learned a great deal about myself on the streets of New York. I grew up with people, went to school with people of all different ethnic origins and backgrounds and religions.

GENE NORMAN, CHILDHOOD FRIEND: The totality of a neighborhood that lets you see the world through many different eyes.

TORRY GRANT, CHILDHOOD FRIEND: He prides himself on his ability to speak Yiddish.

NORMAN: Well, I don't believe a word of that.

GRANT: Well, he says it but we all picked up a little Yiddish. We all picked up a little German, Spanish, Italian.

JOSEPH PERSICO, BIOGRAPHER: Colin Powell had very little sense of being a member of an oppressed minority when he was growing up because, as he put it, he lived among Italians, Jews, Poles, Puerto Ricans. Everybody was a member of a minority.

KOPPEL: Although racism was a fact of life in the '40s and '50s, his parents refused to let their children think of themselves as second-class citizens.

POWELL: My parents kept telling, and the adults in my life kept telling me, don't worry about that. Don't care what people say about you or how they point to you and think you're different. You're not different.

KOPPEL: His parents expected him to go to college and so he did to CCNY, the City College of New York.

POWELL: They let me in with my bad grades and I stayed there for four and a half years, it was a four-year course, with bad grades.

KOPPEL: But despite the bad grades, he found his calling. When the story of Colin Powell continues, the sorry student discovers a reason to stay in school.

POWELL: And now I'm the favorite son, the most famous person who ever graduated CCNY, and they give me all kinds of honors, and I smile because they were sure anxious to see me go 35 years ago.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

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(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

KOPPEL: After squeaking through high school, the kid from the South Bronx took his "C" average to CCNY, City College of New York. Clearly academics did not excite him, but something else did.

POWELL: I found something that I liked at CCNY. It was ROTC. I liked the discipline and structure of the military. I felt somewhat distinctive wearing a uniform. I hadn't been distinctive in much else.

GRANT: He used to love hiking up and down the block practicing his marching, calling cadence out to himself. He really enjoyed it. So it was without question that Colin was going to be a career man.

KOPPEL: Powell's military career began in 1958, when he received his

Bachelor's Degree in Geology and a commission in the United States Army. Colin was now Second Lieutenant Powell.

BERNS: My mother thought, oh this is nice, when he graduated. He'll go in the army for a few years and he'll come out and get a job.

KOPPEL: Little did she know, her son was in it for the long haul.

POWELL: The army was the way out for me, the way out of the city. It was an opportunity when there weren't many other opportunities for young Blacks, even young Blacks who had completed college.

KOPPEL: But when Powell reported for training at Fort Benning, Georgia, he ran into an unexpected roadblock, segregation.

PERSICO: Now, the way Colin Powell handled something like this, yes he's exasperated. He's enraged. But he's not going to let it destroy him. As he put it to me best of all, I was not going to let other people's opinions of me become my opinion of myself.

KOPPEL: The young man who had been programmed for success since early childhood, would not be discouraged.

PERSICO: He told me once how one of his officers, early in his career, had said Lieutenant Powell, you're the best Black lieutenant in the U.S. Army. Powell was not satisfied with that. He didn't want to see this artificial color barrier. He said, "I was determined to become the best lieutenant in the U.S. Army."

KOPPEL: In 1962, the 25-year-old was shipped to Vietnam. Initially excited to serve in combat, he soon became frustrated that decision makers in Washington had not clearly defined the mission and had no plan for getting out.

POWELL: I came away from that experience with a belief that if we're going to send young men and women into harm's way, we should make sure they have a clear purpose that they are fighting for. They understand that purpose. The American people understand it and the American people are supporting them in what they

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do.

KOPPEL: The United States Powell returned to was very different from the one he had left. Anti-war protests, the civil rights movement, violence was everywhere. The only calm in the storm was on the home front. The newly promoted Captain Powell had married Alma Vivian Johnson in 1963. Over the years, Alma would hold down the fort during her husband's many absences, making sure the growing Powell clan had everything they needed.

PERSICO: Alma Powell accepted that this was the life this man loved and that he had a great deal to give to it, and she accepted her sometimes very difficult role as a mother on her own and also an army wife who was expected to be charming, tactful, and entertaining. She carried out that role rather beautifully for 35 years, and I think part of his rise is due to the fact that he had a suitable wife.

KOPPEL: With his family in good hands, Colin Powell concentrated on his career. The next big push came in 1972, when Powell's commanding officers ordered him to apply for the White House Fellows Program.

POWELL: The beautiful part about the army is that they were always, they were always giving me something that was beyond me. They were always testing me and by being pushed, I grew fast.

KOPPEL: Out of 1,500 applicants, he was accepted, and once again rose to the challenge.

FRANK CARUCCI, FORMER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE: If you gave him a project, it got done. It got done effectively. It was easy to spot him as a rising talent at that time.

KOPPEL: Then another golden opportunity. Powell was named military assistant to the Secretary of Defense, and was exposed to decision making at the highest levels.

POWELL: At some point in my career, I realized I was doing well enough to become a general.

KOPPEL: So Colin Powell left Washington for an assignment at Fort Carson, Colorado, one that would put him within reach of that once unthinkable goal, but the newly minted general would not stay away from the capitol for long.

CARUCCI: He didn't want to come back, but we had Ronald Reagan call him and he agreed to come back.

KOPPEL: It was an offer he couldn't refuse, Deputy National Security Adviser. He was later promoted to National Security Adviser, a first for an African-American. When George Bush became President, he kept Powell close by, naming him to the highest military rank in the country, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Powell exploded onto the scene in August 1990, when Iraq invaded Kuwait. As Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, Powell was initially reluctant to commit U.S. troops, but eventually he became one of the administrations most trusted

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spokesmen, when the assault on Saddam Hussein's army finally came.

POWELL: Our strategy to go after this army is very, very simple. First, we're going to cut it off and then we're going to kill it.

KOPPEL: When the war was over, Powell had become a national hero. Powell's term extended into the Clinton Administration where he again argued against military action this time in Bosnia. Even though ethnic cleansing reached gruesome proportions, the mission did not fit the parameters of the Powell Doctrine.

POWELL: I have been characterized as the reluctant warrior. Guilty. But I follow in a long tradition of American generals who have always been reluctant warriors.

KOPPEL: In 1993, Powell retired to write his memoirs with a reported \$6



million advance. Published in late '95, the promotional tour was mobbed.

POWELL: I'll take a question.

SAM DONALDSON, CORRESPONDENT: General, is this really the start of a book tour, or the start of a presidential campaign?

POWELL: Today is the beginning of a book tour, Mr. Donaldson, and...

DONALDSON: And tomorrow?

POWELL: And tomorrow, we'll continue to promote the book but at the same time, we'll be traveling around the country meeting many Americans and answering any questions they may wish to put to me.

KOPPEL: With both Democrats and Republicans courting him, Colin Powell weighed his options, next on PEOPLE IN THE NEWS.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

ANNOUNCER: We now return to PEOPLE IN THE NEWS.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: The latest CNN poll has you right now ahead of both President Clinton and Senator Dole. How does that make you feel?

POWELL: Well, I'm not worrying about the polls or paying attention to polls right now.

KOPPEL: With a runaway best seller, and sky-high ratings in the polls, Colin Powell in late 1995 was at a crossroads.

POWELL: The question I faced was, should I enter politics and seek the Presidency of the United States.

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KOPPEL: But it was no secret that Alma Powell, his staunchest supporter for 33 years, did not want him to run. After months of public speculation and weeks of private anguish, he concluded he lacked the passion to run a successful Presidential campaign.

POWELL: The passion and commitment that, despite my every effort, I do not yet have for political life.

KOPPEL: But he now clearly committed to a party, the Republicans.

POWELL: I'm very impressed by what the Republican Party is trying to do right now, trying to put the nation on a better fiscal balance, trying to bring government under control and make government smaller, trying to put more money back into the pocket of individual taxpayers.

KOPPEL: But at the 1996 Republican Convention, Powell sounded like a Democrat. Keep abortion rights, end racial discrimination, and reform welfare for everyone.

POWELL: We have to make sure that reduced government spending doesn't single out the poor and the middle-class. Corporate welfare, welfare for the wealthy must be first in line for elimination.

KOPPEL: After the Republicans lost, Powell established America's Promise, and



became its fund-raiser in chief, recruiting corporations and volunteers to help children from poor backgrounds like his own.

But his retreat from politics was only temporary. At the 2000 Republican Convention, staged to showcase the party's new inclusive image, Powell once again blasted the conservatives on affirmative action.

POWELL: Some in our party miss no opportunity to roundly and loudly condemn affirmative action that helped a few thousand Black kids get an education, but you hardly hear a whimper when it's affirmative action for lobbyists who load our federal tax code with preferences for special interest. It doesn't work.

KOPPEL: Despite his differences with the party's right wing, Powell's credibility with the public made him a natural choice for the new Bush Administration. The State Department staff literally cheered when Powell took command. Expectations were high. But his temperate approach frequently clashed with other members of the President's national security team.

BIDEN: In this administration, the overwhelming part of the foreign policy establishment is very hard right, movement right conservatives.

KOPPEL: Powell advocated caution and coalitions. The prevailing view in the administration was that the victor in the Cold War could impose its will unilaterally. When President Bush said he wanted U.S. troops out of the NATO peacekeeping force in the Balkans, Powell argued for supporting NATO. On negotiations with North Korea to stop developing long-range missiles, Powell said he would pick up where the Clinton administration left off. The White House said no, at least not right away.

POWELL: Because I have pitted others in saying, I got a little too far

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forward on my skates.

KOPPEL: And on the international treaty to stop global warming, the White House pulled the plug on U.S. support, without consulting Powell.

BIDEN: There seems to be a real distrust among movement conservatives, the right wing of the Republican Party in control of this administration, real distrust for Powell.

KOPPEL: But his supporters said Powell fights the battles he considers most important, and Powell has ultimately turned many of the policy decisions his way.

RICHARD ARMITAGE, DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE: It seems to me you ought to view Secretary Powell, not as a 100-yard sprinter, but as a marathoner.

KOPPEL: What may be the toughest race of his career began September 11th. The United States was in a new kind of war, attacked by an enemy that, for the price of a few plane tickets, had acquired guided missiles.

POWELL: It may well be that the diplomatic efforts, political efforts, legal, financial, other efforts, may be just as effective against that kind of an enemy as would military force.

KOPPEL: Now with violence flaring in the Middle East, the retired general who was sometimes dubbed a reluctant warrior, is looking for alternatives to military force to deal with the problems in the region.

McGEARY: One of the things that people have always felt about Colin Powell is that he is a man of such great promise that what you want to see is that that promise is used to do great things, and if he has ever had a chance to show that to us, he has a chance to show it to us now.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

ZAHN: For the very latest on the crisis in the Middle East, stay with CNN.

I'm Paul Zahn. Thanks so much for joining us. Also, I hope you'll join us for "AMERICAN MORNING," weekday mornings from 7:00 to 10:00. Until then, see you next time on PEOPLE IN THE NEWS. TO ORDER A VIDEO OF THIS TRANSCRIPT, PLEASE

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CNN

**SHOW:** CNN WOLF BLITZER REPORTS 17:00

April 2, 2002 Tuesday

Transcript # 040200CN.V67

**SECTION:** News; Domestic

**LENGTH:** 7410 words

**HEADLINE:** Bloodshed at Bethlehem Church; Middle East Conflict Intensifies

**GUESTS:** Anton Salman, Ken Woodward, Alon Pinkas, Nasser Al-Kidwa, Tim Dumas

**BYLINE:** Andrea Koppel, Christiane Amanpour, Michael Holmes, Patty Davis, Susanna

Martinez, Barbara Starr, Deborah Feyerick, Caroline Lowe, Richard Quest, Lou

Dobbs

**HIGHLIGHT:**

After an all-night battle, a Palestinian security headquarters lies in ruins as Israel takes away hundreds for questioning.

**BODY:**

THIS IS A RUSH TRANSCRIPT. THIS COPY MAY NOT BE IN ITS FINAL FORM AND MAY BE

UPDATED.

ANDREA KOPPEL, GUEST HOST: Now on WOLF BLITZER REPORTS: A developing story, bloodshed at the birthplace of Jesus.

(GUNFIRE)

KOPPEL: After an all-night battle, a Palestinian security headquarters lies in ruins, as Israel takes away hundreds for questioning.

Yasser Arafat is offered a way out.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

ARIEL SHARON, ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER: It is going to be a one- way ticket.

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(END VIDEO CLIP)

KOPPEL: Not a good idea, in the U.S. view.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

COLIN POWELL, SECRETARY OF STATE: He is recognized, whether we approve of it or not, as the leader of the Palestinian people.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

KOPPEL: After a quarter-century, a day many thought would never come: A Kennedy cousin goes on trial for the murder of his teenage neighbor.

And if you toss and turn at night, and you're tired and troubled during the day, you are not alone, unless you live out West.

Good afternoon. We begin this evening with breaking news out of Jerusalem, in Bethlehem actually, at the Church of the Nativity. I'm joined on the phone now by Anton Salman, who is inside the Church of the Nativity. Mr. Salman, what can you tell us sir? Good evening.

ANTON SALMAN, HEAD, ANTONIOUS SOCIETY OF BETHLEHEM: Good evening. What I can

tell you -- I can tell you that in the hours of the day and in the beginning of the night, there was big talks here and there in Bethlehem concerning the people as they entered to the church. The governor of Bethlehem asked to go inside the church to see what was going on exactly and to stop all the rumors (UNINTELLIGIBLE). So he asked me to be with him. And we entered with difficulty the church because it was surrounded by tanks and Israeli soldiers.

(CROSSTALK)

KOPPEL: Sir, why did you want to go into the Church of the Nativity?

SALMAN: Because we want to know what's going on because there were several rumors talking about difficulties that are facing the priest inside the church (UNINTELLIGIBLE) running from the Israeli soldiers.

So we entered the church and we saw a contrary story. We saw a young man lying on the ground of the church, tired, without food, without water, just waiting for their life, looking for the Church of the Nativity as a safe way and looking that the church will protect them from the killing of the Israeli soldiers that was running after them.

KOPPEL: Anton Salman, who is inside the Church of the Nativity right now in Bethlehem, I thank you, sir, for joining us.

As the fighting rages throughout much of the West Bank, let's begin with an overview of the situation. CNN's Christiane Amanpour joins us this evening live from Jerusalem -- Christiane.

CHRISTIANE AMANPOUR, CNN SENIOR INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENT: Well, Andrea,

that situation that you were just talking about from Bethlehem is what is the ongoing operation. We've obviously been asking the Israeli defense force  
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spokesmen about their view of what is going on, and they won't discuss it, saying that they don't discuss operations that are underway.

But certainly as the gentleman was telling you, there were two incidents today, according to those Palestinian sources, in which people did try and did run into the church seeking sanctuary. As you know, there have been -- Bethlehem is now under control of the Israeli army soldiers, tanks, armored vehicles and aircraft and helicopters overhead. There has been quite a lot of gun battles and quite a lot of shooting going on.

From Palestinian sources, we understand that not only is this ongoing situation inside the church, but also as they went, the Israelis house to house there we are told, four people were killed. We are told by Palestinians that they were on the most wanted list. Apparently they were members of the Al Aqsa Martyr Brigade, which is that militant organization that is associated with Yasser Arafat's organization.

Also in Ramallah, there has been a day of more tension, more widening of not only isolation of Yasser Arafat, but also, as you've been reporting over the last 24 hours, the compound of the preventive security chief there had been breached and people had been inside taking refuge. In a complicated set of negotiations, eventually, they all -- most of them came out and are being questioned by the Israelis.

Today, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon of Israel offered what may have been a personal view and his own personal views of what he would like to see done with Yasser Arafat, saying that he can leave if he wants and international visitors could go see him as long as they take him out and keep him out, that he would not be allowed to return. As you can imagine, the Palestinian officials dismissed that as a non- starter -- Andrea.

KOPPEL: Another long night ahead for you and others. Christiane, thank you so much.

Are the Holy Land's holy places in danger? Religious shrines have been occasionally violated over the years, but does the battle in Bethlehem mark a turning point? Joining me now live in New York is Ken Woodward, the religion editor for "Newsweek." Mr. Woodward, how unusual is it to have and, in fact,

unprecedented is it, to have a holy site like this taken over by armed gunmen?

KEN WOODWARD, RELIGION EDITOR, "NEWSWEEK": Well, it certainly is unusual, but that particular church, the Church of the Nativity, has been fought over for centuries and centuries and centuries. The building you're looking at right now goes back to the Sixth Century. And a lot of people, Crusaders, Muslims, Christians of all sorts have tried to control that church.

Even inside, you have got the Greek Orthodox, the Armenian Orthodox, the Roman Catholics in the form of the Franciscans competing, if you will, for space. They have got their own chapels. They have got down in the grotto, where it's said that Jesus was born. You have three different altars there. So, it is very divided. It is like the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. It is very divided.

KOPPEL: Well, that gets to my next question then. Why do you think these

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individuals, these Palestinians, chose the Church of the Nativity? And they apparently entered there, forced their way in and made the priests there accept their presence.

WOODWARD: Well, I mean, if they were being pursued by Israelis, conceivably, they could be invoking the ancient law of sanctuary. For a long time, churches provided sanctuary for people who were hunted by the society outside. That doesn't seem to be the case. I mean, it can be a very provocative kind of thing to do too. Who, after all, is going to go into a church and, in some sense, desecrate it and -- I don't know, I'm not there. Perhaps they were inviting the Israelis to do that and therefore it provoked the outrage that would certainly follow.

KOPPEL: It certainly seems to be an act of desperation obviously. I understand that it is forbidden, this is probably true of many holy sites, but that it is forbidden to enter the Church of the Holy Sepulcher with weapons?

WOODWARD: Well, it may very well be. It certainly wouldn't be -- certainly wouldn't be unusual at all. You know, Bethlehem has been a place of great unrest for a long, long time. The Muslims for years wanted to build a mosque right next door to the church, cheek by jowl.

And the Christians and the Muslims fought over that for a long time. When John Paul II went to Israel on pilgrimage in March of 2000, the jubilee year, the mosque that he set outdoors in nativity square right out in front of the church was interrupted by the call to prayer from the mosque.

KOPPEL: Well, it is certainly a very different place today. Ken Woodward, of "Newsweek" magazine, I thank you, sir, for joining us.

WOODWARD: You bet.

KOPPEL: We just want to recap for you this developing story: Dozens of armed Palestinians in uniform have reportedly shot their way into Bethlehem's Church of the Nativity, the tradition birthplace of Jesus. The Associated Press cites

witnesses as saying they forced priests to grant them sanctuary from Israeli troops who were laying siege outside.

In the West Bank town of Ramallah, where Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat remains confined to his offices, a fierce battle was fought for another key Palestinian compound. CNN's Michael Holmes was there as the smoke cleared.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

MICHAEL HOLMES, CNN CORRESPONDENT (on camera): After a night of heavy shelling and after dawn, rockets being fired from Israeli helicopters into the preventive security headquarters here in Ramallah, we approached the compound. We gained access to it and a scene of devastation. The buildings in this compound rendered all but useless by this heavy assault.

Israelis say that there was return fire from in the compound, but Israeli military might was quite clear. Three hundred people who were inside were later allowed to leave. They were taken into Israeli custody, taken to an Israeli military facility. There they are being questioned. Israel says those who are

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not terrorists will be allowed to leave.

At Ramallah hospital today, a U.N. convoy bringing in urgently needed medical supplies including blood. Also the mortuary overflowing, full, and a mass grave prepared over the road in a car park to take some of those bodies and allow room for more bodies to come in.

The curfew that has been imposed here for nearly five days lifted temporarily two and a half-hours. The Palestinians had to leave their homes and buy the essentials. They were saying that they were missing milk, food, water, even bread. And there was a shopping spree in Ramallah for two and a half-hours. Just at dusk, however, warning shots rang out and the curfew was reimposed. Michael Holmes, CNN, Ramallah.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

KOPPEL: Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon says Yasser Arafat is welcome to leave his Ramallah headquarters, as long as he leaves the West Bank, too. Sharon suggested that the Israeli forces surrounding Arafat would be willing to lift their siege long enough for Arafat to get aboard a helicopter and fly into permanent exile.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

SHARON: I suggested and I told them that if they would like, that we will bring him somewhere or they will come with helicopter and will take him from here. But first of all, I will say that three things. One, I have to first bring it to the cabinet to be approved. Second, he cannot take anyone with him because they are wanted and murderers around him there. And the third thing, it is going to be a one-way ticket. He will not be able to return.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

KOPPEL: Arafat aides are rejecting the notion of exile. Joining us to



discuss today's developments are Alon Pinkas, the consul general for Israel in New York; and Nasser Al-**Kidwa**, the Palestinian observer to the United Nations. Mr. Pinkas, I'd like to begin with you and ask you, sir, what Israel hopes to gain by this?

ALON PINKAS, ISRAELI CONSUL GENERAL: To gain by what, Andrea?

KOPPEL: To gain by offering Yasser Arafat a one-way ticket out of Ramallah, the West Bank?

PINKAS: Well, he seems to think that he's the story. He's mistaken about it. He seems not to do what people expect him to do and he's mistaken about that. And if he still seems to think that he is the story and that the entire operation is about him, we offer him a way out of this mess if he thinks he's being inconvenienced.

But truthfully, it doesn't matter if he stays or if he goes. The thing is very simple. He still has the power. He still has the ability. He still has

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the tools of power with which he could stand up and do what both Secretary Powell today, or this morning rather, and President Bush yesterday have implored him to do or are expecting him to do, and that is stand up, denounce violence, renounce violence, call for a cold-turkey cease-fire. Lay down your weapons, and then we could perhaps resume a political process.

KOPPEL: Nasser Al-**Kidwa**, I'd like to ask you what you think the Israelis are up to in the sense that Chairman Arafat has already said publicly that he would prefer to die a martyr than to leave?

NASSER AL-**KIDWA**, PALESTINIAN OBSERVER TO UNITED NATIONS: I think what we heard today is another mad, Sharonic statement which reflects the thinking of this dangerous man, who obviously believes that Ramallah is part of Israel and that the Palestinian people are his subjects.

I mean, this is the crux of the problem we are faced with. I mean, this is the leader of a government who refuses to recognize the rights of the Palestinian people, who wants to continue their atrocities with their war crimes, with their state terrorism against the Palestinian people, refusing the implementation of security council resolution 402 which could provide a way out of this problem, refusing the implementation of Tenet and Mitchell proposals, and refusing, above all, refusing to accept the principle of ending the Israeli occupation and building the Palestinian state as the real solution of the problem we are faced with.

KOPPEL: Do you think that Chairman Arafat, Mr. Al-**Kidwa**, would consider any possible offer of exile anywhere in the Arab world or Europe? Is that anything that's on the table?

AL-**KIDWA**: This is absolutely ludicrous. It doesn't even merit consideration, neither by President Arafat nor by any Palestinians. The Israelis went as far as removing some of the Palestinian police members from West Bank to Gaza,



indicating that this is not the same place and maybe preparing the ground for further atrocities, such as moving some Palestinians from the Palestinian territories to the outside world and so on.

This is a going back to the same ugly mentality of occupation which will ensure only taking the whole region down the drain to the abyss. And that requires the serious intervention of the international community, a change in the position of the United States that will ensure, really, the end of this tragedy.

KOPPEL: So what do you want the United States to do, Mr. Pinkas?

PINKAS: What do I want the United States to do is to listen carefully to this endless list of cliches that you have just heard from Mr. Al-Kidwa and decide from themselves if Israel can seriously negotiate with these people.

Look, we don't think for one second that Ramallah is part of Israel nor did we ever nor will we ever. What the big question here, Andrea, is whether or not Ramallah is part of the civilization as we see it. And at this point, it is not. What we expect the United States to do is exactly what the United States is doing, and that is applying pressure on this corrupt regime called the Palestinian Authority to stop the incitement, to stop looking at homicidal

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maniacs as some kind of role models for an entire society, to lay down their weapons and to seriously think back on why they rejected the offer made to them by then President Clinton and then Prime Minister Barak at Camp David.

Think again if they're not on the verge of making another mistake and not repeat, as they often do or as they frequently do, make every possible mistake, miss every possible opportunity and more or less preclude themselves from being a part of the civilized world.

KOPPEL: Nasser Al-Kidwa, I ask you the same question, sir. What do you want the United States to do? We've heard them mouthing the common expressions recently to abide by Tenet, to abide by Mitchell. But what specific steps do you want the United States to take?

AL-KIDWA: We want to see a more balanced and objective position taken by the U.S. administration so that they can be the honest broker. In light of the current position, frankly, it is getting more and more difficult. What we want to see, the way out of this situation is, one, the immediate implementation of security council resolution 1402, which was supported by the United States. And two, acceptance of the idea of third-party presence in the territory. And three, to take the approach, a comprehensive approach, one which deals with the security dimension as well as the political dimension as well. You can't deal with security alone. You have to indicate to the Palestinian people that there is hope, that there is a future, that their rights could be restored in a peaceful way. And this is what is missing in the current American position.

KOPPEL: Nasser Al-Kidwa, the Palestinian representative to the United

Nations, thank you. And, Alon Pinkas, the consul general for Israel in New York, I thank you both.

And for an in-depth look at the situation, join Christiane Amanpour for LIVE FROM JERUSALEM. That's tonight at 8:00 Eastern, 5:00 Pacific.

Federal authorities are investigating two incidents involving homeland security. One was a breach of security at the airport in Tampa, Florida early this morning. The other, a breach of the air space near the White House. We begin there with CNN's Patty Davis.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

PATTY DAVIS, CNN CORRESPONDENT (voice-over): Frontier Airlines Flight 819 should have banked sharply to the left as it took off Monday evening from Reagan National Airport. Instead, the FAA says Frontier pilots continued straight, just skirting restricted air space over the National Mall, about a mile from the White House. They turned after realizing their mistake.

The Frontier jet is the fifth aircraft since September 11 to stray into the restricted air space. Security experts say it once again highlights the mere seconds it would take for a terrorist bent on a suicide mission by air to target the White House or the U.S. Capitol.

NEIL LIVINGSTONE, GLOBALOPTIONS: Virtually any major government building or national monument is a sitting duck for a terrorist that has taken over an aircraft and wants to fly that aircraft into that target.

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DAVIS: That's why federal security officials say pilots who use Reagan must pass extensive background checks, thorough airport screening and receive special training. Sources say an air marshal was on board the Frontier flight.

In addition, combat air patrols are constantly patrolling Washington skies.

Ready to shoot down a civilian aircraft is a last resort. The Frontier flight wasn't considered a threat and fighter jets were waved off. A leading congressman on aviation issues says there are significantly fewer incursions into Washington's restricted air space now than before September 11.

REP. JAMES OBERSTAR (D), MINNESOTA: I think the safest air space in the United States right now is the air space over our nation's capital.

DAVIS (on camera): A government source says the same Frontier pilots were diverted to another airport earlier the same day when they failed to identify themselves properly upon approach to Reagan. They have been removed from active duty while the FAA investigates.

Patty Davis, CNN, Washington.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

KOPPEL: Now to Tampa, where authorities are still looking for a man who tried to go through airport security there with a gun. A major terminal was evacuated and hundreds of passengers delayed. At the airport now is Susanna Martinez with our affiliate Bay News 9. Good afternoon Susanna.

SUSANNA MARTINEZ, BAY NEWS 9 CORRESPONDENT: Hi, Andrea. Right now, that man with the bag and the possible weapon is nowhere to be found. And passengers here are still feeling a ripple effect from that security breach that happened here at Tampa International Airport so very early this morning. It was really a chaotic scene.

We'll take you back around 5:30 in the morning. A baggage screener saw what appeared to be a firearm in a bag on the baggage screening screen, and she alerted her supervisor. They obviously thought it was enough of a risk to tell the federal agents that were there. And that is when they decided to shut down air side A.

What they had to do is take passengers off of planes that were already boarded and take their luggage off. So it was quite an ordeal. There were about 3,000 passengers that were kind of displaced through all of this. They had the tough task of bringing them all back from air side A to the terminal here at Tampa International Airport.

Once they made sure that that air side was completely secure, then they had to get everybody back on the shuttle and take them back over and rescreen everybody. We're talking about passengers, employees, pilots, flight attendants, everyone.

So as it stands right now, they still are not sure if that man was possibly carrying a weapon and where he is right now. We spoke with FAA officials out of Atlanta, Georgia. They tell us there is no active search for that person and they do have some video surveillance, but they are not releasing it to the media

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because they fear the security breach and security reasons would put them at some jeopardy to do so. So right now, they're not sure where he is. They don't know if he was able to get back through, get on a plane and get out of here. We're just not sure.

KOPPEL: Susanna Martinez, thank you so much, reporting tonight from Tampa. With the crisis in the Middle East, the defense secretary goes on the offensive, launching his most furious criticism yet of countries supporting attacks against Israel.

And a significant day for a Kennedy cousin. Why his trial will take a while. And later, it's the ultimate in luxury. What a couple of million bucks will get you on this cruise.

But first, the "News Quiz." First, today's "News Quiz": Which vessel currently in operation is the world's longest cruise ship? The Carnival Triumph, the SS Norway, the Disney Magic, or the Voyager of the Seas? We'll have the answer when we come back.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KOPPEL: After months of focusing on Afghanistan, the Taliban and al Qaeda, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld is shifting some of the rhetoric to the Middle

East. CNN Pentagon correspondent Barbara Starr has been looking into that and she joins us now. Barbara, he's focusing in particular on several key countries, isn't that right?

BARBARA STARR, CNN PENTAGON CORRESPONDENT: He is, Andrea. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld has made it very clear that there's no intention ever of sending U.S. military peacekeepers into the Israeli situation. But that doesn't mean that the Pentagon is not paying very close attention to what's going on there right now.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

(voice-over): Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld is on the frontline, launching furious criticism of three countries that he says are now actively supporting attacks against Israel.

DONALD RUMSFELD, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE: States like Iran, Iraq and Syria are inspiring and financing a culture of political murder and suicide bombing.

STARR: Rumsfeld says Iraq's Saddam Hussein is offering large cash payments to families of suicide bombers. Syria continues to allow Hezbollah terrorists to move from Damascus into Lebanon, using the Bekaa Valley to launch attacks. Iran is supporting both Hezbollah and the Palestinians with financial and military assistance.

The Pentagon believes Tehran was deeply involved in the shipment of weapons to the Palestinians earlier this year. The ship, *Karin A*, was seized by the Israelis, loaded with weapons that U.S. intelligence believes were destined either for the Palestinians or Hezbollah.

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Defense officials say all of these countries' activities means a peace agreement with just the Palestinians will no longer be enough to guarantee an end to the violence. And the U.S. still must deal with all three countries in the war on terrorism. Political pressure on Syria remains high, and the U.S. continues to signal possible future military action against Iraq. But officials increasingly believe that Iran is the most dangerous threat, far beyond its support for suicide bombers.

RUMSFELD: There is no question but that al Qaeda have moved in and found sanctuary in Iran. And there is no question but that al Qaeda have moved into Iran and out of Iran, to the south, and dispersed to some other countries.

STARR: A senior military official tells CNN that al Qaeda operatives have taken shelter in Iran with the support of the hard- liners in the government.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

(on camera): Andrea, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld privately is very sober in his current assessment of the region at the moment. His public saber-rattling does very little to hide the fact there are no easy military options at the moment -- Andrea.

KOPPEL: Barbara Starr at the Pentagon. Thanks so much.

STARR: You're welcome.

KOPPEL: Uncle Sam is giving a tax break to dieters. We'll tell you about it. But first, a Kennedy cousin is on trial. Why it took more than 25 years to get him there.

And why were these guys trading punches at an airport?

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KOPPEL: Checking our "News Alert": Fighting continued today between Israeli troops and Palestinians. Palestinian security sources and hospital officials say at least a dozen Palestinians were killed. Many of the deaths occurred near the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem in the West Bank. Bethlehem's governor says many Palestinians have taken refuge in the holy site.

Aides to Yasser Arafat are rejecting an Israeli offer to let the Palestinian leader go into exile. Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon said troops surrounding Arafat's Ramallah headquarters would let Arafat leave if he got into a helicopter for a one-way ride out of the West Bank. Arafat aides say the Palestinian leader would rather die than go into exile.

The conflict spread to Orly Airport in Paris today when pro- Israeli and pro-Palestinian demonstrators exchanged insults and punches. The scuffle was touched off by the arrival of a French activist who was detained and deported by Israel after he met with Arafat. After a series of attacks on Jewish synagogues, French leaders said today their country must not become a battleground for Middle East passions.

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Jury selection is under way in Connecticut in the trial of Michael Skakel. A nephew of the late Robert F. Kennedy, he is accused of killing his neighbor, Martha Moxley, 26 years ago. Both were 15 years old at the time. If convicted, Skakel could face life in prison.

Let's go now to the courthouse in Norwalk, where CNN's Deborah Feyerick is monitoring developments there -- Deborah.

DEBORAH FEYERICK, CNN CORRESPONDENT: Well, Andrea, given that jury selection is expected to take a full month, things moved very quickly today, prosecutors and defense agreeing on two jurors.

One of them is an investment banker. The other is a woman who says she works in marketing, something to do with mortgages. Now, Michael Skakel left the court. His lawyer says he considers it a good day -- both the defense and prosecution raring to go.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

(voice-over): Cameras rolling, Kennedy cousin Michael Skakel arrived at a Connecticut court to face men and women, some who will decide his fate in the bludgeoning death of Martha Moxley in 1975, more than a quarter-century ago. Both Skakel and Moxley were 15 years old when she was murdered with a golf club. The judge asked the first round of potential jurors, in light of the

press coverage, if they could "set aside preconceived notions and render a verdict based solely on the evidence."

When introduced by the judge, Skakel stood, a tiny smile of greeting, his eyes scanning the group, before taking his seat again at the defense table with his lawyers.

MICKEY SHERMAN, ATTORNEY FOR SKAKEL: We just want people who can be fair to both sides, people who will wait until the end of the case before they make up their mind.

FEYERICK: The case gained national attention: the unsolved murder of a 15-year-old girl in one of Connecticut's most elite communities. Among the few suspects: a nephew of the late presidential candidate Senator Robert Kennedy. Defense lawyer Mickey Sherman repeatedly asked prospective jurors about the movie "12 Angry Men," the story of a jury who starts off believing a man is guilty only to find him innocent in the end. Prosecutor Jonathan Benedict asked jurors whether they could convict someone based on circumstantial evidence, striking this man after his reply.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Basically, I told him, after 27 years, I thought I would want a little bit more than circumstantial evidence.

FEYERICK: Prosecutors plan on calling 40 witnesses during the five-week trial; Skakel's lawyers about half that many.

Deborah Feyerick CNN, Norwalk, Connecticut.

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(END VIDEOTAPE)

KOPPEL: Joining us now with insight into the case is Tim Dumas, who has written two books on the subject.

And you were also the former managing editor of "The Greenwich News." Good evening.

I wanted to start by asking you why it has taken 26 years to get this case to begin to go on trial.

TIM DUMAS, AUTHOR: Well, one big reason was because they had the focus on the wrong guy. They had the focus on Michael's brother Tommy originally, and after that a tutor who moved into the Skakel house the night of the murder.

And Michael was essentially sequestered for many of those years in rehabilitation programs. So, he was sort of out of reach of the investigators.

KOPPEL: And so what turned the page there? What kind of evidence surfaced to make a difference?

DUMAS: Well, this is the curious thing about the case.

The Skakels actually did more damage than anybody to their own cause. It was the Skakels who hired a private investigator group called Sutton Associates to presumably dig up more dirt on the tutor. But the investigators did a real good job, it turns out, and very thorough, impartial. And the roads kept on leading back to the Skakel family and Michael Skakel in particular.



KOPPEL: You heard that juror, presumably in the courtroom -- actually, after he left the courtroom, saying that he felt that there was too much circumstantial evidence. How does it appear from your...

DUMAS: Yes, that's -- well, I think part of it is a misunderstanding about what circumstantial evidence is.

Circumstantial cases can be very strong cases. It is not absolutely, critically necessary all the time to have eyewitnesses and DNA evidence and everything else. Sometimes the pieces will fit together just right and you will be able to prove beyond a reasonable doubt, strictly through circumstantial evidence, what probably happened.

KOPPEL: You were in the courtroom. What was Michael Skakel's demeanor?

DUMAS: Michael seemed really confident today. In the past, he has sometimes seemed angry, swearing under his breath. Other times, he has broken down in tears. But today he seemed, at moments, close to jovial. There were a couple of jurors who weren't picked who he whispered words of thanks and encouragement to afterwards, saying, essentially, "You would have made a really good juror."

KOPPEL: Well, I know you've got weeks ahead of you, Tim Dumas, in Connecticut. Thank you so much for joining us this evening.

DUMAS: Thank you.

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KOPPEL: Also in our "Justice Files": a new theory, a new suspect in the almost 50-year-old mystery of who killed Marilyn Sheppard. Her husband, Dr. Sam Sheppard, was convicted and later acquitted. Now a former FBI agent says he believes Air Force Major James Cole (ph) committed the murder during a cross-country crime spree. Cole died in 1974.

In College Park, Maryland, home to the new NCAA basketball champs, some fans face a court date after last night's rowdy celebration. Police say 15 people, none of them students, were arrested for lighting bonfires, smashing windows, and throwing bottles.

In Bloomington, Indiana, about 40 people were hurt when disappointed Hoosier fans spilled into the streets. Couches were torched, street signs knocked over. About 30 people were arrested there.

It sounds like a simple task, yet America is failing at it. Coming up: where getting a good night's sleep is the most difficult. Can you believe it is snowing in April? Well, we will take you to a place where spring hasn't sprung yet. Later: why losing weight may help you save money on your taxes.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KOPPEL: Up in the frequently frigid state of Minnesota, winter can have a tendency to overstay its welcome. Well, that appears to be the case this year. Several inches of snow have fallen on the Gopher State, despite all of the calendars open to the page that says April.

Caroline Lowe of CNN affiliate of WCCO has a snow-and-tell report --



Caroline.

CAROLINE LOWE, WCCO REPORTER: It's unbelievable. We had an incredibly warm winter, so nothing really prepared us for this. And it began yesterday, a really cruel April fool's joke. We've had two days of snow, 300 accidents on our freeways in the past two days. A couple people were killed yesterday on the freeways.

Kids are supposed to be on spring break this week. Instead of playing in the ball fields, they are sledding. It's just very, very cold, but people are pretty good spirits. We talked with one woman today who was shoveling in her sandals wearing her Easter outfit. So people are trying to be upbeat about it, but it sure doesn't feel like spring, Andrea.

KOPPEL: Well, you are all known as the hearty Minnesotans, so let's hope spring arrives soon. Caroline Lowe, thanks so much.

As the saying goes, there is nothing like a good night's sleep. But new research shows fewer of us are getting one, on average snoozing less than seven hours a night.

Our medical correspondent, Dr. Sanjay Gupta, has been taking his own survey and joins us from CNN Center in Atlanta.

Well, I can tell you, I'm one of those that falls into the other category of getting less than seven hours.

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DR. SANJAY GUPTA, CNN MEDICAL CORRESPONDENT: I know. I think I am, too, Andrea.

And we actually decided to do our own informal survey. We will show some of the results of the poll you were talking about. But we are here in the CNN Center here in Atlanta. And we've just got a few folks we are going to ask about their sleep patterns.

Eddie right here -- Eddie, how are you sleeping? Are you sleeping OK? How many hours a night are you getting?

EDDIE: On average, I sleep about seven hours a night.

GUPTA: And is your quality of sleep pretty good, would you say?

EDDIE: Yes, I don't have any complaints. I'm from the San Francisco Bay area. And I'm resting pretty easy.

GUPTA: All right. All right.

Let's just walk around here and check with a few other folks.

Sir, how many hours of the night are you sleeping? Are you sleeping pretty regularly?

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Well, I have four kids. So, about six hours a night is a lot for me.

GUPTA: And what about last night? How did you sleep last night?

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Oh, I slept wonderful, eight hours, because I'm on a business trip.

GUPTA: Right.

Well, I'll tell you, both of these gentlemen are actually above average.

About 6.9 hours per night on weekdays is the average Americans get for sleep.

And 7.5 hours on weekends is the average they get.

And, interestingly enough, that actually varies across the country. If you actually look at the West, Mr. Wright (ph) we talked to is from California. If you look at the West compared to the Northeast, the numbers are quite a bit different. You actually have 7.2 hours on average in the West compared to 6.7 hours in the Northeast. And on the weekends, that difference is exacerbated even more: 7.7 hours in the West on the weekends, 7.3 in the Northeast -- quite a bit of difference between those two areas of the country, Andrea.

So, those are some of the early results from the poll study.

KOPPEL: So, does it break down at all by sex, whether it be men or women get more? How does that work?

GUPTA: Yes, this is actually fascinating.

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As a general rule, women actually get more sleep than men. But, since September 11, they actually asked people about whether or not they feel that they are insomniacs. And, strikingly, 78 percent of women since September 11 said they in fact were having insomnia. That's compared to 59 percent of men. So, a lot more women were having that problem compared to men. Just before September 11, the numbers hovered around 50 percent for both. So, certainly, since September, women have been much more affected in terms of their sleep.

KOPPEL: What about age? I know that some folks who are older say that they don't need as much sleep.

GUPTA: Right. And this is also interesting. What they found is that older people actually end up sleeping the same amount as other people. The difference is that they often sleep in chunks. So, they don't seem to sleep that long at night. Oftentimes, they are taking naps in the day.

They actually probably get less of the best kind of sleep, the sleep researchers tell us -- the best kind of sleep, known as non-REM sleep, where you don't have rapid eye movement. You're completely out, as they say. Your psychological restoration is occurring. Your tissues are being repaired when you sleep, all these sorts of things. They probably get less of that, even though they seem to sleep about the same amount.

KOPPEL: This is sort of an odd question, but what about the less you sleep, the more likely you are to pass away at a younger age? Is there anything to that?

GUPTA: You know, there was a very interesting study out of Buffalo. This was just about a month ago now. And what they said, actually, was that the more you sleep, the higher your mortality. And they were trying to actually link more hours of sleep to increased death rates.

Actually, I had a few concerns about that study. And it sounds like you did, too. But a lot of people who end up sleeping a lot oftentimes have other medical problems, such as heart disease, such as sleep apnea, such as diabetes. So, in fact, it's the fact that they have those problems that is causing them to sleep more. And, thus, they are dying early, not so much that sleep itself leads to increased death rates.

KOPPEL: OK, I can't let you go without asking you: How many hours of sleep do you get a night?

GUPTA: Well, I tell you, I should probably get more. But I typically sleep about 5.5, six hours a night, trying to stay busy. And on the weekends, I usually sleep in a little bit more than that.

KOPPEL: Yes, me too. Thanks so much, Dr. Sanjay Gupta, joining us from Atlanta.

Our "Web Question of the Day": "How many hours of sleep you do get in a night?" Vote at [CNN.com/Wolf](http://CNN.com/Wolf). While you're there, let us know what you are thinking. There is a "Click Here" icon on the left side of Wolf's Web page. Send us your comments and we will read some of them on the air each day.

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A tax tip: The new tax man now says you can claim certain diets as a medical deduction if it is under a doctor's supervision. The IRS recognizes obesity as an accepted disease. Not deductible, though, is the amount you spend on diet foods. The IRS figures you have to eat no matter what. The ruling applies to tax returns as far back as 1998.

How would you like to buy a bedroom on a floating condo? The prices are steep, but the rich are saving in other ways. We will tell you how.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KOPPEL: Earlier we asked: Which vessel currently in operation is the world's longest cruise ship: the Carnival Triumph, the SS Norway, the Disney Magic, or the Voyager of the Seas? The answer is the SS Norway, measures 1,035 feet. Next year, the Queen Mary II will set sail, eclipsing the SS Norway as the world's longest ship. It will be almost 100 feet longer than the current record holder.

Most modern cruise ships are virtual floating cities, complete with restaurants, shops, theaters and even casinos. Now there's a new luxury liner with one more amenity: permanent homes. Oceangoing homes aren't cheap, of course, but many residents can use their waterlogged addresses to avoid taxes. CNN's Richard Quest has decided to take a look in Hamburg, Germany.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

RICHARD QUEST, CNN CORRESPONDENT: Imagine a home where the view changes almost every day of the year. Now imagine living aboard the world's latest luxury liner, the World, because that's what over 110 people are buying into when they buy one of the apartments on board.

With prices from \$2.3 million to \$7.5 million, these are the homes for the world's seriously rich. And this is the itinerary that will tell them where they are going. There's some 250 destinations over the next 12 months. And it's a veritable who's-who or what's- where of the world's beauty destinations: Brazil for Carnival, the coast lines of the United States, Chile. Or how about down to Monte Carlo? And, in all these places, you will be there in time for the big event: the Monaco Grand Prix; the film festival in Cannes.

Overall, the people who have bought into this are buying into a dream. And many of them have had to have leaps of faith. It took five years to get this thing off the drawing board. And, when all is said and done, well, you have still got to pay your annual maintenance charges. And that can be up to \$100,000 a year.

So, perhaps, for the likes of me, the only way we get on board, well, it'll be in one of the guest suites. And then you better be prepared to pay \$1,000 a day -- Andrea, back to you with the checkbook.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

KOPPEL: I'm not going to be writing a check anytime soon.

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Here's some of today's other international news: The body of Britain's queen mother has been moved to London. The coffin will remain in the Chapel of St. James Palace until Friday when it will be taken to Westminster Hall and the Houses of Parliament. Her funeral will be held April 9 at Westminster Abbey. Two men convicted in connection with a deadly Dutch fireworks explosion two years ago have been freed. A court in the Netherlands convicted the men of importing and selling illegal fireworks and violating a safety code. But because the men had already spent three months in jail awaiting trial, they have been released from custody.

Let's go to New York now and get a preview of "LOU DOBBS MONEYLINE," which begins at the top of the hour -- Lou, what do you have for us tonight?

LOU DOBBS, "LOU DOBBS MONEYLINE": Andrea, thank you.

Yasser Arafat under siege tonight: We will have the latest for you from the Middle East. Senator George Mitchell will be here to talk about the prospects for ending this conflict. Also an important victory for the station's television broadcasters, but it could mean a very big defeat for viewers. And money in politics: We know about the millions spent by Enron and Andersen lobbying Congress, but wait until you see how much the accounting industry itself spent to buy influence in Washington.

That story and a lot more coming up in the next hour -- back to you, Andrea.

KOPPEL: Look forward to it. Thanks, Lou.

In a moment, the result of our "Web "Question of the Day": "How many hours of sleep do you get in a night?" And your thoughts on Israel's exile offer to Yasser Arafat.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KOPPEL: This just in to CNN: A Navy pilot was killed and three other flyers were injured a couple of hours ago in a flight training accident at the Naval air station at Patuxent River, Maryland, that according to the Navy. Details on the accident aren't clear, but officials say it involved two contractor-owned Extra 300Ls.

Our "Web Question of the Day": "How many hours of sleep do you get in a night?" Most of you said six hours. The runner-up was seven hours. Remember, this poll is not scientific.

Time to hear from you: Debate rages over the status of Yasser Arafat.

Larry writes: "Whether it is through martyrdom or exile, Arafat needs to be silenced. With Arafat removed, the peace process may have a chance to move forward."

But Joe says: "Sharon offering Arafat exile is a travesty. Sharon should be given a one-way ticket. He seems to have no interest in the actual settling of the conflict."

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And that's all we have left tonight. I'm Andrea Koppel, in for Wolf Blitzer in Washington. "LOU DOBBS MONEYLINE" begins right now. TO ORDER A VIDEO OF THIS

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MSNBC

SHOW: HARDBALL 19:00

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HEADLINE: Israeli Raids Leave 30 Palestinians Dead

BYLINE: Chris Matthews; Dana Lewis; Pete Williams

GUESTS: Tom Rose; Christopher Whitcomb; Bill Gertz; Frank Gaffney; John Pike;

Jessica Mathews; Michael Ledeen; Benjamin Netanyahu; Nasser El-Kidwa

HIGHLIGHT:

Under the cover of darkness, the Israelis roared into Ramallah, over 150 tanks and hundreds of soldiers, this crack down on Palestinian resistance is Israel's biggest military operation in 20 years. Since September 11, the system for warning of potential terror attacks has been a simple one: all or nothing, but today Homeland Security Director Tom Ridge introduced a new security alertness system. Chris Matthews discusses the current military and political situation in Israel and the West Bank with journalist Tom Rose.

BODY:

THIS IS A RUSH TRANSCRIPT. THIS COPY MAY NOT BE IN ITS FINAL FORM AND MAY BE UPDATED.

CHRIS MATTHEWS, HOST, HARDBALL: America's hawkish new nuclear strategy: Is the Bush administration raising the risk of nuclear war? The largest Israeli military offensive in two decades: What can it accomplish? And Jordan's king warns Vice President Cheney that a U.S. attack on Iraq will have dangerous repercussions.

I'm Chris Matthews. Let's play HARDBALL.

Here's what's happening tonight. The largest Israeli military operation in two decades continues, leaving over 30 dead in raids on Palestinian towns and refugee camps. Seven Israelis were also killed today in terror attacks. Vice President Dick Cheney arrives in Jordan, the first stop in his mission to win over Arab allies for a possible attack on Iraq. Homeland security director Tom

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Ridge announced a new color-coded alert system to describe the threat of terrorist attack on Americans. And the "Washington Times" reports new evidence that an American pilot shot down during the Persian Gulf war may still alive inside Iraq.

Those headlines, plus the big story tonight: America's hawkish new nuclear strategy. Why is the Bush administration considering the use of nuclear weapons to defend South Korea, Taiwan and Israel? And the HARDBALL debate tonight: From nuclear weapons to a potential war with Iraq, the U.S. is increasingly going it alone. Is this bold leadership or just recklessness? And former Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu is going to be here, as well as the PLO's representative to the United Nations.

We begin with this report on the latest fighting in the Middle East from NBC News correspondent Dana Lewis.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

DANA LEWIS, NBC CORRESPONDENT (voice-over): Under the cover of darkness, the Israelis roared into Ramallah, over 150 tanks and hundreds of soldiers, the push part of Israel's biggest military operation in 20 years. Tanks destroyed almost anything in their path, the crackdown aimed not only at sweeping up weapons and destroying bomb factories but a roundup of suspected terrorists. In the last



week, the Israelis have arrested more than 2,000 Palestinian men on the West Bank and Gaza. Today the Israelis were met with little resistance in Ramallah, the Palestinians armed mostly with automatic rifles, no match for Israeli armor. UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Nobody sleep. Everybody scared. We don't have weapons like Israelis.

LEWIS (on camera): For the last 24 hours, Ramallah has been a ghost town. Nobody has been coming out of these buildings. The only one outside, masked Palestinian gunmen, who at times have been exchanging fire with the Israelis. (voice-over): And in the town's main square a grisly scene, a man hanged by fellow Palestinians, accused of cooperating with the Israelis. But the Israelis encountered fierce fighting in their second prong of today's operation, their assault on a Gaza refugee camp, 18 Palestinians killed, 75 wounded. They vowed revenge as the home of a Palestinian who carried out an attack on a Tel Aviv restaurant last week was flattened.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: This is definitely going to bring about further Palestinian violence response.

LEWIS: But the Israelis say Prime Minister Sharon hasn't been tough enough. Last night, 50,000 people demanded he take a heavier hand.

LESLIE SUSSER, ISRAELI ANALYST: Sharon realizes that unless he's able to contain terror, then his government and his premiership don't have long to last. They won't last long.

LEWIS: And more pressure on Sharon. U.S. special envoy Anthony Zinni is due here in two days to try for a cease-fire. It will be a daunting mission. Just late this afternoon, Palestinians disguised in Israeli uniforms opened fire on  
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passing motorists, killing six Israelis.  
Dana Lewis, NBC News, Ramallah.  
(END VIDEOTAPE)

MATTHEWS: For more on the Middle East troubles, we're joined from Jerusalem by Tom Rose of the "Jerusalem Post."

Tom, what do you think these Israeli raids that cost the lives of more than 30 Palestinians today are accomplishing for Israel?

TOM ROSE, "JERUSALEM POST": Well, they're accomplishing something that, frankly, has been lacking here for a year and a half, and that's resolve to confront the nature of our enemy, which, frankly, seeks our destruction each and every day. These operations have shown Israelis that while our leadership may be inarticulate and indecisive at times, our army is behaving magnificently and very effectively in rooting out terrorist infrastructure. They've confiscated tens of thousands of weapons, hundreds of missiles and rockets. And it shows the Palestinians that while, again, our leadership may sometimes not be terribly effective at communicating a message, the Israeli people are resolved and united, that this is a fight to the finish, we're fighting for our lives, our



homes, and we're going to win.

MATTHEWS: Right. Don't we have a real problem here on both sides that these two old men in their mid-70s, Arafat and Sharon, don't really have a vision, that Sharon really thinks we ought to get -- Israel ought to get Judea and Samaria back, the West Bank, a greater Israel, and Arafat really wants to destroy Israel, as he always wanted to? These two guys are locked in the past and they can't see their way to a compromise.

ROSE: Well, I think...

MATTHEWS: Isn't it a -- isn't it a problem they're just too old? Isn't that the problem? They're just too old. They've been around too damn long, and they don't know how to make a peace treaty because they're afraid of getting knocked off or whatever, and Sharon's just too angry to cut a deal?

ROSE: I don't know. I certainly think the characterization of Arafat is correct. I don't think age is the motivating factor that debilitates Sharon or in any way weakens him. But we've got a guy who -- who's used to fighting military battles and has a really hard time with diplomacy, needless to say.

MATTHEWS: Right.

ROSE: The whole situation...

MATTHEWS: Well, so does Arafat have a problem with keeping deals. I mean, both these guys seem to be...

ROSE: Yeah, well...

MATTHEWS: They should have -- they're past retirement age, aren't they, these two guys? I mean, let's be honest about it.

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ROSE: Well, Arafat...

MATTHEWS: They don't see the future because they don't have much future. That is the problem with these two guys.

ROSE: Well, I think that...

MATTHEWS: They're not the right men, are they?

ROSE: Well, and I think you're going to see a change or you will see a change at some point here in Israel. We are a democracy, and the government, frankly, is having trouble surviving. The problem with, I think, the current Israeli administration is it's having a real tough time biting the bullet and making the decision that for this region to move forward, there has got to be a regime change on the Palestinian side. Unfortunately, the result has been that we've given Arafat all the benefit...

MATTHEWS: Right.

ROSE: ... of martyrdom...

MATTHEWS: You've made him -- you've made him...

ROSE: ... all the benefits of martyrdom...

MATTHEWS: ... popular, Tom.

ROSE: ... without...

MATTHEWS: He's more popular today on the Arab side than he's ever been. Right?

ROSE: Right. I think, frankly -- I think it's been a silly policy. Again, we've kind of given him all the benefits of martyrdom without making him pay the price. We continually immunize him. And again, as recently as today, say we say we're not targeting his regime, so there's really no price for him, no cost for him...

MATTHEWS: OK...

ROSE: ... to stop the violence. I think that's...

MATTHEWS: Tom, how does it feel...

ROSE: ... a mistake, and it'll change.

MATTHEWS: ... to be under America's nuclear umbrella, all of a sudden? Did you read the latest reports on the Pentagon? You're in our nuclear umbrella now. We're taking care of you. How does it make Israel feel?

ROSE: Well, you know, us -- it makes us feel good. You know, Chris, us out here in the rogue democracies, we all -- we all have to stick together.

MATTHEWS: OK, thank you very much, Tom Rose, for embracing our nuclear  
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umbrella. More on the nuclear umbrella later.

After a stop in Britain, Vice President Dick Cheney has arrived in Jordan for the first leg of his Middle East tour. Cheney met with Jordan's King Abdullah, who warned a U.S. attack on Iraq could have dangerous repercussions for the region. Cheney had this to say to reporters.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

RICHARD CHENEY, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: President Bush has asked

me to come to the Middle East to confer with regional leaders on issues of great importance, especially our cooperative efforts in fighting the threat of global terror and our determination to promote Arab-Israeli peace and reconciliation. We will confer, as well, about other challenges to regional security and the threat that weapons of mass destruction pose to all of us.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

MATTHEWS: Here at home, homeland security director Tom Ridge has announced a new system for describing the risk of terrorist attack. NBC News justice correspondent Pete Williams has more.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

PETE WILLIAMS, NBC CORRESPONDENT (voice-over): Since September 11, the system for warning of potential terror attacks has been a simple one: all or nothing.

JOHN ASHCROFT, ATTORNEY GENERAL: We have notified law enforcement to continue on highest alert, to remain extremely vigilant.

WILLIAMS: But after hearing from cities nationwide that it's too vague, the homeland security director today proposed a new sliding scale for terror

warnings, with recommended responses.

TOM RIDGE, HOMELAND SECURITY DIRECTOR: It provides a common vocabulary, so officials from all levels of government can communicate easily with one other and to the public.

WILLIAMS: Condition Green, the lowest level of terror attacks; next highest, Blue, guarded condition, general risk. Then comes elevated condition, or Yellow, a significant risk of attack. The U.S. is at this level now, Ridge says. Yellow would bring more surveillance at critical locations. Orange would signify a high risk of terrorist attack. Public events would face increased security, restricted access at public and private buildings. The highest level of alert, Red, severe risk of attack. Airports and subways could be shut down, public and government buildings closed, responding the way the nation did on September 11. The government hopes the warnings will work like severe weather advisories.

UNIDENTIFIED METEOROLOGIST: Now a tornado warning out. Tornado warning in effect until 5:30 for the District of Columbia.

WILLIAMS (on camera): And they could be issued nationally, or just for limited areas. Across the nation, officials who run the nation's local police response centers, like this one in Washington, D.C., say the plan seems sound

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but they have many questions. For example, how will they be notified?

KEN MAYFIELD, DALLAS COUNTY, TEXAS, COMMISSIONER: We want to make sure the communication gets through. And there will probably be several means of communicating that, but it's not unheard-of that people might try to disrupt communications avenues.

WILLIAMS (voice-over): And mayors in large cities and small towns say they now face a challenge of their own: what to tell their citizens to do as threats change.

MAYOR PAT MCCRORY, CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA: We're going to have to determine at what -- if a certain level of alert comes out, should our citizens still go to work?

WILLIAMS: Questions to be worked out in the coming four months, before the system formally goes into effect.

Pete Williams, NBC News, Washington.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

MATTHEWS: For more on the new alert system, we're joined by former FBI agent Christopher Whitcomb. He's author of "Cold Zero."

Chris, let me ask you this. What difference is this thing going to make, all these different colors here?

CHRISTOPHER WHITCOMB, FORMER FBI AGENT: It's not, Chris. You know, I really thought, going into the press conference this morning, we were going to come out with something substantive, something solid that we could show the American people and say, "This is what you do if the threat reaches a certain level."

They come out with five colors, really three effective, because we're never going to go below yellow, where we are right now. We're never going to go into blue...

MATTHEWS: But what happens when...

WHITCOMB: ... or green.

MATTHEWS: ... "Guarded," the blue one turns up bingo that night? What happens when...

WHITCOMB: Yeah, you know...

MATTHEWS: ... we have a terrorist attack following a blue warning, or we have a green warning and it turns out a disaster, or we get a severe warning and nothing happens?

WHITCOMB: Well, look, we're right back where we started. The big criticism from the beginning has been what do people do with these warnings?

MATTHEWS: Right.

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WHITCOMB: Not do they have colors, how do they assess them. This isn't rocket science. In the 1950s, the government came out with a civil defense program...

MATTHEWS: right. Let me give you an example...

WHITCOMB: ... that was pretty -- and it worked.

MATTHEWS: They give us -- they give us a blue warning about the Golden Gate Bridge in San Francisco. Does that mean drive less frequently on the bridge? Does it mean to drive slower?

WHITCOMB: Right.

MATTHEWS: Does it mean to keep your eyes open for a bomb? I mean, it seems like it's useless information.

WHITCOMB: Look, I heard Governor Ridge say something very important. He said, "We're going to go back to these committees and we're going to say 'How do we come up with plans for what to do in the event of these different warnings'"...

MATTHEWS: Right.

WHITCOMB: ... these alerts? Why don't they come out with the plan first, and then announce the warnings? Right now, people are saying, "Yes, OK. We know how to be afraid. We know how to react once the government comes out with these warnings," but we have to...

MATTHEWS: See, where you do have good warning...

(CROSSTALK)

MATTHEWS: We have great warnings today. They have offshore warnings, "Don't go out in your boat today," so you don't go out in your boat today.

WHITCOMB: Right. Right. But you know what to do.

MATTHEWS: It's dangerous to -- and you also know what to do. We have bad air conditions so people don't go jogging when the weather's -- when the air is terrible out there. Those are actionable bits of information. What do you do with this information?

WHITCOMB: Nothing, and that's the point. And I think that's where Governor Ridge has to go with this thing. If they want to come up an alert process, an alert system, come up with a response for people. And you know, they talked before about the tornado warning system, Pete just talked about. The warning system for tornadoes has evacuation plans. It has an air raid siren alert program. It has a civil defense network on radios and television, where you can turn for information. That's what they need to accompany this program. And that's what I think they're trying to put together, but they haven't gotten there yet.

MATTHEWS: We're going to get these -- do you have a sense, based upon today's press conference, that we're going to get these color-coded bits of information ourselves? In other words, will an American who gets up in the morning be able

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to look and check with a Web site or with his local news or whatever, cable, and find out what the color is of the day and whether it's going to be -- it's like reading your horoscope? Is this a good day to go outside, a bad day?

WHITCOMB: Look, you look at the MSNBC screen, there's enough news on there already...

(LAUGHTER)

WHITCOMB: ... the Dow Jones Industrials...

MATTHEWS: More!

WHITCOMB: ... the tag lines at the bottom...

MATTHEWS: No.

WHITCOMB: ... the weather. What are we going to have, a color alert for the terrorism threat of the day? It really doesn't make a lot of sense. Law enforcement wants to know how are they going to get the information.

MATTHEWS: Right.

WHITCOMB: Is it going to come out through inlets? Have they gone to the heads of the networks and said, "These are the plans for issuing these alerts"?

There's a lot of information that hasn't fallen in yet.

MATTHEWS: Well, we obviously have a long learning curve...

WHITCOMB: Right.

MATTHEWS: ... in this country, how to deal with terrorism. Thank you once again, Chris Whitcomb.

A troubling story now reported in the "Washington Times" today. Reporter Bill Gertz writes, quote, "U.S. intelligence agencies have obtained new information indicating Iraq is holding captive a U.S. Navy pilot shot down during the Persian Gulf war. The pilot is Lieutenant Commander Michael Scott Speicher, whose plane went down in 1991 and was declared killed in action at the time. His status has since been changed to missing in action.

Bill Gertz joins us now. What's the significance of that change of status? Is he truly alive and missing or just simply unaccounted for?

BILL GERTZ, "WASHINGTON TIMES": Well, we don't know at this point, and that's really the story here. There's intelligence information that's coming out of Iraq that indicates that Saddam Hussein is holding an American pilot. The State Department said yesterday they were going after -- asking Iraq to explain this. And obviously, the Iraqis were not very forthcoming.

MATTHEWS: Besides sadism, which doesn't look beyond the looks of this guy here, what do you make of his motive?

GERTZ: I think you hit it. I think if there's a pilot there, this is a trophy  
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for Saddam Hussein.

MATTHEWS: Who's he showing it to?

GERTZ: Well, he's showing it to himself, like a -- like a head on the wall. You know, they say that, "Well, why didn't he come out and use this for propaganda?"

MATTHEWS: Yeah.

GERTZ: Well, he held an Iranian pilot for 17 years, all the while he was denying that he held any Iranians.

MATTHEWS: He's a sicko.

GERTZ: It looks that way. And like I say, the important thing is we have to find out what happened to this guy because this is the only guy we left behind from '91. We've got Iraq now as one of the key "axis of evil." This is a big story. I think there's more to it.

MATTHEWS: This seems to be one more missing persons case for us. In other words, we've got to find him. We've got to find Osama bin Laden. We've got to find Mullah Omar. Our human intelligence, as you pointed out and a lot of other people -- is not that good. We don't have many Arabic-speaking people floating around through the high levels of government of Iraq.

GERTZ: Very few. This is a real shortcoming of U.S. intelligence. They don't have people on the ground that can find out these intentions, this inside information. We're too reliant on technical systems. And I know they're working to improve it, but they got a long way to go.

MATTHEWS: Let me play devil's advocate. What are the chances that this could be another one of those POW cases out of Vietnam, where you hope someone's alive so much that you begin to believe it, against all evidence or without any evidence? Is it possible it's one of those cases?

GERTZ: You know, I'm wary of POW stories, but this one really jumped out at me because the bottom line is the Pentagon screwed up. This was the first time in history that they've ever changed the status of a KIA to missing in action.

MATTHEWS: And they did it based upon -- they changed it to the missing in action because?

GERTZ: Well, there was a string of events. First they thought the plane broke up in the air. Then they found the plane. Then they found the canopy yards away



from it, indicating he ejected.

MATTHEWS: But no sight of a chute opening, right? No sighting.

GERTZ: No. No. Well, it was nighttime.

MATTHEWS: Yeah.

GERTZ: Then the other thing, in 1999, an Iraqi defector came out and said he

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had driven a pilot to Baghdad to turn him over to authorities in '99.

MATTHEWS: Well...

GERTZ: Now we've got more reports...

MATTHEWS: OK...

GERTZ: ... from inside Iraq.

MATTHEWS: That's a lot of stuff. Thank you very much. Great report again -- Bill Gertz of the "Washington Times."

Those are the headlines tonight, but the big story coming back: America's new nuclear strategy. Is the Bush administration heightening the risk of nuclear war? And later: America's new role in the world from that nuclear strategy to Iraq. Is America a leader or a reckless rogue? And former Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu's going to be here, along with the PLO representative to the United Nations.

You're watching HARDBALL.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

MATTHEWS: The big story tonight, America's hawkish new nuclear strategy. A new Pentagon report considers the use of nuclear weapons against Russia, China, North Korea, Iraq, Iran, Syria and Libya, even in scenarios where America's not directly attacked.

Today "The New York Times" argues in its lead editorial, "If another country were planning to develop a new nuclear weapon and contemplating preemptive strikes against a list of non-nuclear powers, Washington would rightly label that nation a dangerous rogue state."

Frank Gaffney is with the Center for Security Policy, and John Pike is with Globalsecurity.org. Thank you for joining us, very much, John.

Frank, how do you read this new strategy, in terms of the use of nuclear weapons by the United States, this new posture, it's called?

FRANK GAFFNEY, CENTER FOR SECURITY POLICY: I think it's a posture statement by adults. It's a plan for reversing some of the disconnects that the Clinton administration adopted, specifically, at one moment saying we have a nuclear deterrent and it's good to keep us defended against things like missile attack, and on the other, engaged in a systematic practice of what's called by the president himself de-nuclearization.

This is an approach that says, "We're going to think about the kinds of weapons we might need to use. We don't want to. We hope we don't have to, but we're going to think seriously about what might be involved. And we're going to

make sure that we've got those, that they're ready, that they're reliable, that they're safe and that the infrastructure to make sure all that's possible is in place, as well."

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MATTHEWS: John, can you foresee any circumstance in which the United States should be the first user of weapons of mass destruction?

JOHN PIKE, DIRECTOR, GLOBALSECURITY.ORG: I think it's very difficult to see a situation in which the United States is going to launch a nuclear sneak attack.

And that's really what we're talking about, with developing some of these weapons. And this particular posture view is that the United States would be the first to launch the attack, sort of the way the Japanese did at Pearl Harbor. I don't think any American president is going to...

MATTHEWS: To push the nuclear button.

PIKE: Before the war has started.

MATTHEWS: Can you imagine any scenario -- and if not, why are we even talking about it? -- where a president would push the nuclear button before another country did it to us?

GAFFNEY: Oh, certainly.

MATTHEWS: When?

GAFFNEY: I think in a circumstance in which he had...

MATTHEWS: Give me some (UNINTELLIGIBLE)

GAFFNEY: ... in which he had reason to believe we were about to be attacked with a nuclear weapon, or perhaps even with a chemical or biological weapon. If he had that information, the president should have the option to pre-empt that attack...

MATTHEWS: Frank, this document...

GAFFNEY: ... and that's the key point here.

MATTHEWS: ... goes well beyond that.

GAFFNEY: That is the key point. No, it doesn't!

MATTHEWS: It says that we...

GAFFNEY: Chris, you haven't seen it!

MATTHEWS: ... could use...

GAFFNEY: And I haven't seen it.

MATTHEWS: We have seen it quoted in major newspapers...

GAFFNEY: We're seeing reports...

MATTHEWS: ... the "L.A. Times," "The New York Times"...

GAFFNEY: ... that are selective quotes.

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MATTHEWS: We have quotes that say...

GAFFNEY: Selective quotes.

MATTHEWS: Let's talk about those selective quotes.

GAFFNEY: OK.

MATTHEWS: That in the case of an Iraqi attack on one of its neighbors or on Israel, in the case of a North Korean attack on South Korea, in the case of a Chinese attack on Taiwan -- in those scenarios, can you imagine us using nuclear weapons?

GAFFNEY: I would like the president to have the option. I don't know that he would ever exercise that option, but this is about giving him the option. And there are things that may be worse, Chris, even for our national security, than having a nuclear detonation someplace in one of these rogue countries. That is an option the president may exercise...

MATTHEWS: How can we tell third-world countries, John and Frank, that they should not develop a nuclear potential while aiming our nuclear weapons at them and saying, "If you do anything we don't like, like attack one of your neighbors, we're going to use nuclear weapons against you"?

PIKE: Well, this is exactly the problem. I think that the problem is actually worse than that because, basically, what the administration is trying to do here -- and unfortunately, what the Clinton administration was also doing, it just wasn't as publicized -- was trying to make nuclear weapons more usable, to make them something that would be used earlier in the war, which I think, frankly, is completely backwards because it's the United States that has the conventional superiority. And as long as we can keep the war conventional and non-nuclear, we're going to win it. And that's the reason that these other countries are thinking about getting the bomb, to offset our conventional superiority. And so for us to say "Use the bomb. That's just another weapon"...

MATTHEWS: You know, I'm going to suggest an idea...

(CROSSTALK)

MATTHEWS: Suppose we have Armageddon. Not Armageddon, but limited regional Armageddon. Suppose Iraq attacks Israel with some kind of a weapon of nuclear, biological or chemical variety, and they wreak havoc in Tel Aviv or Jerusalem. Or they go after Iran again or they go after Kuwait again. In the case we simply want a punitive attack on that country, why even then would we go nuclear, if we're just going to punish a country for what it's done, when that raises the question of us going to war with Arabia with nuclear weapons and creating an unforgivable situation historically? Doesn't it create -- what -- why would an Arab country of any kind ever forgive us for using a nuclear weapon against another Arab country?

GAFFNEY: I'm not sure...

MATTHEWS: I don't think they're as forgiving as the Japanese. I don't think they're going to do it.

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GAFFNEY: May I respond?

MATTHEWS: Sure.

GAFFNEY: I'm not sure we would. But the question of whether the president should have the option to do that, whether somebody should have thought this through and should have ensured he has the capability, for whatever reason...

MATTHEWS: Right.

GAFFNEY: ... under circumstances we can't anticipate right now, he decides he needs to, I think that's a good, sensible, responsible and adult thing to do.

But the question you've asked is an important one. I don't believe that the problem here is that rogue states have nuclear weapons. It's that they're rogue states. That's what has to be fixed. We don't have objections -- I don't, at least, have objections to democracies having nuclear weapons or, for that matter, other means of deterring attacks upon us.

MATTHEWS: Margaret Thatcher...

GAFFNEY: That's an important different!

MATTHEWS: ... a great woman, pointed out that the reason we did not have a third world war is because of nuclear weapons.

GAFFNEY: I agree.

MATTHEWS: Because mutually assured destruction really did work at that point.

Neither us or the Soviets or the Chinese, when they got in the game, were willing to attack the other country for fear of retaliation. Once we start lobbing nuclear weapons in any direction, because we think we can use that tactical advantage in that situation, what's to stop the world from resorting to nuclear weapons as a standard means of warfare?

PIKE: The United States is the country that has the most to lose. The United States has the greatest cities. We have the most targets. And you look around at some of these other countries -- I mean, the big problem that you have in targeting some of these other countries is there's just not that much stuff to blow up. The United States is the status quo power. We're...

MATTHEWS: Well, unless we're pre-emptively...

GAFFNEY: ... the ones who are vulnerable.

MATTHEWS: ... striking a bunker, a deep cache of chemical or biological...

(CROSSTALK)

GAFFNEY: ... survivability may be what is causing a Saddam Hussein, for example, to act in an aggressive fashion against us or our interests. The question is not do we want to start nuclear wars.

MATTHEWS: Right.

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GAFFNEY: We don't. The Bush administration doesn't. And this plan isn't about that. It is about preventing other people from engaging...

MATTHEWS: Let me -- let me...

GAFFNEY: ... in acts of aggression against us.

(CROSSTALK)

MATTHEWS: ... historians in this area, and experts. Has the United States

ever, until this weekend, when the stories leaked, ever threatened to use nuclear weapons against North Korea, against China, or against Iraq or any other Arab country? Have we ever made this threat before, as a contingency, so-called? John?

PIKE: Against Iraq, yes.

MATTHEWS: We threatened them with nuclear weapons.

PIKE: In the Gulf war. Against North Korea, yes. Against Syria? I have the greatest difficulty imagining how we could get into a war against Syria, much less in a situation in which nuclear weapons...

MATTHEWS: Can you imagine us in a war with Syria?

GAFFNEY: I wouldn't want the president's options to be foreclosed on the basis of his limited imagination. I think we need...

MATTHEWS: What, do you think...

(CROSSTALK)

GAFFNEY: No, the ones we have to worry about are the rogue states. That's what this plan is designed to illuminate...

MATTHEWS: Well, I'm fearful we might...

(CROSSTALK)

MATTHEWS: Anyway, thank you...

GAFFNEY: Wrong!

MATTHEWS: ... Frank Gaffney. You're always recognizable here and always smart to be here. John Pike, thank you for joining us.

Up next, the HARDBALL debate: From the Pentagon's nuclear strategy we just talked about to President Bush's "axis of evil" statements, is America a leader or a reckless rogue state, as some might call us? Plus, former Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu comes here, as does the chief PLO observer to the United Nations, as the Middle East nears the boiling point.

You're watching HARDBALL.

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(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

MATTHEWS: Welcome back to HARDBALL.

This half hour, former Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu responds to charges that his country is morally repugnant in its struggle against the Palestinians.

But first: From the axis of evil to the new Pentagon recommendation to expand the potential scenarios in which nuclear weapons should be used, is America's willingness to go it alone on issues of foreign policy a sign of leadership or recklessness?

Michael Ledeen is with the American Enterprise Institute and Jessica Mathews is president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

You're first, Jessica.

The United States has sent a lot of signals in the last couple of weeks.

Clearly, we have got our own axis of evil, but the Europeans don't generally share in that view. The Arabs don't share in that view. We're now making it clear that we're thinking of using nuclear weapons for tactical reasons, perhaps to knock out caches of nuclear or even biological or chemical weapons in Third World countries.

What do you make of our policy overall? What are we sending the message here?

JESSICA MATHEWS, CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE: That we think we

can manage our security better alone than with anybody else. It's a piece of folly. All of history says it's folly. It's the disease that has overtaken every other hegemon in history, which is...

MATTHEWS: Well, do people at the Pentagon who write up these programs and develop them as contingencies and have them leaked -- or whoever leaks them probably doesn't like these programs -- do they know that they send these signals to other countries that we don't give a darn about their views and that we might just want to go lob a nuclear weapon at somebody, even if they don't agree?

MATHEWS: I think you've put your finger on something very important, which is, part of this disease is losing the capacity to see ourselves as others see us. And we have, for so long, used a double standard in thinking about weapons. That is, we only measure capabilities. We don't think about intent. We don't think about what might motivate these people to use them, what might motivate them to get them.

We start to treat them as cardboard figures and forget that there are political costs.

MATTHEWS: Michael Ledeen?

MICHAEL LEDEEN, AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE: Well, I don't see the world that way at all.

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I think that, when the Afghan war started, we went to all our allies and we said: "Look, we're going to do this. We'd love to have you join us. We don't really need you in order to do it," which is the fact. And they all said, "Oh, no, no, no, no, we want to participate." And a huge number of countries jumped on board and participated. And I think Iraq will be the same thing.

I think that, when we go to them clearly and say, "This is what we're going to do; we don't especially need you, but we'd love to have you participate and we would like to do it as part of an alliance," they will join us.

MATTHEWS: Well, put it together. We're identifying three countries out there as the axis of evil, including North Korea, Iran, and Iraq. And we're also throwing in Syria and Libya as countries who we might shoot a nuclear weapon at. Doesn't that concern the British? I think they're somewhat sensitive to nuclear weaponry in Britain over the years.



And I would expect that the other European powers are going to say: "What are you guys up to? First of all, you're name-calling and then you're talking about targeting these people with nuclear weapons for tactical reasons. You don't like their weapons supply. You don't like what they're doing in science or development. And you just lob something at them that blows up half their country?"

LEDEEN: I'm not an expert on nuclear weapons, so I really can't speak to that.

MATTHEWS: What, do you think they are weapons that don't blow up countries?

LEDEEN: No, they certainly do. But I don't know the circumstances under which it is being used. I don't know if this is a special program or whether it's part of just a routine evaluation of nuclear doctrine and so forth.

MATTHEWS: How do you think this is selling in Japan right now? Do you think the Japanese are even -- are sanguine about the possibility of the United States once again using a nuclear...

LEDEEN: Well, can I speak on what I do know about? I'm happy to talk what I do know about.

MATTHEWS: Sure.

LEDEEN: I'm really reluctant to talk about things that I don't know about. It's a funny position, I understand.

But what I do believe is that the British do want to join with us and go after Iraq. And I think most of Europe wants to do it, too. They don't want to get in front. And they want to wait until they see that it's absolutely serious and they can see a strategy that they can sign on to.

The issue of what kinds of weapons and what kind of troops and when and where and how and the wherefores of it all, that remains to be defined. And they will have a role in that.

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MATTHEWS: Do you see a cosmic, fundamental difference between nuclear and nonnuclear?

LEDEEN: I do, yes.

MATHEWS: Yes, of course.

Here's the perfect example. The IAEA, the International Atomic Energy Agency, estimates that there are 70 countries around the world with the technical ability to make nuclear weapons. OK? We have nine nuclear weapon states. What's the difference? The difference is a norm that's built on the Nonproliferation Treaty, which, among other things, says we won't attack nonnuclear states that don't use weapons of mass destruction.

The new nuclear posture review just cuts right through that. Would we like to have a world where 40 of those 70 states have nuclear weapons? And would we imagine that they wouldn't get into the hands of terrorists? It's obviously folly. Nothing could be less in our interests than to lower the bar between

conventional and nonconventional weapons. Those are the only ones that can threaten us.

So I do think that this document was drawn up without any thought to what the political consequences are, without any thought that our words are taken seriously abroad.

MATTHEWS: How do we win the war in the East, in Islam, when we go to war with a country like Iraq, and the entire world of Islam, over a billion people are rooting against us because they see it as a unilateral act? They don't see it as punitive. They simply see it as the United States trying to kick butt in their part of the world.

LEDEEN: Well, I think that's quite wrong.

MATTHEWS: Don't we have to bring allies aboard before we can do it, for that reason?

LEDEEN: We have allies.

MATTHEWS: Like we did with the Persian Gulf the first time.

LEDEEN: Allies come on board when they see that we're serious. Allies jump on bandwagons. And bandwagons are run by countries that win.

Talking about raising the bars, both Syria and Iraq have long since passed the bar they've used on conventional weapons. They've used weapons of mass destruction. Both against their own citizens, against others during war, they've used chemical weapons. They've gassed tens of thousands of people.

MATTHEWS: The Syrians.

LEDEEN: The Syrians.

MATTHEWS: Where did they use them?

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LEDEEN: In their own town, in Hama (ph), they killed somewhere between 15,000 and 40,000 of their own people. And the Iraqis used it both on their own people during a rebellion and on Iran during the Iran-Iraq war.

So they're in that game already. So all this talk about, "We're raising the bar; we're changing the rules," they've already done it. Do we really want to wait until one of these countries hits us with a radiological weapon or a nuclear weapon?

MATTHEWS: Do we have the moral authority to use a nuclear weapon against a country for attacking a third country or can we only use it in national defense?

MATHEWS: It's not even just moral authority. It's also legal  
(CROSSTALK)

MATTHEWS: OK, thank you very much, Michael Ledeen, Jessica Mathews.

Up next: more casualties in the Middle East as Israeli forces raid a Palestinian refugee camp. Former Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu is going to be here, along with the PLO's representative to the United Nations.

You're watching HARDBALL. (COMMERCIAL BREAK)

MATTHEWS: Another day of violence in the Middle East: Over 30 Palestinians

are dead following Israeli raids into a Gaza refugee camp. And seven Israelis were shot to death by Palestinian gunmen.

Nasser El-**Kidwa** is the permanent observer of Palestine to the United Nations. And, in a moment, we're going to be joined by Benjamin Netanyahu, the former prime minister of Israel.

Mr. El-**Kidwa** let me ask you about the statement by the secretary general of the United Nations, Mr. Kofi Annan. He took shots at both Israel and at the Palestinians, saying the Palestinians are playing their full part in the escalating cycle of violence, counter-violence, and revenge. What do you make of that charge?

NASSER EL-**KIDWA**, PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS: He may

have said that, but he also said clearly that Israel needs to end its illegal occupation, needs to end all the practices of the Israeli army, including attacking civilians, attacking ambulances, and inflicting a huge number of casualties on the Palestinian people.

Overall, we think that the statement of the secretary general was a balanced one, was a good one. We agree with him. And we think that the Security Council -- has to join the Security Council in taking the necessary actions so that the council might help the parties in getting out of the current tragic situation.

MATTHEWS: Mr. El-**Kidwa**, what do you think is the Israeli strategy at this point?

EL-**KIDWA**: The problem is that there might be no strategy.

I think Mr. Sharon is invoking force and only force. He said publicly that he

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wants to inflict maximum pain, maximum fatalities on the Palestinian side. I am afraid that he's doing that without any political vision. And that is the problem.

MATTHEWS: Speaking of political vision, there's a report in the U.S. papers over the weekend -- I'm sure you've seen them -- that a planning group within the Defense Department, the Pentagon, is talking about the contingency of an Iraqi attack on Israel or one of its neighbors, or other actions involving Libya, Syria, Iran, Iraq, those four countries from the Islamic world, that we might use nuclear weapons against those countries in the event -- one example is Iraq attacks Israel or one of its neighbors. We attack Iraq with nuclear weapons.

What do you make of that escalation in planning?

EL-**KIDWA**: I think this is a scary report. And I think there has been enough criticism from all quarters, including here in the United States, luckily. And I leave it at that. But I hope that the administration is not going to accept the premises of this report.

MATTHEWS: Let's talk about the positive role the U.S. government can play.

General Zinni is back in the region. Can an American participation bring a cease-fire?

EL-KIDWA: Yes. We appreciate the decision of President Bush to send Mr. Zinni back. We have been calling for his return all the way.

Unfortunately, in the past, this was not the case. Unfortunately, also, the administration went along with the impossible condition imposed by Mr. Sharon for seven complete days of quiet. This was, in our opinion, something to block any implementation of the report.

In any case, we are out of this now. We hope that the administration is going to take some serious steps, including a call for the immediate implementation of Tenet and Mitchell and, also, the administration will accept the deployment of observers, albeit American observers. But I think this will be of great value to the whole situation.

MATTHEWS: Let me ask you about the possibilities regarding the Saudi peace plan, as it's been called. There's been a change in language. The Arab nations are no longer talking about complete diplomatic relations, but of something called complete peace. As a Palestinian, do you believe that the Palestinians will be capable of convincing your fellow Arabs to recognize Israel if Israel were ever to withdraw to the '67 borders?

EL-KIDWA: I think the answer is the affirmative.

And I believe, also, that the majority of Arabs indicated their readiness to do so. It remains to be seen what kind of position the Israeli side will come up with.

MATTHEWS: But if Israel is offered the chance for complete recognition and member status in that region, accepted as a neighbor by Arab states, wouldn't that have to include perhaps the most dangerous of the Arab nations: Iraq? Can

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you imagine Iraq accepting Israel's right to exist even if Israel retreats -- withdraws to the '67 borders?

EL-KIDWA: Well, I believe there will be some differences among the Arabs in general. But I am speaking about the overall majority, the overwhelming majority of the Arab countries. I think those will be ready to proceed and to accept the Saudi initiatives. I think it will become an official position adopted by the summit.

But, after that, we need to see some serious movement on the part of the administration. And we need to see some serious reaction from the Israeli government. Otherwise, we'll find ourselves in the same situation, without any serious progress.

MATTHEWS: OK, thank you very much, Nasser El-Kidwa, who is the observer at the United Nations for Palestine.

Up next, we'll get reaction from former Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

You're watching HARDBALL. (COMMERCIAL BREAK)

MATTHEWS: We're joined right now by former Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

Mr. Prime Minister, thank you for joining us tonight.

As I was mentioning earlier with Mr. El-Kidwa on behalf of the Palestinians, the secretary general of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, has attacked both sides in the Israeli-Arab dispute, calling your country, accusing it of illegal occupation and saying that it's morally repugnant what you're doing in this battle. How do you react?

BENJAMIN NETANYAHU, FORMER ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER: Well, I think it's quite the opposite.

I mean, if what we're doing is morally repugnant, then what the U.S. is doing in Afghanistan is morally repugnant. It is defending its country, its people, against wanton terrorist attacks, systemic, direct attacks against civilians. You had it in the World Trade Center. We have it every day, now having incurred seven times the per capita casualties of the World Trade Center from Yasser Arafat's forces. So we're defending ourselves.

In the course of defending ourselves, we have to attack terrorists who are hiding behind civilians. And so we incur, as you do, civilian casualties on the other side. That is not terror. That is not a place for moral equivalency.

As for an occupation, I must tell you that Israel is not governing, is not occupying a single Palestinian. We do make military incursions into these Palestinian-populated areas, because that's where they're planting the bombs. We've found -- we've uncovered laboratories for explosives and so on.

MATTHEWS: Right.

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NETANYAHU: But, in fact, the one who is governing the Palestinians is Yasser Arafat, for better or worse -- I must say for a lot worse.

MATTHEWS: Is the Sharon government doing enough? Do you think they are tough enough? You have got 30 Palestinians dead on that side today. On the other hand, the prime minister, Sharon, has decided to let Yasser Arafat leave his home and possibly attend the Arab League summit in Beirut. What do you think of that policy?

NETANYAHU: Well, let me make a brief comment on numbers and then let me answer you what I think is the right policy.

The numbers, people will prop up and they will say three times more Palestinians have died than Israelis. Correct. Three times more Afghans, probably more, have died compared to Americans. And I'll bet you -- I never counted -- that many, many more times Germans died than Americans in World War II. That didn't make the Nazi regime right. And that didn't make the Taliban regime right.

In fact, I think the crucial question is: Is someone on the offensive? Is

there an aggressive war of terror that we have to respond to, as you do? And the answer is yes. And that's what we're doing with legitimate military means.

Now, on the question of what is the proper military means, not: Are our actions legitimate? Yes, they are. Will they be as effective as I think they can be? Let me tell you that I think the real question is not whether we should use more or less force, but what is the force directed at.

And I have believed -- I've studied this issue of terrorism for 20 years. I wrote several books on it. And I authored what former Secretary of State George Schultz once called the "Netanyahu Doctrine." And it basically says that the only effective way to fight terrorism is to remove the source of power, the power source that recharges the terrorists every time you knock off this or that terrorist cell.

MATTHEWS: Is his name Yasser Arafat?

NETANYAHU: The power source is always the regime.

MATTHEWS: Is his name Yasser Arafat?

NETANYAHU: Absolutely.

MATTHEWS: Should the government of Israel have allowed him the free movement, as they have in the last couple of days? And should they allow him to go to the Arab League meeting in Beirut?

NETANYAHU: Well, I think I've said more than once, and maybe to you -- and I'll say it again -- yes, I would let him go. I just wouldn't let him come back.

And I think removing him and his regime would enable, first of all, the possibility of democratization, of freedom. He may have soft-spoken representatives in the U.N. and elsewhere, but in fact nobody can express a free opinion there. Nobody can dissent from this war of terror aimed at the

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destruction of Israel that he forces on the Palestinians and on us.

And the sooner we get rid of him, the sooner we'll have the prospect for peace, just as you are now going to get peace in Afghanistan, having removed the power source, the Taliban regime.

MATTHEWS: Was Arafat a freely elected president of the Palestinian Authority? Jimmy Carter in the paper said today in an article he wrote that he believes that Arafat is the legitimately elected leader of the Palestinian people. Do you accept that?

NETANYAHU: No, I don't. And I'll tell you why, because there may be the appearance of elections, but, in fact, nobody can really run, because he'd disappear. And Arafat controls all the state media.

Can you imagine free elections in the United States when one side controls everything that's printed, everything's that's broadcast? That's Arafat. He's a dictator with the sham, the appearance of legitimacy, as all true dictators crave. They crave the appearance of democracy. He's no more a democrat than the ayatollahs are.



MATTHEWS: I appreciate the distinction, sir, between our country and the Palestinians.

Let me ask you this about this contingency plan that's been uncovered...

NETANYAHU: And my country.

MATTHEWS: Yes.

The contingency plan that has been uncovered at the Defense Department to use U.S. nuclear weapons to attack Iraq should it attack Israel. What do you make of that new -- I've never seen that document before. Your country has defended itself since 1948 without us ever getting involved. And most of the time, we've come in to restrain you after you have been in for the kill. And now they're talking about us going in with nuclear arms attacking an Arab country, maybe Iraq, Iran, and maybe also Syria and Libya. What do you make of this new doctrine?

NETANYAHU: I don't know about it. I've heard only very sketchy press reports, so I can't really comment on it.

Let me address the question of nonconventional weapons in this area, because we may be coming to a point where they may be used. But I don't think they'll be used by the U.S. I think it's very likely that, with his back against the wall as he goes down -- and I believe he will go down -- that Saddam Hussein will fire at his last target of choice, which is also his first target of choice, namely the state of Israel.

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What he would fire against us is probably biological weapons or chemical weapons. And that, of course, would be a breach, a crossing over of a line that none of us want to cross. How we respond to that I think involves two things. First, we must protect the population of Israel, coincidentally, also, some of the Arab allies, I think, of the United States that might be also attacked, or Turkey, that might be attacked.

But Israel is the first and most vulnerable target. And, secondly, we must make it clear that there will be punishment for such action. I don't think it has to be on that scale.

MATTHEWS: Thank you very much, former Prime Minister of Israel Benjamin Netanyahu.

NETANYAHU: Thank you.

MATTHEWS: And don't forget, you can get all the latest news delivered by e-mail. You can sign up for our free daily briefing. Just log on to [HARDBALL.MSNBC.com](http://HARDBALL.MSNBC.com).

I'll be right back with what I really think. You're watching HARDBALL.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

MATTHEWS: Now let me tell you what I really think.

I fear that the U.S. Defense Department is seeing an invasion of the body snatchers. The same department that started the "Office of Strategic Lying" is

floating a contingency plan to nuke any of seven countries, four of them Islamic, if they go after their neighbors. If we're against escalating the use of weapons of mass destruction, then why are we talking about doing it ourselves? I keep hoping that Secretary Rumsfeld will see the danger of these body snatchers and get them out of the building fast.

Coming up next: "THE NEWS WITH BRIAN WILLIAMS." And at 9:00 Eastern, Ashleigh Banfield reports on "A REGION IN CONFLICT." And at 10:00 Eastern, "ALAN KEYES IS MAKING SENSE."

And join me tomorrow at 7:00 p.m. Eastern for more HARDBALL here on MSNBC. See you then.

LOAD-DATE: July 9, 2003

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Copyright 2001 Video Monitoring Services of America, L.P.

Video Monitoring Services of America

**SHOW:** Late Edition

November 25, 2001, Sunday 12:00

PM ET

**NETWORK:** CNN Cable Programming

**MEDIUM:** Cable

**LENGTH:** 129 words

**BODY:**

START: 1.16.14

Teased Segment - Middle East. Wolf talks with guests about prospects for Middle East peace.

Sound Bites - Colin Powell, Sec. of State speaking on peace in the Middle East at the Univ. of Louisville, Monday.

Studio Interview - Nasser Al-Kidwa, Palestinian observer to UN says he spoke of many important things concerning the Middle East.

Studio Interview - Alon Pinkas, Israeli Consul General, says the solution the Sec. of State proposed was on the table back in 1937 with the Peale Commission.

Graphic - Excerpt of statement by Colin Powell in Newsweek Dec. 3 issue. Alon mentions a book called "The Dream Palace of the Arabs" and tells the ambassador to get out of the dream palace and be accountable to his own actions.

END: 1.27.16

**SEGMENT-ID:** 23

**PROGRAM-ID:** cnn12001125

**LOAD-DATE:** December 27, 2001

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Copyright 2001 Video Monitoring Services of America, L.P.

Video Monitoring Services of America

**SHOW:** CNN Live at Daybreak

September 7, 2001, Friday AM ET

**NETWORK:** CNN Cable Programming

**MEDIUM:** Cable

**LENGTH:** 222 words

**BODY:**

START: 12.15

Teased Segment - Racism Conference. In South Africa once again, more controversy out of the conference on race. African states are insisting that western powers issue an explicit apology and label slavery as a crime against humanity. This is just one of many issues that's threatening to collapse this conference that's supposed to be based on tolerance.

Visual - At the conference in Durban, South Africa.

Interview - Nasser Al-Kidwa, Official Palestinian Delegate, says it's difficult for use to proceed with the draft.

Sound Bites - Louis Michel, European Union President, says of course we aren't very happy with all the words and all the sentences.

Visual - Candlelight vigil.

Interview - Ngarikutuke Tjiriange, Namibia's Minister of Justice, says there are those of us who are sticking to our guns. Charlayne Hunter-Gault reporting.

Lets talk more about the issue of slavery. Who pays, who apologizes and what happens next?

Studio Interview - Pierre Sane, UNESCO Director General, says there's first a duty to establish the truth and facts about the slavery and the impact on the enslaved people.

Studio Interview - Rep. John Conyers, (D) Michigan, says it isn't the duty of the United Nations to resolve this issue that may involve as many as 50 or more different nations.

END: 21.34

**SEGMENT-ID:** 13

**PROGRAM-ID:** cnn07000907

**LOAD-DATE:** October 16, 2001

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Copyright 2001 Video Monitoring Services of America, L.P.

Video Monitoring Services of America

**SHOW:** World News

September 6, 2001, Thursday AM ET

**NETWORK:** CNN International Cable Programming

**MEDIUM:** Cable

**LENGTH:** 155 words

**BODY:**

START: 08.52

Racism Conference. Israel is looking over is relationship with the United

Nations after the racism conference.

Press Conference - Elie Weisel, Holocaust Survivor, says that what happened was under the U.N. Israel was condemned.

Press Conference - Mortimer Zuckerman, U.S. Jewish Activist, says that the U.N. being diminished is sad for everyone. DB; Daniel Patrick Moynihan, US. Amb. to U.N., 1975, talks about an infamous act.

Sound Bites - Chaim Herzog, Israeli Amb. to U.N., 1975, says that they shall treat the paper as such.

Interview - Yehuda Lancry, Israeli Amb. to U.N., says that Israel feels isolated and singled out.

Sound Bites - Nasser Al-Kidwa, Palestinian observer to U.N., says that Israel is the only member of the U.N. named as an occupying power.

Interview - David Malone, Analyst, says that a number of people think that the U.N. is biased. Richard Roth reporting.

END: 12.05

**SEGMENT-ID:** 7

**PROGRAM-ID:** cnni05000906

**LOAD-DATE:** October 19, 2001

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Copyright 2001 Video Monitoring Services of America, L.P.

Video Monitoring Services of America

**SHOW:** The Newshour with Jim Lehrer

August 27, 2001, Monday PM ET

**NETWORK:** PBS Network Programming

**MEDIUM:** Television

**TYPE:** Network

**LENGTH:** 273 words

**BODY:**

START: 06.51

Teased Segment - Racism Conference. For weeks the state dept. has warned that Colin Powell may boycott the upcoming UN conference on racism. 160 delegations will discuss several hot button issues at the upcoming racism conference.

Interview - President Bush, says they have made it clear that they will have no representative there so long as they pick on Israel. He says Zionism is not racism.

Interview - Richard Boucher, says they have stated their concerns.

Interview - Nasser Al Kidwa, says racism and discrimination are not acceptable. He says Israel cannot be exempt.

Visual - Kofi Annan.

Interview - Kofi Annan, says if the conference is going to succeed it must confront the past and help set a new course against racism.

Interview - Harold Koh, says it is a missed opportunity for the US. He says it

will be a missed opportunity for Colin Powell.

Interview - Fareed Zakaria, Newsweek Int'l, says the UN has singled out Israel. He says by equating zionism with racism it is in effect trying to legitimize the very existence of Israel.

Interview - Harold Koh, says this is a moment for engaged diplomacy.

Interview - Hugh Price, says we have to look ahead. He says we could use our presence there to accomplish learning. He says to not be there sends a terrible domestic signal that we don't take this seriously.

Interview - Abraham Foxman, says the US tried time and time again to set standards to deal with racism. He says the UN voted that Israel was racist and the general assembly overruled it. He says Colin Powell can get his message across without leaving the US.

END: 25.25

**SEGMENT-ID:** 5

**PROGRAM-ID:** pbs19000827

**LOAD-DATE:** September 29, 2001

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Copyright 2001 Video Monitoring Services of America, L.P.

Video Monitoring Services of America

**SHOW:** Special Report with Brit Hume

August 20, 2001, Monday PM ET

**NETWORK:** Fox News Channel Cable Programming

**MEDIUM:** Cable

**LENGTH:** 173 words

**BODY:**

START: 37.20

Mideast Violence. Two Americans has been injured during the violence in the Mideast. One is a Jordan-American, who was injured by gunfire in Rumallah. The other was a student that was hit, while riding in a bus. The injuries aren't life threatening.

Visual - Violence in the Middle East.

Sound Bites - Nasser Al-Kidwa, Palestinian Un Observer (Translator), says that they hope that the counselor succeeds this time, in contributing to stopping the bloodshed.

Press Conference - Phil Reeker, State Dept. Spokesman, says that they don't believe that the solution is through the steps taken through New York, but through the parties that work together.

Visual - Sbarro Restaurant.

Interview - Yehuda Lancry, Israeli UN Ambassador, says that Chairman Arafat must receive a clear message from the security council.

Visual - Colin Powell.

Sound Bites - President Bush, says that in order to get through the peace

process, or discussions of peace, they must end the violence. Terry Schultz reporting.

END: 39.45

**SEGMENT-ID:** 21

**PROGRAM-ID:** fnc18000820

**LOAD-DATE:** September 25, 2001

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Copyright 2001 Video Monitoring Services of America, L.P.

Video Monitoring Services of America

**SHOW:** Charlie Rose

June 4, 2001, Monday 11:00

AM ET

**NETWORK:** PBS Network Programming

**MEDIUM:** Television

**TYPE:** Network

**LENGTH:** 137 words

**BODY:**

START: 02.41

Teased Segment - Peace in Mideast. The most recent violence has strained the already tense relationships between Palestinians and Israelis.

Studio Interview - Nasser Al-Kidwa, ambassador to the United Nations, says the Palestinians want a way out of the violence.

Studio Interview - Alon Pinkas, Consul-general, says you can't fool the entire world all of the time. Al-Kidwa says more than 20,000 Palestinians were injured.

Al-Kidwa says there has generally been much better behavior on the part of the Israeli government. Pinkas says this isn't about pessimism or optimism, but realism. Pinkas says secretary Powell says the destabilization will overspill.

Pinkas says the Arabs and Jews have to find a way to co-exist. Al-Kidwa says they want serious cooperation and response.

END: 17.56

**SEGMENT-ID:** 4

**PROGRAM-ID:** pbs23000604

**LOAD-DATE:** July 12, 2001

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Copyright 2001 Video Monitoring Services of America, L.P.

Video Monitoring Services of America

**SHOW:** CBS Saturday Morning

April 21, 2001, Saturday AM ET

**NETWORK:** CBS Network Programming

**MEDIUM:** Television

**TYPE:** Network



**LENGTH:** 251 words

**BODY:**

START: 01.37

Teased Segment - Headlines. Thousands of demonstrators are in Quebec.

Visual - Footage of the protesters. They are protesting over the meeting of the Summit of the Americas. Two Americans were killed when their plane was shot down by Peruvian military.

Graphic - Map.

Interview - Michael Loftis, Assoc. of Baptists for World Evangelism, says it was a case of mistaken identity. He says it is a very tragic accident.

Graphic - Photos of the victims. Dave Brody(?) reporting. Another day of sandbagging for the Midwest.

Graphic - Map. There could be two crest instead of one in the area.

Interview - Bradley Anderson, Volunteer, says it is the right thing to do.

Interview - Michael Tarpey, Army Corps of Engineers, says they are attacking the problem before the problem attacks them.

Interview - Michael King, Police Chief, Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, says we could have this water for a week or two. Bob McNamara reporting. Clashes erupted in the old city of Jerusalem between Israeli police and Palestine.

Visual - Footage of the violence.

Interview - Nasser al **Kidwa**, Palestinian Observer to the U.N., says that it would take the end of the occupation of Palestine.

Interview - Yehuda Lancry, Israeli Ambassador to the U.N., says it is very simple, they have to end the violence. He says we can resume the peace talks as soon as the violence ends. Lancry says it is unfair to completely distort the picture about the Palestine violence.

END: 10.55

**SEGMENT-ID:** 3

**PROGRAM-ID:** cbs07000421

**LOAD-DATE:** May 25, 2001

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Copyright 2001 Video Monitoring Services of America, L.P.

Video Monitoring Services of America

**SHOW:** Headline News

March 28, 2001, Wednesday AM ET

**NETWORK:** CNN Headline News Cable Programming

**MEDIUM:** Cable

**LENGTH:** 119 words

**BODY:**

START: 05.41

Unrest. Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon has called an emergency session at his security cabinet following another suicide bombing.

Visual - Near Kfar Saba, Israel. A Palestinian blew himself up this morning at an Army Israeli checkpoint. The Islamic Militant Group Hamass is claiming responsibility. Delegates have promised Mideast Arab leaders action on a UN resolution to help protect the Palestinians.

Sound Bites - James Cunningham, Acting U.S. Ambassador to U.N. says the U.S. opposed this resolution because it's unbalanced and unworkable.

Sound Bites - Nasser Al-Kidwa, Palestinian Observer to U.N., says there was no other way to give up. Richard Roth reporting.

END: 08.09

**SEGMENT-ID:** 11

**PROGRAM-ID:** hdl07300328

**LOAD-DATE:** May 3, 2001

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Copyright 2001 Video Monitoring Services of America, L.P.

Video Monitoring Services of America

**SHOW:** Charlie Rose

February 15, 2001, Thursday 11:00

AM ET

**NETWORK:** PBS Network Programming

**MEDIUM:** Television

**TYPE:** Network

**LENGTH:** 641 words

**BODY:**

START: 02.30

Teased Segment - Middle East Peace. With Ariel Sharon, the new Prime Minister of Israel, and a new Unity Government, they talk about the prospects for peace in the Middle East. Ehud Barak and Ariel Sharon agreed to conditionally form the National Unity Government today.

Studio Interview - Dore Gold, Former Israeli Ambassador to the UN, says he wasn't surprised by Barak's and Sharon's agreement today. Gold says unity is what Israeli's need at this time and feels it may help them come to some sort of peace agreement in the future. Gold says some Likud members may be part of the new Government.

Studio Interview - Akiva Eldar, Ha'aretz, says Ehud Barak may have gotten a better deal if he would have made this agreement in the past. Eldar says he isn't sure if this will stop the violence with Israeli's and Palestinians but maybe with Israeli's themselves. Eldar says this is a by default decision by Sharon. Eldar says a Unity Government and peace is an oxymoron because it doesn't work that way.

Studio Interview - Nasser al-Kidwa, Palestinian Ambassador to the UN, says the Unity Government will provide cover for Sharon's extreme views and ideas. Eldar says this is the burial of the current peace process that was going on before

the Unity Government was formed. Gold says they tried to take proposals and said the binded the parties even though there was no agreement, so going back to the proposals is not the right thing to do. Gold says the gaps between the two parties can not be bridged right now. Eldar says they wish they could start over again and forget about what has been proposed in the past, but that is not possible. Eldar says there is no trust between the two sides right now. Gold says the violence has to be ended before any agreement or proposals can even be made. al-Kidwa says what Mr. Gold is saying is very dangerous because he is trying to bury existing agreements that mandate final settlement negotiations. Gold says 97% of Palestinians are under Palestinian control. al-Kidwa says that figure is absolutely false and you just have to look at Jerusalem to see that. al-Kidwa says they are the ones being killed much more than Israelis. Eldar says they started this all and it was Paslestinians that started it after Camp David. Eldar says it is the Israeli public that is saying they can not negotiate and fight at the same time. Gold says previous negotiations did not work and that is

Page 68

Video Monitoring Services of America February 15, 2001, Thursday  
 Sharon's point when he says no past negotiations matter. Gold says Palestinian Authorities have said themselves that the current rounds of violence were born right after Camp David because it was then clear that it was the Palestinian side that failed to accept Clinton's agreement. al-Kidwa says the outgoing Israeli Prime Minister himself congratulated the Israeli Army for assassinating another Palestinian. Gold says it was counter-terrorism. Rose quotes Tom Friedman from the "New York Times". al-Kidwa says Palestinians are dying for an agreement. Eldar says they were very close to that agreement at Camp David. Gold says when they negotiate with Egypt, there was no use as violence as a negotiating tool and the same was for when they negotiated with Jordan, but the way this last peace process was ended, violence was accompanying the entire process. Gold says if violence is brought to an end, they can continue negotiating and come to an agreement. Gold says Jerusalem must remain united under the sovereignty of Israel and resolution 242 does not require a complete withdrawal from the West Bank. Gold says Ariel Sharon will remain consistent in his negotiations unlike Ehud Barak may have been at times. Eldar says he still is fearful that the future of this is war. Gold says the people of the Middle East do not want war and it is up to them to try and avoid it.

END: 38.14

**SEGMENT-ID:** 4

**PROGRAM-ID:** pbs23000215

**LOAD-DATE:** March 27, 2001

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Copyright 2001 Video Monitoring Services of America, L.P.

Video Monitoring Services of America

**SHOW:** Sunday Today In New York

January 14, 2001, Sunday 7:00

AM

**NETWORK:** WNBC-TV

**MEDIUM:** Television

**TYPE:** Television

**LENGTH:** 240 words

**BODY:**

START: 43.25

News Forum (cont'd).

Interview - Ackerman, says there's a deliberate attempt to create martyrs among children, says when you provide rewards to families when their children are killed, it creates a climate when more of this takes place.

Interview - Al-Kidwa, says they don't reward families, they try to compensate a little bit and support them and help them, says the origin of it is they have an ugly occupation, and says an agreement isn't that likely, but they have to keep trying until the last minute of the mandate given to Pres. Clinton and he's asked by Pressman if he's concerned that under Pres. Bush there may be less available to both sides,

Interview - Al-Kidwa, says he's not sure if Pres. Elect Bush would be willing to give the same time and energy to the Middle East, but says it's one of the places where the U.S. has strategic interest and says the engagement of the new administration will go on.

Interview - Ackerman, says it's unfortunate that Pres. Clinton's administration is coming to an end, and Barak's as well, and says there was an opportunity for peace, and it's about to end, saying the offer has been rejected and then the Palestinians take to the street with violence.

Interview - Al-Kidwa says there is still hope and lets put stereotypes aside.

Interview - Ackerman, says he and Al-Kidwa could reach an agreement with Pressman as the mediator.

END: 50.40

**SEGMENT-ID:** 23

**PROGRAM-ID:** wNBC07000114

**LOAD-DATE:** February 19, 2001

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Copyright 2001 Video Monitoring Services of America, L.P.

Video Monitoring Services of America

**SHOW:** Prime

January 12, 2001, Friday 9:00

PM

**NETWORK:** Texas Cable News Network Cable ProgrammiN/A

**MEDIUM:** Cable

**LENGTH:** 115 words

**BODY:**

START: 39.21

Teased Segment - Heart food. Dr David Winter, Baylor Univ Medical Center, reports a new study supports popular cuisine around countries in the Mediterranean. The foods contain antioxidants and monounsaturated fats.

Interview - Dr Cara East, Cardiologist, says the Mediterranean diet is high in fruits and vegetables and fish and small amounts of meat.

Interview - Adelmo Banchetti, Restaurant Owner, says olive oil helps the arteries.

Visual - Adelmo's. Mideast peace. The State Dept says Israelis and Palestinians are talking.

Interview - Dr Nasser Al-Kidwa, Palestinian Diplomat, says there has been a dramatic reduction of violence.

END: 42.22

**SEGMENT-ID:** 40

**PROGRAM-ID:** txcn21000112

**LOAD-DATE:** February 18, 2001

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Copyright 2001 Video Monitoring Services of America, L.P.

Video Monitoring Services of America

**SHOW:** News 4 New York At

January 11, 2001, Thursday PM

**NETWORK:** WNBC-TV

**MEDIUM:** Television

**TYPE:** Television

**LENGTH:** 116 words

**BODY:**

START: 10.40

Middle East peace Both sides confirmed they were trying to agree on the wording of some type of agreement in Jerusalem.

Press Conference - Ehud Olmet says there is no way Jews can agree that the Temple Mount will not be under our full sovereignty.

Press Conference - Roni Milo says I cannot stay.

Press Conference - Natan Sharansky says what happens with Jerusalem changes the world.

Studio Interview - Amb. Nassar Al-Kidwa says I hope it is alive.

Interview - Man says if it is alive it is on life support.

Interview - Alon Pinkas says I think there is some disappointment in Israel at the fruits the Oslo process has yielded. /Gabe Pressman

END: 13.54

**SEGMENT-ID:** 14

**PROGRAM-ID:** wNBC17000111

**LOAD-DATE:** February 19, 2001

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Copyright 2001 Video Monitoring Services of America, L.P.

Video Monitoring Services of America

**SHOW:** World View

January 7, 2001, Sunday 7:00

PM ET

**NETWORK:** CNN Cable Programming

**MEDIUM:** Cable

**LENGTH:** 98 words

**BODY:**

START: 10.24

Mideast. Pres Clinton continues to work on a mideast peace deal.

Sound Bites - Madeline Albright, sec of state, says Pres Clinton continues to work very hard.

Interview - Jon Alterman, US Inst of Peace, says cynicism and violence could result from negotiations being broken off. Kelly Wallace reporting.

Studio Interview - Alon Pinkas, Israeli council gen to NY, says several very hard decisions need to be made by Palestinians.

Studio Interview - Nasser Al-Kidwa, Palestinian rep to US, says an agreement by the 20th is virtually impossible.

END: 19.02

**SEGMENT-ID:** 7

**PROGRAM-ID:** CNN19000107

**LOAD-DATE:** February 16, 2001

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Copyright 2001 Video Monitoring Services of America, L.P.

Video Monitoring Services of America

**SHOW:** Charlie Rose

January 2, 2001, Tuesday 11:00

AM ET

**NETWORK:** PBS Network Programming

**MEDIUM:** Television

**TYPE:** Network

**LENGTH:** 144 words

**BODY:**

START: 03.34

Mideast. Pres Clinton met with Yasir Arafat to talk about peace proposals for the mideast, and are scheduled to meet again tonight.

Studio Interview - Thomas Friedman, The New York Times, says that he has doubts

about the Palestinian sincerity, Arafat says one thing and does another, while blaming his actions on outside forces.

Studio Interview - Nasser Al-Kidwa, Ambassador to the United Nations for the Palestinians, says that they still have to negotiate between the two sides to be able to fill the gaps and agree on all the details, they believe the US proposal is vague when it comes to the Palestinian rights and advances, the proposal says that the parties can agree on any formulation currently being discussed, which is so unclear that either side could agree to it and they would have no obligations to live up to.

END: 43.26

**SEGMENT-ID:** 4

**PROGRAM-ID:** pbs23000102

**LOAD-DATE:** February 15, 2001

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**SHOW:** Newschannel 4 Daybreak

December 19, 2000, Tuesday AM

**NETWORK:** WDAF-TV

**MEDIUM:** Television

**TYPE:** Television

**LENGTH:** 62 words

**BODY:**

START: 00.20.47

World News US will host talks with Israel & Palestine.

Interview - Nasser Al-Kidwa, Palestinian observer UN, says siege continues.

Interview - Yahuda Lancry, Israeli Ambassador, UN, talks about the situation.

Man who shot Pope John Paul II, faces 15 additional years in prison for new charges.

Visual - Istanbul, Turkey.

END: 00.22.11

**SEGMENT-ID:** 25

**PROGRAM-ID:** wdaf05001219

**LOAD-DATE:** December 31, 2000

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Video Monitoring Services of America

**SHOW:** World View

November 4, 2000, Saturday PM ET

**NETWORK:** CNN Cable Programming

**MEDIUM:** Cable



**LENGTH:** 218 words

**BODY:**

START: 00.45

Teased Segment - Mideast Battle. It's been 5 years since the assassination of former Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and not even the anniversary was going to slow down the violence between the Israelis and the Palestinians. Clashes have erupted all over the West Bank.

Visual - Violence. There have been thousands of people who have gathered around the Rabin assassination sight.

Visual - Assassination sight.

Sound Bites - Ehud Barak, Israeli Prime Minister, says they are ready to go for the ideas that have been contemplated at Camp David.

Interview - Saeb Erakat, Chief Palestinian negotiator, says he doesn't feel that Ehud Barak is doing the people a favor and to make peace. More on the Mideast battle.

Studio Interview - Yoram Peri, former Rabin advisor, says he believes that the idea of Yasser Arafat will bring down the peace and he thought that there was still 2 months before Clinton leaves office, so he is trying to get a better deal.

Studio Interview - Nasser Al-Kidwa, Palestinian Observer to UN, says it is the Palestinians who are falling and the Israeli army is getting aggressive. He also says to end the killing, they are setting up an investigation. Peri says there are many Israelis who want to continue with the peace process.

END: 08.30

**SEGMENT-ID:** 3

**PROGRAM-ID:** cnn18001104

**LOAD-DATE:** December 14, 2000

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Copyright 2000 Video Monitoring Services of America, L.P.

Video Monitoring Services of America

**SHOW:** Fox Morning News

October 19, 2000, Thursday AM

**NETWORK:** WTTG-TV

**MEDIUM:** Television

**TYPE:** Television

**LENGTH:** 113 words

**BODY:**

START: 08.05

Middle East. Israelis and Palestinians went to UN yesterday blaming each other for violence in the region. Emergency session of General Assembly. Palestinians want UN to condemn Israel for the violence.

Visual - Nasser Al-Kidwa, Palestinian Observer to UN, says the force by an

occupying power, committing of atrocities by the occupying forces.

Visual - Yehuda Lancry, Israeli UN Ambassador, says the deliberations of this special session threaten the spirit of the declaration and have potential to aggravate. Israeli forces have arrested Palestinian youths for the deaths of two Israeli soldiers and are bringing them to trial.

END: 09.09

**SEGMENT-ID:** 10

**PROGRAM-ID:** wttg06301019

**LOAD-DATE:** November 28, 2000

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Copyright 2000 Video Monitoring Services of America, L.P.

Video Monitoring Services of America

**SHOW:** Northwest News

October 18, 2000, Wednesday AM

**NETWORK:** Northwest Cable News Network Cable ProgrN/A

**MEDIUM:** Cable

**LENGTH:** 106 words

**BODY:**

START: 04.26

Mideast Violence. The US opposes a U.N. meeting today regarding the violence in the Middle East, which will condemn Israel.

Interview - Nasser Al-Kidwa, Palestinian observer; explaining their position.

Interview - Richard Holbrooke, U.S. Ambassador to the U.N.; the general assembly is a useless phase right now.

Interview - Sir Jeremy Greenstock, British Ambassador to the UN; letting passions spend themselves can get violence back to peace, and debates help this.

Interview - Yehuda Lancry, Israeli Ambassador to the UN; they will deal with it in due process. Richard Roth, reporting.

END: 06.24

**SEGMENT-ID:** 7

**PROGRAM-ID:** nwcen10001018

**LOAD-DATE:** November 28, 2000

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Video Monitoring Services of America

**SHOW:** Headline News

October 16, 2000, Monday PM

**NETWORK:** CNN Headline News Cable Programming

**MEDIUM:** Cable

**LENGTH:** 76 words

**BODY:**

START: 00.16

Teased Segment - Tough going at the Middle East summit.

Visual - footage from summit.

Visual - flag burning by Palestinians.

Interview - Amnon Lipkin Shahak, Israeli Cabinet member, there are much more emotions and many more people who've been affected by the violence.

Interview - Nasser Al-Kidwa, Palestinian Observer to the UN, we cannot allow ourselves to abandon hope. Christianne Amanpour reporting.

END: 04.35

**SEGMENT-ID:** 4

**PROGRAM-ID:** hdl18001016

**LOAD-DATE:** November 20, 2000

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Video Monitoring Services of America

**SHOW:** World View

October 15, 2000, Sunday 6:00

PM ET

**NETWORK:** CNN Cable Programming

**MEDIUM:** Cable

**LENGTH:** 151 words

**BODY:**

START: 17.53

Teased Segment - Discussion on Mideast Summit. Tomorrow, there is an emergency summit, on what is happening in the Middle East.

Sound Bites - Unidentified Man, asks Mr. Ehud Barak is what is his soldiers doing in the middle of Gaza.

Sound Bites - Ehud Barak, Israeli Prime Minister, says that real difference in the modern world, between legitimate leader that wants to be a head of state, and a head of is monopoly on the use of holding weapons.

Studio Interview - Nasser al-Kidwa, Palestinian Observer to U.N., says that the summit has to achieve 3 different things: the use of violence & force, the immediate reversal of all actions since Sept. 28th, and the establishment of the international committee of inquiry.

Studio Interview - Oded Eran, Israeli Negotiator, says that the agenda should include the end of the force, the re-arrest of Palestinian people.

END: 24.57

**SEGMENT-ID:** 13

**PROGRAM-ID:** cnn18001015

**LOAD-DATE:** November 28, 2000

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**SHOW:** Fox News Live

October 13, 2000, Friday AM ET

**NETWORK:** Fox News Channel Cable Programming

**MEDIUM:** Cable

**LENGTH:** 106 words

**BODY:**

START: 19.14

Teased Segment - Mideast Crisis. As violence continues in the Middle East, Palestinians are calling today a day of rage.

Studio Interview - Nasser Al **Kidwa**, UN Palestinian Observer, says yesterday there was a day of war waged by the Israeli sided against the Palestinian people that has caused anger and frustration with the Palestinian people.

Visual - Fighting in Mideast. He says they have to demand the withdraw of Israeli forces in the vicinity of their cities and villages.

Visual - Helicopter. He says this is beyond comprehension. He says yesterday's murders don't reflect their culture.

END: 23.34

**SEGMENT-ID:** 12

**PROGRAM-ID:** fnc09001013

**LOAD-DATE:** November 20, 2000

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CNN

**SHOW:** CNN BREAKING NEWS 10:19

October 12, 2000; Thursday

Transcript # 00101220V00

**SECTION:** News; International

**LENGTH:** 1031 words

**HEADLINE:** Palestinian Observer to U.N. Nasser Al-**Kidwa** Discusses Escalating Mideast Tensions

**GUESTS:** Nasser Al-**Kidwa**

**BYLINE:** Daryn Kagan, Bill Hemmer

**HIGHLIGHT:**

Nasser Al-**Kidwa**, the Palestinian observer to the U.N., discusses the escalating tensions in the Middle East today after a Palestinian mob kills two Israeli soldiers and Israel retaliates by bombing targets in Ramallah.

**BODY:**

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DARYN KAGAN, CNN ANCHOR: And now we go back to the situation in the Mideast, what is happening in the town of Ramallah and also Gaza.

To get a Palestinian perspective on what is happening with the tensions escalating. We bring in Nasser Al-**Kidwa**, who is joining us from the United Nations. He is the Palestinian observer.

Mr. **Kidwa**, thank you for joining us here today.

NASSER AL-**KIDWA**, PALESTINIAN OBSERVER TO U.N.: Thank you.

KAGAN: What can the Palestinian do here? I know this is a very tense, emotional situation, but what can the Palestinians do to help ease tensions and

Page 82  
CNN BREAKING NEWS 10:19 October 12, 2000; Thursday

get back to more peaceful and safe situations for the folks who are living there?

AL-**KIDWA**: I think it's the Israeli side who has to do a lot. What the Israeli government did just now is tantamount to declaring an all-out war against the Palestinian population, which is already under occupation. The Israeli government is, effectively, destroying any possibility of bringing the situation back under control, which -- taking the whole situation to a new level.

I mean, and this might even prove what we have been saying all along about the intentions of the Israeli government.

KAGAN: Clearly, the Israelis do have to do a lot, but to borrow from an American expression, it does take two to tango. And, for the safety of the Palestinian people, don't you think that the Palestinians need to do something to help bring the situation under control, citing what happened earlier today, when you have a mob situation ending in the death of two Israeli soldiers?

AL-**KIDWA**: I'm not aware of the details of what happened today. However, I can tell you this. In spite of our pain and anger, including the anger as a result of the additional four Palestinians who were killed yesterday in spite of the relative calm; nevertheless, I can say that killing prisoners is not reflective of the Palestinian values and the Palestinian tradition.

However, before we tango with the Israelis, we have to at least be alive.

The Israelis have to stop killing us so we can remain alive, we can stand and maybe then we can tango with the Israeli side. KAGAN: And I didn't mean to make light of what is a very serious situation, of course.

Talking about Yasser Arafat, there's been some who have questioned his authority at this point. Do you think he has credibility among the Palestinian

people? Are they listening to him, or have the emotions and the bitterness escalated to a point where they wouldn't even listen to him if he called for calm and peace?

**AL-KIDWA:** Of course he has the authority. However, the matter is not the authority per se. The Palestinian people are not (SPEAKING IN ARABIC) -- I mean, they don't start doing something at orders; they don't stop doing something at orders, especially when this something is in reaction to a huge use of lethal power, of killing, of injuring by a huge army in front of them. So what we need to see is the different Israeli behavior. We are seeing the opposite now, unfortunately. If the Israeli change drastically; if they stop shooting at the Palestinian people; if they stop injuring and killing, then it will be possible for the Palestinian leadership and possible for President Arafat to make a difference.

**KAGAN:** Mr. Arafat's status in the way he's seen in this country has changed quite a bit over the last 10 years; 10 years ago he was seen by many as simply a terrorist, now he has the status of a statesman. Much of that has happened through the work and through the relationship he has with President Clinton. Some have suggested that Mr. Arafat owes Mr. Clinton the courtesy, and that he owes him the phone call and the acceptance and to work with him.

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CNN BREAKING NEWS 10:19 October 12, 2000; Thursday

Do you think that he's doing enough out of respect of that relationship?

**AL-KIDWA:** If we are talking about the past, some, as you said, maybe have considered Mr. Arafat as a terrorist. The overwhelming majority of the people of the world, though, considered him as the leader of the Palestinian people who is fighting for its freedom.

Now, when it comes to the relationship with President Clinton, the whole Palestinian people respect the efforts of the president with regard to trying to reach a peace settlement in the Middle East. However, I don't think it's a matter of owing anything, one to the other. I think it's a matter of mutual respect among the leaders and it's a matter of working together in order to achieve the necessary steps towards peace in the Middle East.

**KAGAN:** And, from the actions that we've seen today that have happened in Ramallah and Gaza, do you fear that this has escalated to a point of no return?

**AL-KIDWA:** We were responding positively to the American efforts and the efforts of the secretary-general of the United Nations, as well as other international dignitaries. It has been the Israeli side who took the extremely dangerous step today. As I told you earlier, this is tantamount to declaring war -- over all war against the whole Palestinian population, and they have immediately to rescind this kind of action before we can go further.

**KAGAN:** Nasser Al-Kidwa, Palestinian observer to the United Nations. Thank you for your time, sir -- Bill.

**AL-KIDWA:** Thank you.

BILL HEMMER, CNN ANCHOR: Daryn, one story in the exterior of all this happens to be the world markets. They react in times like these; and no where is there a bigger player in the world than the U.S. market and the Dow Jones industrial average.

Right now, as this is happening overseas, we're seeing a major dip in the Dow Jones industrial average, upper-left-hand corner there, next to the INDU: now down over 300 points to 307. Now 305 to 10,106.

On the Nasdaq market, not quite as severe. Down 57 points on the tech-heavy Nasdaq. We will certainly watch this and see the fallout that remains from reaction from around the world and especially here in the U.S. as it relates to world markets.

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**SHOW:** The News with Brian Williams

October 12, 2000, Thursday PM ET

**NETWORK:** MSNBC Cable Programming

**MEDIUM:** Cable

**LENGTH:** 237 words

**BODY:**

START: 04.11

Teased Segment - Mideast. At least 2 Israeli soldiers were killed today in the West Bank, their presence in a local police station led to a riot crowd outside that eventually killed the soldiers. After warning from the Israeli military, the military attacked the Palestinians and Yasser Arafat's headquarters.

Visual - violence in the West Bank.

Interview - Lt Col Raanan Gissim, Israeli Defense Force Spokesman, talks about the lynching of the soldiers today, and how the Palestinian police supported the attack.

Press Conference - Shimon Peres, Former Israeli Prime Minister, says that the incident was a terrible accident.

Interview - Nasser Al **Kidwa**, Palestinian Observer to the UN, says that the Israelis are pushing the situation to confrontation.

Press Conference - Madeleine Albright, Sec of State, says that there needs to be a cease-fire by both sides.

Visual - Yasser Arafat.

Press Conference - President Clinton says that now is the time to stop the killing, to restore calm and return to peace negotiations. A discussion about



the Mideast.

Studio Interview - Martin Fletcher, NBC, Tel Aviv, explains what Arel(?) Sheron(?) did to start the fighting in the West Bank and the events that have followed since the incident.

Visual - Violence in the west bank. Many Israelis believe that Ehud Barak isn't strong enough in the face of violence and fighting.

END: 11.29

**SEGMENT-ID:** 5

**PROGRAM-ID:** msnbc2100.1012.5

**LOAD-DATE:** November 20, 2000

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**SHOW:** Fox News Live

October 12, 2000, Thursday 12:30

PM ET

**NETWORK:** Fox News Channel Cable Programming

**MEDIUM:** Cable

**LENGTH:** 108 words

**BODY:**

START: 20.48

News Alert. A Palestinian Spokesman is holding a News Brief.

Press Conference - Nasser Al-Kidwa, Palestinian, UN Observer, Palestinian Spokesman, United Nations, says that the Palestinian police tried to defend the two men who were beaten to death earlier. He says that the amount of anger, frustration and pain is beyond description. He thinks that they have the right to feel that way and it's understood for them to react in a way that's probably not acceptable under normal circumstances, but the full responsibility for the beginning of the whole thing lies on the Israeli side. Bridgette Quinn Reporting.

END: 24.15

**SEGMENT-ID:** 10

**PROGRAM-ID:** fnc12301012

**LOAD-DATE:** November 21, 2000

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CNN

**SHOW:** CNN SUNDAY NIGHT 22:00

**December** 1, 2003 Monday

Transcript # 113003CN.V89

**SECTION:** News; International

**LENGTH:** 1105 words

**HEADLINE:** Where Do Isreal/Palestine Turn For Peace?

**GUESTS:** Alon Pinkas, Nasser Al-Kidwa

**BYLINE:** Martin Savidge

**HIGHLIGHT:**

That so-called Geneva Accord is largely a symbolic step, unofficial and non-binding.

**BODY:**

MARTIN SAVIDGE, CNN ANCHOR: That so-called Geneva Accord is largely a symbolic step, unofficial and non-binding. It comes as Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon offers new concessions on land. And amid all this, Washington enters the fray over Israel's controversial security wall.

So where to from here? Joining us now, Israeli Consul General Alon Pinkas and the Palestinian Permanent Observer to the U.N., Nasser Al-Kidwa.

Thank you, gentlemen, for being with us this evening.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Thank you.

SAVIDGE: What are we supposed to make of this gathering now that is taking place in Geneva. Is it going to have any bearing whatsoever on the prospects for

peace in the Middle East? And let me start with you, Ambassador Pinkas.

ALON PINKAS, ISRAELI CONSUL GENERAL: Well, it's an intellectual exercise.

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CNN SUNDAY NIGHT 22:00 December 1, 2003 Monday

And as such, it's an impressive exercise. The problems that we have with it are many. One is, it is not an agreement. It is a model. And as such, it should not have been negotiated by people who have not been authorized on both sides. That being said, if it's only an exercise, and I don't want to contradict myself, if it is only an exercise, then why not look at it, which leads me to my second problem. And that is that for all intents and purposes, it looks very much similar to the Camp David package that President Clinton offered and then Prime Minister Barak endorsed at Camp David in July of 2000.

That was flatly rejected by the Palestinians. And the question is what has changed in the Palestinians' minds since? Why has the Palestinian leadership not stood up and A, stopped terrorism? B, endorsed, even retroactively, the Camp David package? And C, stand up right now and endorse the Geneva Accords?

SAVIDGE: Mr. Al-Kidwa, let me ask you your thoughts on what is being described, as you heard, as an exercise there in Geneva. What do you think?

NASSER AL-KIDWA: I think it's more important than Mr. Pinkas said. These are official -- not official indeed, but politicians from both sides, respectable politicians. And they have done some serious work. And they provided us with a very good bottle for further official negotiations when the two sides decide to come together.

The Palestinian side gave the general support for the Geneva understandings. And they said clearly that they can provide a good basis for further negotiation. The Israeli side, however, Mr. Sharon and his government flatly rejected these understandings vehemently I would say, and actually threatened those Israelis who participated in drafting it with the consequences, including jailing them.

So you could see easily what kind of position the -- Mr. Sharon and his government indeed have on this issue.

Now with regard to the fact that these understandings are similar to the initiative of President Clinton, former President Clinton, that's correct. But let me correct Mr. Pinkas. The Palestinian side did not reject the initiative out of hand. Actually, the Palestinian response was exactly similar to the Israeli response. Acceptance with some reservations.

Mr. Barak did not do any good to the peace process then. Nevertheless, now we have another opportunity. And I hope that we can seize on it and proceed forward.

SAVIDGE: Well, let's talk about the roadmap, which is the plan that is currently being discussed. There is talk that Prime Minister Ariel Sharon is going to make some major concessions.

Ambassador Pinkas, do you know exactly what they are and what we should

expect?

PINKAS: Well, we are committed to the roadmap. The Palestinians are supposedly and ostensibly committed to the roadmap. The European Union is. Russia is. The U.N. is. And of course, and most importantly, the United States

Page 3  
CNN SUNDAY NIGHT 22:00 December 1, 2003 Monday

of America and President George Bush. We're all committed to the roadmap. In the context of the roadmap, which is another reason why the government -- my government and the majority of Israelis dislike the Geneva Accords, because they run contrary to the roadmap.

The idea is now to find a mechanism to implement the roadmap. I have to say, you know, that yesterday was the 56th anniversary of the U.N. Security Council Resolution 181 on the partition of Palestine in 1947. That was the first in a series of major decisions that the Palestinians somehow managed to miss and somehow managed to screw up, as they did ever since. Now we are...

SAVIDGE: Ambassador, I was asking about the concessions.

PINKAS: ...I know, I know, I know. We are looking at ways to implement the roadmap and try and help the Palestinians to help us not miss another opportunity.

That being said with a new Palestinian government in place, we hope that these -- that the announcement made by Prime Minister Sharon to ease the closures, to open up road blocks and indeed to dismantle several settlements, several uninhabited settlements -- uninhabited settlements, I'm sorry, would prove as a confidence building measure and serve as a confidence building measure, after which there could be a serious negotiating process with the government of Mr. Abu Allah.

SAVIDGE: Mr. Al-Kibwa, is this going to be enough? And where does the security wall bear on all of this?

AL-KIDWA: What unfortunately, Mr. Pinkas again is not accurate. Recently, the Security Council adopted Resolution 1515, endorsing the roadmap. Unfortunately, the Israeli government reacted very negatively to the resolution instead of welcoming the resolution.

It does give you another indication of the real position of Mr. Sharon and his government. Mr. Sharon does not want to implement the roadmap. And I think the wall which he is building now in the occupied Palestinian territory is approved for that.

This wall ends the vision of two state solution, Mr. Bush or President Bush vision for a solution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It involves confiscation of land, destruction of further land, destruction of the lives of tens of thousands of Palestinians. It is a legal acquisition of territory by force. This is expressly prohibited under international law.

Anyway, we will proceed.

SAVIDGE: Ambassador Al-Kidwa, all right, thank you. We have to end it there.

I'm sorry, we don't have a full hour to dedicate to all of this, but we do appreciate both of you joining us for the discussion.

Ambassador Alon Pinkas and Ambassador Nasser Al-Kidwa. We will talk again, I am sure. Thank you, gentlemen.

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CNN SUNDAY NIGHT 22:00 December 1, 2003 Monday

**AL-KIDWA:** Thank you.

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**SHOW:** CNN Live Sunday

**October 26, 2003, Sunday 16:00-17:00 ET**

**NETWORK:** CNN

**MEDIUM:** Cable

**TYPE:** National Cable

**LENGTH:** 63 words

**BODY:**

START: 00:19:23

Teased Segment - Mideast; Israel is talking about a wall that would mark a border.

Visual - scene.

Interview - Nasser Al-Kidwa, Palestinian observer, talks about the wall.

Interview - Erud Olmert, Israeli vice prime minister, talks about the issue.

Studio Interview - Dan Efron, Newsweek, talks about the fence in Israel. :LR

END: 00:23:34

**SEGMENT-ID:** 13

**PROGRAM-ID:** cnn16001026

**LOAD-DATE:** November 26, 2003

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CNN INTERNATIONAL

**SHOW:** Q&A WITH JIM CLANCY 11:30 AM Eastern Standard Time

**September** 19, 2003 Friday

Transcript # 091901cb.k18

**SECTION:** NEWS; INTERNATIONAL

**LENGTH:** 2276 words

**HEADLINE:** Q&A 11:30

**GUESTS:** Nasser al-Kidwa, Dan Gillerman

**BYLINE:** Zain Verjee

**HIGHLIGHT:**

Is compromise possible in the Middle East?

**BODY:**

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

ZAIN VERJEE, CNN INTERNATIONAL ANCHOR (voice-over): At the United Nations, attention once more on Israel's threat to remove Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat. The U.N. (UNINTELLIGIBLE) debate and vote on a resolution calling on Israel to back down from its threat, a threat that appears to have received a boost from U.S. President George W. Bush.

GEORGE W. BUSH, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: Mr. Arafat has failed as a leader.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Mr. Arafat is a democratically elected and as such a legitimate leader of the Palestinians.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: (UNINTELLIGIBLE) positive response by the people of the region toward these policies.

SHIMON PERES, FORMER ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER: I believe it will push many Palestinians to take a more extreme position, totally unnecessary.

VERJEE: On this addition of Q&A, is any compromise possible?

Page 7

Q&A WITH JIM CLANCY 11:30 AM Eastern Standard Time September 19, 200

(END VIDEOTAPE)

VERJEE: Welcome to Q&A. Will the United States veto of a U.N. Security Council resolution demanding that Israel rescind its threat to remove Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, the debate now goes to the United Nations General Assembly. Is any compromise possible? From the United Nations, I spoke with Israeli ambassador to the U.N., Dan Gillerman, and the Palestinian representative to the U.N., Nasser al-Kidwa.

Mr. Gillerman, to you first. Is there any proposal, any measure, any action the Palestinian Authority can take that will lead Israel to rescind its decision to remove Yasser Arafat?

DAN GILLERMAN, ISRAELI AMBASSADOR TO THE U.N.: Well, the first decision the Palestinian leadership should take, and should have taken a long time ago is to dismantle the infrastructure of terrorism, and eradicate terrorism. We're facing the worst, most brutal and evil terror this century has seen. It is lead by Mr. Arafat, engineered by Mr. Arafat. In fact, invented by Mr. Arafat.

He is the one who brought the world suicide bombings and airplane hijackings. And we've seen the devastating results all over the world today. So the first condition is to act against terror. And it is very clear.

VERJEE: Specifically how?

GILLERMAN: Specifically by arresting the leaders of the Hamas, the Islamic Jihad, the Al-Aqsa Brigades and the Tanzim. The Palestinian leadership knows very well who these people are, where their weapons are stashed. They can arrest them within 48 hours. Let me make it very clear. This is not a matter of capability. This is a matter of willingness. And unfortunately, as long as Mr. Arafat is there, there is no willingness, and he has prevented any Palestinian leader, even those who wanted to do it, from taking even the first step in that direction.

VERJEE: You are saying, Mr. Ambassador, that if they were all arrested, you would rescind?

GILLERMAN: If the Palestinian leadership acted against terrorism, Israel has stated repeatedly it would be willing to proceed along road of peace and negotiation, reach a settlement with the Palestinians, and provide for them the very bright future they deserve, rather than the very bleak past Mr. Arafat has brought them.

VERJEE: Nasser al-**Kidwa**, with that for starters, would the Palestinian Authority explicitly condemn Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, those organizations responsible for terror? Would it dismantle the so-called terrorists organizations if Israel rescinds its decision to remove Arafat?

NASSER AL-**KIDWA**, PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVE TO THE U.N.: Let me first say that the statements made by the Israeli ambassador is very unfortunate, especially coming from the representative of a government headed by Mr. Sharon, a hero (ph) of repeated massacres against the Palestinian people and head of a government that has been committing horrific war crimes, inhuman (ph) war crimes  
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against our people, killing thousands of people and injuring tens of thousands, destroying the lives of the Palestinian people collectively.

In any way fighting terrorism is essential, of course, but you have always to remember that the essence of the whole thing is the existence of the Israeli occupation, the colonization of our land and the rejection by Israel of the existence of the Palestinian state, and its rejection of the two-state solution. For this peace to be achieved, we need to have a different Israeli position, one that says, yes, we want to end this occupation, that says yes, we want to end the colonization of the Palestinian land. Only this could bring hope, and will then open the door for any practical steps on the ground.

VERJEE: The issue at stake, you want Israel to rescind the decision to remove Yasser Arafat. That's what's before the General Assembly today. As a first



step, will you arrest known Palestinian militants, known Palestinian terrorists? Will you condemn the groups you know are responsible for it?

**AL-KIDWA:** As the first step, we are ready absolutely to take the first step as agreed upon in the road map, along with the implementation by Israel of the first step also agreed in the road map. That means a declaration on the Palestinian side to end all violence and terror, and on the Israeli side as well, to end all attacks against Palestinians everywhere.

Unfortunately, the public doesn't know these facts. Doesn't know that there is already an agreement that was violated by the Israeli side. The implementation of the agreed upon first step by the two sides is the way forward, and that also will then lead to a different situation on the ground.

**VERJEE:** Specifically though, Ambassador Gillerman, can there be any compromise on this issue that faces the General Assembly today? Can there be any compromise between the Israelis and the Palestinians on the security cabinet's decision to remove Arafat?

**GILLERMAN:** There can and I believe there will be compromise and peace between Israelis and Palestinians. But there will not be peace until the Palestinians learn to love their children more than they hate us. Let me quote to you Mr. Arafat, Mr. **Al-Kidwa's** patron only yesterday, when he spoke to the western media, and said that there wasn't one single person in Palestine who doesn't want and wouldn't want to die as a martyr.

I believe no baby is born wanting to be a suicide bomber. But with a kind of incitement and hatred and corrupt leadership, which Mr. Arafat has brought his own people, there can be no compromise. If there is a new leadership.

**VERJEE:** But the Palestinians would argue, what about the violence under the Israeli occupation?

**GILLERMAN:** First of all, for those listeners and those viewers were born less than 30 years ago, let me make history very, very clear. For the first 20 years of Israel's existence, between 1948 and 1967, there wasn't one single inch of Arab land occupied by Israelis. Occupation is an excuse, because for those first 20 years, we were still the subject of horrible suicide attacks and bombings by the Palestinians who never, ever recognized our right to exist.

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So occupation is a great mantra, but it is an excuse. The real problem is terror. The real problem is incitement. The real problem is raising babies to don explosive belts and explode themselves in cafes and in restaurants and in bars. This is the real problem.

**VERJEE:** And you had said earlier, excuse me, Ambassador Gillerman, but the first step the Palestinian Authority should do is to arrest people that they know are responsible for suicide bombings, for organizing them, for terror attacks. Let me ask Nasser al-**Kidwa**, then, could you arrest Palestinian militants that you know are out there within 48 hours, as Ambassador Gillerman

suggested that that ought to be the first step?

**AL-KIDWA:** First, let me underline the outrageous statement just made by the ambassador accusing the Palestinian people of not loving their children. This is the kind of mentality that we are faced with. Furthermore, the ambassador did not tell us what the Israeli occupation did between the inception of the occupation, and until the first suicide bombings occurred 27 years later. He didn't tell us that Israel actually during this period transferred more than 350,000 settlers to colonize our land. He didn't say that there has been always organized and systematic oppression against the Palestinian people. He didn't say that during this period, thousands of Palestinians were killed, and again the lives of the Palestinian people were destroyed. He didn't say all these things.

This is the crux of the issue. Do they want to split the land? Do they want the existence of the Palestinian state living in peace with Israel or not? Or do they want the whole thing? Do they want greater Israel? This is the issue. Because our national existence is at stake. When they take the right positions, then this will be the necessary atmosphere for the Palestinian Authority to take action, including against anyone who would commit illegal actions.

(CROSSTALK)

VERJEE: I'm asking you one more time, will the Palestinian Authority arrest militants that it knows are out there?

**AL-KIDWA:** In time. The first step agreed upon in the road map we are ready to do. That should be reciprocated with -- by a first step on the Israeli side. And then the second step by the Palestinian side, including possibly the arrest of anyone who doesn't comply with the overall agreement.

VERJEE: Ambassador Gillerman, we spoke to the former Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres a few days ago about Israel's decision to remove Yasser Arafat. Just listen to what he had to say.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

PERES: I think it is totally unnecessary. First of all, if you want to do something, do. But if you are just declaring, you have all the negatives without really gaining anything of importance. Then I don't think they thought out the whole story up to the end. Because if Arafat will be expelled, outside he will have more opportunity, and a higher voice than he does today. So what are we going to gain?

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(END VIDEO CLIP)

VERJEE: Dan Gillerman, your response?

GILLERMAN: Well, I have very great respect, tremendous respect, and admiration for Mr. Peres. I think he's this century's -- one of the century's greatest leaders. I fully agree with him that if you want to do something, do it. And the Israeli government has taken a decision in principle to do what it

thinks is right and to do what it feels is right to protect its citizens.

As you know that only two days ago the Security Council rejected a proposition, a resolution which was there to block the expulsion of Arafat. And that rejection was actually supported both by the United States and by two of the greatest countries in Europe, and Bulgaria. So there seems to be a consensus about around the world that Arafat is the problem, rather than the solution.

And I truly believe that Arafat -- and I hope Mr. Al-Kidwa realizes that deep down, as do so many other Palestinians, it's not just our greatest tragedy, or the region's greatest tragedy. He is first and foremost his own people's greatest tragedy. They do deserve better.

VERJEE: So by doing this, by making the announcement as Shimon Peres said, by eliciting all this negativity, nothing is really gained. So what is the strategy here on Israel's part?

GILLERMAN: The Israeli strategy is very clear. It is to protect its citizens, its babies, its children and its mothers from the horrible phenomena of terrorism which we are facing. And seeing as Arafat is the main engine of terror, the main generator of terror, he must go. And that is in fact what the Israeli cabinet has decided.

VERJEE: Nasser al-Kidwa, with the debate, the emergency debate, in the U.N. General Assembly today, do you believe that there will be a compromise?

AL-KIDWA: First, let me say that we listened to another example of misinformation. The Security Council did not reject the resolution. The Security Council failed to adopt the resolution because of the U.S. veto, and only with abstention of the states mentioned by Mr. Gillerman. Unfortunately, that U.S. veto, by the way, was the 26th U.S. veto against Palestinian resolutions alone. So you can imagine what kind of a role played by the United States in the Security Council.

With regard to the position of the international community, I'm sure that Mr. Gillerman will see this position very clearly today during the vote by the emergency special session, emergency special session, not a normal session on the draft resolution before it. You will see the overwhelming majority of the international community again condemning the Israeli action, and taking clear position in support of the legitimate choices of the Palestinian people, including their choice of their leadership. It is not up to the Israeli side, or any other foreign side to tell the Palestinian people who they should elect, or who should be their leader. That is again very racist, condescending attitude that is absolutely unacceptable.

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VERJEE: Nasser al-Kidwa, the Palestinian representative to the United Nations, Dan Gillerman, the Israeli ambassador to the United Nations. Thanks to you both for joining us on Q&A.

GILLERMAN: Thank you very much.

AL-KIDWA: Thank you.

VERJEE: That's this addition of Q&A. Just before we go, we always want to hear from you. You can e-mail your comments to Q&A@CNN.COM. We'll have more news in just a moment. This is CNN.

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**SHOW:** People In The News

**June 14, 2003, Saturday 11:00-12:00 ET**

**NETWORK:** CNN

**MEDIUM:** Television

**TYPE:** National Cable

**LENGTH:** 81 words

**BODY:**

START: 00:20:55

Teased Segment - Recap of Ariel Sharon.;

Interview - Dore Gold, Sharon Adviser, talks about Sharon's relationship with Yasser Arafat.

Interview - David Shipler, author of Arab and Jew, talks about Sharon visiting the Temple Mount.

Interview - Nasser Al-Kidwa, Palestinian Ambassador to the UN, talks about Sharon's visit causing an explosion with the Palestinian people.

Interview - Ahmad Tibi, Knesset member, talks about Sharon. :LR

END: 00:27:06

**SEGMENT-ID:** 10

**PROGRAM-ID:** cnn11000614

**LOAD-DATE:** July 15, 2003

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Video Monitoring Services of America

**SHOW:** 11 News Saturday Morning

**June 14, 2003, Saturday 06:00-07:00 ET**

**NETWORK:** WBAL-TV

**MEDIUM:** Television

**TYPE:** Local TV

**LENGTH:** 106 words

**BODY:**

START: 00:05:53

Mideast; More missile strikes by Israel as it vows war against Hamas.

Graphic - Mideast Crisis, photo of a flag. The crisis threatens the U.S. backed Roadmap to peace.

Visual - crowd scene.

Interview - Dr. Nasser al-Kidwa, Palestinian Representative to U.N., says he still thinks the ceasefire agreement could be achieved.

Interview - Arye Mekel, Israeli Representative to U.N., says we can not have buses blown up in Jerusalem and then negotiate the next morning.

Interview - Colin Powell, Secretary of State, says all of our efforts are focused on Hamas and dissuading Islamic Jihad. :LR

END: 00:07:51

**SEGMENT-ID:** 7

**PROGRAM-ID:** wbal06000614

**LOAD-DATE:** July 15, 2003

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The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer

**June 13, 2003, Friday Transcript #7653**

**LENGTH:** 8869 words

**HEADLINE:** Roadblock to Peace;

Hopes & Fears;

Tax Tussle;

Shields & Brooks;

Out of Africa

**BYLINE:** ANCHOR: JIM LEHRER; GUESTS: RASHID KHALIDI; MATTHEW LEVITT; DAVID

BROOKS; MARK SHIELDS; TIM WHITE; CORRESPONDENTS: KWAME HOLMAN; RAY SUAREZ;

SPENCER MICHELS; MARGARET WARNER; GWEN IFILL; TERENCE SMITH; KWAME HOLMAN

**BODY:**

JIM LEHRER: Good evening. I'm Jim Lehrer. On the NewsHour tonight we have our News Summary, then some perspective on Hamas, the militant anti-Israel Palestinian group. A report from Chicago on how Iraqi Americans view post-war Iraq. The latest on the House-Senate standoff over additional tax credits for some low income Americans, the analysis of Mark Shields and David Brooks, and what newly discovered fossils may say about how we all began.

NEWS SUMMARY

JIM LEHRER: Israel struck at the militant group Hamas again late today.

Helicopter gunships fired three missiles at a car in Gaza City. One person was killed, and 32 wounded, including ten children. Hamas said the dead man was one of its operatives. The Israelis insisted today they would go on targeting the group until it gives up terror tactics. The Palestinians said that stance was the problem. Representatives of the two sides spoke at the U.N.

ARYE MEKEL: Talking to the Hamas for so-called cease-fire will only, even if they agree, will only enable them to get stronger and ready for the next wave of violence. It's a futile effort.

NASSER AL-KIDWA: If the Israeli actions were brought to an end, if the declared Israeli policy is stopped and reversed, I still think that the cease-fire agreement could be achieved.

JIM LEHRER: Later the Israelis fired missiles at the target of Hamas; they said the target was a small weapons factory. We'll have more on the Hamas story in just a moment. U.S. forces killed 27 Iraqi fighters today, after they ambushed a tank patrol. There were no American casualties but ambush set off intense fighting about 35 miles north of Baghdad. The U.S. Army has been sweeping that area hunting armed supporters of Saddam Hussein. Separately, a military spokesman said an air-and-ground raid killed about 70 opposition fighters at a training camp northeast of Baghdad; one American was wounded. And in northern Iraq, U.S. troops in Kirkuk arrested 74 people described as al-Qaida

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sympathizers. The U.S. Senate will begin debate Monday on adding a drug benefit to Medicare. The Finance Committee approved the plan last night on a bipartisan vote. It calls for Medicare to cover half of the first \$5,400 in drug costs.

Overall, it would cost the government \$400 billion over ten years. The bill also offers new, managed care networks under Medicare. The House is working on its own version. Wholesale prices fell again in May. The Labor Department reported today that producer prices dropped 0.3 percent. That followed a record drop of 1.9 percent the month before. On Wall Street, the Dow Jones Industrial Average lost 79 points to close at 9117. The NASDAQ fell 27 points to close at 1626. For the week, the Dow gained more than 0.5 percent. The NASDAQ was virtually unchanged. And that's it for the News Summary tonight. Now it's on to the Hamas roadblock, Iraqi Americans postwar views, the new tax-cuts standoff, shields and Brooks, and an important fossil discovery.

FOCUS - ROADBLOCK TO PEACE?

JIM LEHRER: The Hamas problem, we begin with some background, narrated by Tom Bearden.

TOM BEARDEN: A week of bloodshed that killed at least 47 Palestinians and Israelis ended with U.S. officials focusing blame on Palestinian militant groups, particularly the largest, Hamas. The organization has claimed credit for numerous suicide bombings in the last two years, including Wednesday's bus blast in Jerusalem. It killed 17 Israelis. Today, Secretary of State Colin Powell said

terror is at the root of recent unrest in the MidEast.

COLIN POWELL: And if the terror goes down, then the response to terror will no longer be required. So we have to get moving, bring the terror down. All of our efforts are focused on Hamas and persuading Hamas and Islamic jihad and other terror organizations that this is the time to abandon terror.

TOM BEARDEN: The latest attacks and counterattacks began Tuesday, when Israeli helicopter gunships tried and failed to kill Hamas leader Abdel Aziz al-Rantisi in the Gaza Strip. The Israeli assassination attempt prompted rare criticism from the white house. Spokesman Ari Fleischer said the president was "deeply troubled" by the development.

ARI FLEISCHER: The president is concerned that this strike will undermine efforts by Palestinian authorities and others to bring an end to terrorist attacks.

TOM BEARDEN: U.S. officials made no mention of Israel the next day, when the Palestinian bus blast preceded another set of Israeli helicopter strikes. In all, this week's aerial attacks, including today's, have killed six Hamas leaders and at least 13 Palestinian civilians. On Wednesday, President Bush urged groups that fund Hamas to cut off support, and his spokesman said yesterday that "the issue is not Israel, the issue is not the Palestinian Authority. The issue is Hamas." The surge in violence has brought renewed threats from both sides. Hamas spiritual leader Sheik Ahmed Yassin, announced Tuesday his group would target "each person in Israel" including civilians, and a spokesman warned foreigners to leave the region to ensure their safety.

MAHMOUD A-ZAHAR, Hamas Spokesman: Because Israel opened the fire for everybody, I think it is worthy to consider eye-for- eye, nose-for-nose,

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leader-for- leader, and civilian-for- civilian.

TOM BEARDEN: Meanwhile, Israeli leaders have said they have decided to target the top Hamas leadership, even political leaders like Sheik Yassin, even though he's not part of the group's military wing.

AVI PAZNER, Israeli Government Spokesman: Hamas has now specifically threatened our women and children. It is the first terrorist organization to do so. We will do whatever it takes for them not to be able to carry out their activities.

TOM BEARDEN: Yesterday Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon said he would wage war on Hamas "until the bitter end."

JIM LEHRER: Margaret Warner takes it from there.

MARGARET WARNER: For more on Hamas and what it would take to rein it in, we turn to Rashid Khalidi, a professor of Middle East history and director of the Center for International Studies at the University of Chicago; and Matthew Levitt, a former Middle East counterterrorism analyst at the FBI. He's now a senior fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. Welcome to you



both. Thanks for joining us.

Professor Khalidi, tell us about what Hamas is and how it began, back in '87, wasn't it?

RASHID KHALIDI: They're. That's correct. Hamas developed out of the Muslim Brotherhood, which for two decades had operated under the Israeli occupation in a very quiescent manner. It did not resist the occupation it was seen by the Israelis as a force which was use against the PLO. In 1987, it began as a resistance movement against occupation and it was one of the main forces in the first intifada from 1987 onwards. Its objective is an Islamic Palestine; that's its charter, which means the elimination of Israel. And it has used a variety of means to do that, including most recently attacks on Israeli civilians. It is an organization which has consistently gotten support of about 10 percent of Palestinians. And that number goes up and down. Recently it has been much greater than that. And it has a mass base partly because of the extensive network of social services it offers, as well as the fact that it poses as the most vigorous defender of the Palestinians and the partisan of resistance against occupation and settlement.

MARGARET WARNER: What would you add to that, Matt Levitt in terms of its roots? For instance, the Financial Times today called Hamas Israel's own Frankenstein monster. Was Israel involved in nurturing Hamas?

MATTHEW LEVITT: Hamas would be today what it is whether or not Israel supported it at its conception. It is true that Israeli used it against the secularist nationalist Palestinian groups and the PLO, which at the time were presenting the prominent terrorist threat. The Muslim Brotherhood at the time, as Professor Khalidi said, was not engaging in acts of terrorism. And it was playing one party, which was at the time, a more peaceful party. The fact is that today Hamas is indeed a very violent organization, and both its political and social welfare wings, while engaging in other activities as well, support those terrorist activities.

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MARGARET WARNER: And it has never accepted the legitimacy of the state of Israel.

MATTHEW LEVITT: It has never accepted the legitimacy of the state of Israel and it has also never accepted the legitimacy of any secular Palestinian state. Senior Palestinian officials have said to me many times, and I concur, that in the world view of Hamas, there is no room for any Israel, nor is there any room for any PA.

MARGARET WARNER: Professor Khalidi, where does it get - as you pointed out, it also runs all these social services; that's pretty expensive, probably more expensive than terror. Where does it get the money for all of this?

RASHID KHALIDI: Well, Hamas draws on a vast network of Palestinian and non-Palestinian supporters in the Middle East and elsewhere; people who feel

that there's no possibility of a political solution, or who are against a compromise solution, and who feel that these are the only people who are in the field answering tit for tat the kinds of horrors that are inflicted on the Palestinians by the occupation. So they have the support of people who have money in the Arab world and elsewhere, mainly among Palestinians, I would guess, but also others. And, as you say, this is a very expensive operation, in particular their social welfare component, which is central to their appeal, given the destitution among Palestinians and given the very, very high number of casualties, for example, in the last 32 months, more than 25,000 wounded, more than 2,400 killed. In those circumstances, a movement which is not corrupt, a movement which is clearly working hard for social welfare is able to pick up a lot of support. And that does cost money.

MARGARET WARNER: So, Matt Levitt, when President Bush calls on Arab states to cut off funding for Hamas and support, would that be effective? Would that really hobble Hamas?

MATTHEW LEVITT: It would be extremely effective. It is not the only measure that has to be taken but the most important. Hamas's social welfare activities do, in fact, take up the vast majority of its expenses. Those social welfare institutions also provide key logistical support for Hamas's terrorist activity. For example, the FBI has demonstrated that many of the charity committees, the Zakat committees in the West Bank are led by known Hamas members, members of the Hamas military wing. Therefore shutting off of the funds will make it much more difficult for them to carry out their attack. Additionally, when Hamas funds the families of widows and orphans, for example, it earmarks those funds primarily for families of suicide bombers not only but primarily and the lists of donors from charities that have been associated with Hamas bear that out. The fact is that the idea that there's a distinction, there's a disconnect between the social welfare and military wings, for example, of Hamas, is sophistry, as David Althouser of the National Security Council's working group on counterterrorism financing t put it recently.

MARGARET WARNER: Professor Khalidi, it is obvious from what the president and what Ari Fleischer and Secretary Powell have said in the last few days, the U.S. seems now quite focused on trying to find a way to sideline Hamas so that they can get the Israelis and the Palestinian Authority at work on the road map.

Powell said today we are working hard for something to persuade Hamas that it's time to abandon terror. Is Hamas open to persuasion or negotiation if in fact

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their aim is as absolute as you both have described it?

RASHID KHALIDI: Well, I think there are two important things to state here.

The first is that their stated aims are completely compromising. But there have been a number of times in the past when it is clear that there were deep, profound differences between different wings and different leaders and different

trends within Hamas over whether to come to terms with the PA, indeed, even whether to come to terms with Israel, at least in the short-term. Secondly, what is really crucial is that there is no military means of dealing with Hamas. Israel has been dealing militarily with this kind of issue not just Hamas, for a very long time. Certainly for the past 32 months there has been very little restraint shown on the Israeli side and it has clearly not worked. The approach that the PA was trying, which was to try and at least win over those elements of Hamas who would be willing to come to terms, may or may not work. I'm not entirely sure that there is the possibility of entirely isolating those people who will not stop fighting. But to focus solely on Hamas and to ignore the fact that the Israeli army during the time when the PA was trying to come to terms with Hamas killed 19 Palestinians, this is over the last two and a half weeks, including two leaders of Hamas in Tulkarem six or seven days ago, a leader of Islamic Jihad, and another in the northern part of the West Bank about ten days ago, is to act as if this is a war with only one party fighting. The Israeli army and Hamas are both committed to a military solution to this problem. If the United States wants to resolve it, it has to stop both of the parties that are committed to a military solution and I would suggest that the occupying power, which has killed three times as many Palestinians as Hamas and its allies, is someplace they ought to be focusing, not just on Hamas.

MARGARET WARNER: Now, Matt Levitt, the Israeli government confirmed essentially the stories that have been running that they, in fact, have decided to target the top Hamas political leadership, not just the military fighters. What will that accomplish?

MATTHEW LEVITT: Well, senior U.S. Government officials have said the problem is Hamas, and I agree. What the Israelis are saying is that they're going to target the leadership of Hamas. From what I understand it is not necessarily any political leader but political leaders that have been tied to acts of terrorism. Now whether or not that is going to be successful, I don't think it will be in its entirety. It is true that if you eliminate key members of terrorist infrastructures, you can do great harm to their ability to conduct attacks, as Israel did for example in the case of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad in the period before the current intifada. The whole idea of a cease-fire with Hamas, frankly I find ridiculous. Hamas has no place for Israel or the PA in its world view, and it will continue to adhere to that principle. All the cease-fire is going to do is give it time to reconstitute and rearm. There have been ten different attempts at cease-fires with Hamas. Every single one has been broken. And Professor Khalidi noted the terrible atrocities that have happened on both sides in the past few days. It's a little bit of a chicken and an egg. As it happens, in fact, from this case, the first attack was not by the Israeli army but by a Hamas attack on an Ares checkpoint at the same time that the Israelis were, to great political cost to them, dismantling illegal outposts. Clearly there is responsibility on both sides here. But I think the Israelis are

responding to Hamas attacks, and I think if there is a lack of terrorism, there would be a lack of Israeli military activity.

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MARGARET WARNER: Professor Khalidi, Richard Haass, who's director of policy planning at the State Department, was on this program last night, and he suggested a third alternative in which he said there's not a political solution with Hamas, but he also didn't think it was really up to the Israelis -- that, in fact, the Palestinian Authority had to be given the tools it needed to do it. One, do you agree with that? Do you think that the new Palestinian prime minister is capable of reining in Hamas in some fashion? Would it require the use of force? Would it trigger a civil war within the Palestinian community if he were to do that?

RASHID KHALIDI: Unless and until the unceasing process of expanding the stranglehold of the occupation is brought to a halt and reversed and unless the process of expansion of settlement, which is just ongoing daily is stopped, there is no possibility of the Palestinian Authority doing the slightest, anything, which will restrain Hamas. Israel can try. Israel will fail. It has failed. It will continue to fail to use purely military means. This is a political problem at base. And for those who are irreconcilable, and they exist on the Palestinian side, on the Israeli side. The point is to isolate them politically. Israel has in fact, on many of the cases that Mr. Levitt was talking about, been the destabilizing reason for the failure of negotiations with Hamas. Key assassinations, such as the one carried out in Tulkarem a couple days before the summit, of two Hamas leaders were among the things that pushed this thing over the edge. I agree, it is a chicken and egg situation. But I think you have to understand that this is at root a political problem having to do with occupation and settlement; and you have to address that at the same time as you address how you restrain Hamas and how you restrain the Israeli army.

MARGARET WARNER: Quick final answer from you. Is Mahmoud Abbas capable of doing this if given the right tools, and would it mean a civil war within the Palestinians?

MATTHEW LEVITT: Several of his senior security officials have said they would like to be given the order to crack down on the militants who want to do nothing other than conduct attacks, not the others, who are just Islamist. Professor Khalidi keeps referring to occupation, and there is no question the Palestinians are suffering. But the fact is, that for all of its failures, I think the last attempt at peace at Camp David did get to the bottom line that occupation is not the only issue. One of the many things that had been negotiated was the issue of settlements and therefore, the Hamas elements, in particular, who will attack whether occupation there is or not. The Palestinians need to crack down on them.

MARGARET WARNER: All right. We have to leave it there. Thank you very much for joining us.

JIM LEHRER: Still to come on the NewsHour tonight, Iraqi Americans look homeward, the saga of the tax cuts, Shields and Brooks, and a new old fossils story.

#### FOCUS - HOPES & FEARS

JIM LEHRER: The Iraqi Americans story as told by Elizabeth Brackett of WTTW-Chicago.

ELIZABETH BRACKETT: In Chicago cafes where Iraqi-Americans gather, in the Page 20

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grocery stores that sell foods from the Middle East, in places Iraqi Americans work, the talk is still very much about the war. By and large, the Iraqi Americans we talked to are grateful for American intervention, but are very concerned about the situation in their homeland now. That was the feeling of these two sisters, who left Iraq when they were young girls and have now become successful hairdressers.

MARYAM KHNANISHO: The situation's pretty bad right now, but at least they're free from Saddam's regime, this is why we're happy about it. So hopefully it will get better, and they'll be safe.

ELIZABETH BRACKETT: The reaction was the same in this Iraqi-American owned grocery store.

WARDA KHNANISHO: Right now I'm very, very delighted, very happy that there was a cancer, there was a dictator, and that dictator is not any more there. I am very happy and people they will breathe again.

ELIZABETH BRACKETT: But Iraqi Americans who gather regularly in this cafe say the current situation in Iraq has begun to undermine Iraqis' newfound sense of freedom.

JASIM ILIMTORI: It's just really getting out of control. If I could put it in an analogy would be a car driving the highway with no driver. So no governments, no systems, and the lawlessness and the disarray is all over the country, and somebody needs to do something about it.

RAHMAN MANAHI: The major reason is because of the poor planning. You cannot expect that people who have been oppressed for 35 years who have nothing and suddenly and finally the regime is gone, it's been removed. It's like Stalin's gone or Hitler's gone, and you know there's no food and no law. I mean, what do you expect them to do?

ELIZABETH BRACKETT: Aiham Alsammarae pores over plans for electrical grids. He has spent the last year working with the State Department and other Iraqi exiles to try and prevent the chaos that now seems to be engulfing much of Iraq. The president of an electrical engineering consulting company with projects around the world, Alsammarae was on his way to Iraq the day we spoke to him. His mission was to try and help restore the country's electricity, a much bigger task than he had projected it to be before the war.

AIHAM ALSAMMARAE: I thought that Saddam Hussein will collapse in more they

call it systematic way. So the government would stay intact, but Saddam would get out with his whatever fellows and we catch them, and the American army would go in and control everything. This was the scenario that didn't happen.

ELIZABETH BRACKETT: That lack of any government structure plus the widespread looting has made Alsammarae's job much harder than it has been in other war torn countries.

AIHAM ALSAMMARARE: We did it in Kosovo in 48 hours, we put it back. 48 hours, Kosovo has electricity. It is not understandable when you have 100... three days ago it was almost 120 degrees in Baghdad the temperature, 120. And this is like Phoenix, you are in Phoenix, you see that the tar is melting. In Baghdad, the

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tar is the same thing. So you can't live in the homes without air condition for God's sakes, so the people get crazy.

ELIZABETH BRACKETT: And it is the inability to control the craziness and provide security in the streets that has made the problem of restoring electricity so difficult, says Alsammarae.

AIHAM ALSAMMARARE: If we don't have security we don't have a business, we don't have electricity, we don't have water, we don't have anything.

ELIZABETH BRACKETT: This serene painting by Iraqi Kamal hardly reflects his feelings at the moment. Forced into the Iraqi army in the 1990s, he was made to paint endless portraits of Saddam Hussein, an assignment he hated. Though he remains vehemently against the Hussein regime, he saw the Iraq war as an invasion of his country, not its liberation, and he predicts the violence against American troops will only get worse.

KAMAL: I think that the Iraqis, they are going to go against the American. They want them to be out. They need to find a new government as quick as possible and to leave the country and let Iraqi control their own country, not by army controlling the country.

ELIZABETH BRACKETT: And if the Americans don't leave?

KAMAL: There's going to be a lot of trouble, there's going to be a lot of fights. It seems like a larger Palestine, that's what it seems.

ELIZABETH BRACKETT: Iraqi American Asaad Ali is not as pessimistic, but he, too, is concerned. In this country for only four years, he stays close to his homeland by continuing to enjoy the foods of Iraq. A nuclear physicist, he was a senior researcher at Iraq's nuclear facility in Tuwaitha, a facility that is now guarded by U.S. troops after extensive looting. He left Iraq in 1997, after refusing to work on developing weapons grade plutonium for Hussein. He says Iraq did not have a nuclear bomb when he left, though he says Hussein clearly had the capability to easily produce chemical and biological weapons-- though Ali says Iraqis never saw Hussein's alleged weapons of mass destruction as the justification to go to war.

ASAAD ALI: Ousting of Saddam Hussein is enough justification for me to go to



war. Just for that and if I were in Bush shoe, I wouldn't claim anything else. No al-Qaida link, no WMD, just this is a dictator. And if you want weapons of mass destruction, so you don't need to go further than Saddam Hussein because he killed 750,000 live people. He buried them, what weapon can kill more than that? ELIZABETH BRACKETT: Assyrian Iraqis are the largest Iraqi exile group in the Chicago area, though back in Iraq, the Assyrian orthodox Christians are one of the smaller minority groups. Generally, the Assyrians remain very supportive of U.S. policies in Iraq. The Assyrian American National Federation had sent its past president Sargon Lewi to Iraq just after Baghdad fell to assess the condition of Assyrians there.

SARGON LEWE: I think Iraqi we tell them 30, 40 year you wait. You could wait another six month and you going to when they going to put everything in order? Like electricity and oil and gas and work and job, I believe American they're  
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doing the right thing.

ELIZABETH BRACKETT: Personally Lewi was thrilled to be reunited first with his brother and then with other family members he hadn't seen in 27 years.

SARGON LEWE: I don't believe whole life we sit together and we drink, we eat there. We remember all those times. I thank God for America. Not only for my family. Million of Iraqi families the same thing

ELIZABETH BRACKETT: Assyrian American travel agency owner, Minas Gorgius is hoping things will settle down enough in Iraq to begin sending both Iraqis and tourists there again.

MINAS GORGUIS: We were hoping that it would be in the summer, but the way it looks maybe it will be in fall. Sometime in the fall we will have our first group.

ELIZABETH BRACKETT: But there is much to be done in Iraq before tourists start flying into Baghdad, and Aihem Alsammarre says it is the next three months that will be critical.

AIHEM ALSAMMARRE: The majority of the Iraqis in this time they still think they are liberators. If you don't meet the requirements which you came and announced before, all the Iraqi's will be against the United States and Britain, in no time, this is given. But now we are still okay, and still have excellent chance to build a good society in Iraq and leave the country as it is.

ELIZABETH BRACKETT: The Iraqi American community in Chicago, will be closely monitoring that ongoing process in Iraq.

UPDATE - TAX TUSSLE

JIM LEHRER: Next, the big sequel to the big tax cut bill. Kwame Holman reports.

KWAME HOLMAN: Republicans hold a clear majority in the House of Representatives and almost always will have the last say on an idea, even if it wasn't theirs to begin with. That was the case yesterday as Republicans answered



the Democrats' demand for an increase in the child tax credit for low-income families left out of the big tax cut package signed by the president last month. Republicans agreed to the increase, but then added much more new tax cuts totaling \$82 billion. House Majority leader Tom DeLay.

REP. TOM DeLAY: You said working Americans needed additional tax relief, and you know what, the Republicans could not agree more with you.

KWAME HOLMAN: House democrats didn't have the votes to stop the Republicans, and weren't allowed to offer a tax cut plan of their own. The Republican plan passed with only a handful of defections on either side. What democrats did do was play to the television cameras during the floor debate to make their point that Republicans simply were going to the \$82 billion cost of their tax cuts to the mounting federal deficit.

SPOKESMAN: Under House rules I'm going to ask our colleagues to help us.

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KWAME HOLMAN: Charlie Stenholm of Texas and Mississippi's Gene Taylor had choreographed, with apparently little rehearsal, a presentation to illustrate the size of the national debt.

REP. GENE TAYLOR: I'm going to ask my colleagues to step to their right, because we are going to need four more of our colleagues to come forward.

KWAME HOLMAN: In the speaker's chair at the time was Ohio Republican Paul Gillmor, who was not going to permit the demonstration.

REP. PAUL GILLMOR: Although a member may supplement oratory with a visual aid, he may not state an explanation and no other members should traffic the well.

KWAME HOLMAN: Texas Democrat Martin Frost protested the ruling of the chair just long enough for the Democrats to make their point.

REP. MARTIN FROST: So what you're saying is that the members who are standing in the well right now, the ones who are in the well with 914878724, I can't read the rest of that. 867, that they're out of order for advising the country...

REP. PAUL GILLMOR: In the opinion of the chair

KWAME HOLMAN: House Republicans will face more formidable opposition to their tax cut bill in the Senate, which approved its own bill last week with the overwhelming support of Republicans and Democrats. There are big differences between the two versions, possibly too big to reconcile. Senate Finance Committee Chairman Chuck Grassley says it highlights the differences in style between the two chambers.

SEN. CHUCK GRASSLEY: It's the orientation of the two houses. One, if you get anything done, it has to be done in a bipartisan way. In the other House, it's the tradition to do things more in a partisan way.

KWAME HOLMAN: Both bills increase child tax credit benefits to 6.5 half million low income families. The Senate bill does so immediately; the House not until next year. The House bill also expands the number of families eligible to

benefit from the child tax credit from those earning \$110,000 to those earning \$150,000. The House extends the life of the child tax credit increase from 2004 through 2010. And the House bill costs \$82 billion, and is not offset by raising other revenues. The Senate's bill costs \$10 billion and is offset. Michigan Democrat Sander Levin said the Senate never would agree to a tax cut package of that size.

REP. SANDER LEVIN: So what they are doing is a bill with a huge, huge addition to the deficit. Maybe you hope that they will kill this bill when it goes over to the Senate. There is a kind of a legislative machoism going on here: We are going to show the Senate at the cost of the people of this country.

KWAME HOLMAN: California Republican David Dreier said it was too soon to speculate and cited the differences House and Senate Republicans managed to work out over the previous tax cut bill.

REP. DAVID DREIER: I think it's wrong for the House of Representatives, the

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people's House who has a representative here in behalf of between six and seven hundred thousand Americans to simply kowtow to action over there...

KWAME HOLMAN: Neither Senator Grassley, nor Max Baucus, the senior Democrat on the Finance Committee, would speculate on what might happen when negotiators from the two chambers sit down to work out their differences. But yesterday, House Ways and Means Chairman Thomas gave the impression House Republicans wouldn't give up as much ground on this tax bill as they did on the last one.

REP. BILL THOMAS: You want politics; you want policy. Politics is cheap, policy costs money. We're asking you to put your dollars where your mouth is. If the Senate has provisions in their measure that they want to bring to conference that we didn't include, we invite them. But we invite them to a conference that does policy and not politics. And I yield back the balance of my time.

FOCUS - SHIELDS & BROOKS

JIM LEHRER: And to the analysis of Shields and Brooks. Syndicated columnist Mark Shields and David Brooks of the Weekly Standard.

Hot stuff there, Mark, what's going on?

MARK SHIELDS: Hot stuff, Jim. A couple of things are going on. Senator Grassley's right; there is a fundamental institutional difference. In the House of Representatives, almost all of the representatives come from safe congressional district politically. They're going to get reelected in November. The problem they face, the challenge is in a primary if you're a Republican from the conservative side or if you're a democrat from the liberal side. So what Republicans are, in this case in the House, came up with a bill that is considerably to the right of the bill that passed the Senate. The Senate bill passed -- it was just to cover these people for the excluded ten to twenty-six thousand, and then it would cost \$3 billion, and it was paid for, it was offset with increases in customs fees. The House Republicans went after this enormous

bill, \$82 billion and only \$3.5 billion of it is covering the folks. They made a couple of serious mistakes. The first is that they raised it to \$150,000 which includes members of Congress. So members of Congress voted themselves a child tax credit.

JIM LEHRER: If you have income of \$150,000 or less, you qualify for the tax credit.

MARK SHIELDS: That's right, exactly. And they also excluded those Americans in the Marine Corps and in the Army now under fire and in combat in Iraq, which had been included in the Senate bill. So I think the irony most of all was the White House endorsed the Senate bill early in the week, and then endorsed the House bill. It reminded me of that old southern politician who in the fight over prohibition said some of my friends are for prohibition, some of my friends are against it; I stand with my friends. If there is going to be compromise, it will have to be forced and forged by the White House.

JIM LEHRER: Where do you stand, David?

DAVID BROOKS: With my friends. I thought the whole process was fetted; it was a swamp, but out of this emerges, to me the best tax bill of the year. The House

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Republican tax bill is something I actually can believe in because what it does is it targets parents of kids. You know, we've got benefits going to millionaires in Boca Raton; they're going to get Medicare benefits; we've got the investors in Boulder, Colorado, they're getting a big tax cut, but the people who have been just cheated and squeezed by this economy are middle class parents with children who face this incredible housing crisis, incredible education and suddenly here's a real tax cut for them. The tax credit the House Republicans came up with gives them the real child care thousand dollar deduction not only until 2004, which is the current law, but straight through the decade, which they need. And then it extends it within a year or so margin to the people to the working poor. So these are the people who to me need it most. It took the tail end of this dog to get them some help but to me it got them help. And if Olympia Snow and Charles Grassley and all the people in the Senate are going to say, well, we can afford a big tax cut, we can afford \$800 billion for Medicare but when it comes to \$82 billion for parents for kids, then we're fastidious about the deficit, well, that's hypocritical

JIM LEHRER: So it's hypocritical, and do you think it is going to die because of the Senate or die because of what the House wants? What do you think?

DAVID BROOKS: The conventional expectation is that it will die somewhere in conference because the Senate will not go above a certain amount of deficits.

JIM LEHRER: Do you agree?

MARK SHIELDS: Which proves the point -- I mean, the House was not on the level, I mean --

JIM LEHRER: Wait a minute. David just said it's the best bill he's seen in

his life.

MARK SHIELDS: David's endorsement aside, Jim, they passed a bill -- they killed it with kindness -- they passed a bill, which they know the Senate first of all needs 60 votes because this does breaks the budget, all right, to pass this in the Senate, and they know that they don't. But they had already gone on record and they'd come up with their 350 ceiling and Bill Frist had to fight and scramble and so did the White House. Finally Vice President Cheney broke the tie in the Senate to get the 350 - and so now you're going to increase --

JIM LEHRER: On the original.

DAVID BROOKS: Fastidious when it comes to middle class parents - why does Olympia Snowe care - I mean, she is willing to go up to 350 but not up to a little more to help people who actually need it.

JIM LEHRER: Let's concede that the you two disagree very much on the wisdom of each one of these bills. And let's say you both agree that it is going to die. All right. Now who gets the blame politically if that happens and explain it.

DAVID BROOKS: The Republicans feel they will not get blamed for the fact that the working...

JIM LEHRER: They'll go with you?

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DAVID BROOKS: They'll say we had this thing and they'll also say and this is their philosophical argument, which they're clinging to a little too much for my taste, but they're clinging to it: people who do not pay taxes should not get tax credit. They're not saying this is not a tax cut; it's a welfare program. That's their theological argument, which they're sticking, and they're reasonably confident they will not pay a political cost. I'm a little less confident. I'm reasonably confident that President Bush will not pay a political cost because he really has been on the side of the Senate.

JIM LEHRER: The Senate. How do you read the politics?

MARK SHIELDS: I think that the White House understands the reason that they scrambles and encouraged the Senate to act was that they were going to pay a political cost, that this is the worst of all possible worlds if I'm a Republican in a tight race. I have voted to cut investors. I've voted to cut capital gains. I've voted to really comfort the comfortable. And now when it comes to comforting the afflicted, I mean, those working poor, we have just got a little bit - a nudge here, a wink there. Both sides have voted for it but we know it is not going to become law. Aren't we smart?

JIM LEHRER: Okay, speaking of aren't we smart, prescription drugs, I don't know what that transition means.

DAVID BROOKS: Not much.

JIM LEHRER: It worked. Show how smart you are in explaining why now suddenly prescription drugs for

Medicare, it seems like it is going to make it. Everybody is in favor of it and they're working it out after four or five years now.

DAVID BROOKS: Six years really.

JIM LEHRER: Six years, yes.

DAVID BROOKS: I think the political class decided if you go to the people six years in a row and say we are going to pass this for you and you don't pass it, you may begin to suffer a credibility problem. So eventually they are going to do it. And there was the emergence of several key figures. One is Bill Frist you know, Senate Majority Leader -- health care is very important to him. Second, group of moderates, Grassley, Baucus in the Senate, Olympia Snowe, John Breaux, and Democrats and Republicans saying we're going to come up with a bill, and then some movement on the right and the left, and Kennedy on the left, and most importantly, President Bush on the right. President Bush's idea was we'll give you the prescription drug benefit, we're going to tie it to some reform by giving people an incentive to get into these private plans. He basically caved in on that. So now you have got not much real reform but you get the benefit with everybody sort of signing on except for on the left and the right. The people who opposed it -- Trent Lott on the right, John Kerry on the left.

JIM LEHRER: Do you read that the same way?

MARK SHIELDS: I read it much the same way. I would say this, Jim. This is interesting. It is a victory for Democratic liberals if you think about it. Ten

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years ago when this was proposed, it was savaged in the Clinton years. I mean my God almighty, the pharmaceutical companies, this was absolutely erosion of the market system and everything -- we'll never again do anymore research and all the wonderful breakthrough drugs.

JIM LEHRER: Because this will lower the cost of drugs.

MARK SHIELDS: Lower the cost and all that money they pump into research and all the rest of it. Okay. David is absolutely right. George W. Bush made the commitment in the election of 2000 against Al Gore. Both he and -- they neutralized the issue which had been a Democratic issue. Made it again in 2002. He wasn't going to go into 2004 and have this being used against him and Republicans, and I think in that sense, the victory is this: What you have now is the principle. It's like passing the federal minimum wage. It is not an ideal... if you pass the federal minimum wage, the principle of it, and it is \$5 an hour even though you want \$8, you can always come back and get the \$8. I think that's the advantage that liberals take. But David makes a good point. When Ted Kennedy endorsed it, it essentially signaled that this was going to pass, it was no longer an issue; it was going to be an accomplishment.

DAVID BROOKS: It's a pseudo poisonous victory though. To me the only fact you need to know about domestic policy is that in 1960, 70 percent of the discretionary income of - 70 percent of federal spending went to discretionary

programs: schools, welfare, the FBI, all that stuff. Now 70 percent goes to entitlements: Medicare, Social Security, and Medicaid. And what that does is that means these entitlement programs are squeezing out every other part of the budget. There is no money left over. And that's the big story -

JIM LEHRER: And this will squeeze it even more.

DAVID BROOKS: Because this is a new and extremely expensive entitlement program. Squeeze it more, more transfer of wealth up to the seniors away from these working parents, which I'm emoting about today..

JIM LEHRER: Hillary Clinton's book, Mark, the publication of it this week, what is your reaction to the reaction?

MARK SHIELDS: Jim, I now know what the word polarizing means in American politics. I have to say this is a woman who incites major inflammatory passion on both sides of the political divide -- I mean mostly in the wings of each party. But all my conservative friends who are basically worshipful and admiring of the market and the free market and let the free market work...

JIM LEHRER: Get ready, David.

MARK SHIELDS: Are frankly disappointed and let down that this is a best seller. I mean they're saying what the hell, people are so damn stupid. Adam Smith must be turning over in his grave.

JIM LEHRER: Your reaction?

DAVID BROOKS: As a fellow Simon & Schuster author, I'm not so unhappy. It's good for --

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JIM LEHRER: It will help you.

DAVID BROOKS: Politics is really local. But the question among the people buying it, the interesting question and I don't have the answer -- are they buying it because it's Princess Diana, the woman who was put upon, or are they buying it for political reasons because they want to read about her health care ideas? I suspect there's a little more Princess Diana, it's a personal thing. And to me, I'm not polarized -- I understand the shape of the universe is we must all pay attention to the Clintons forever and forever. But I sort of want to move on. The frustrating thing about the book to me is that like many politicians, including Ronald Reagan, she is incapable of having an interesting insight or original thought. All these people who have these positions where they could really see something and say something interesting are just incapable of thinking in that way and the person who has the high power and also can write interestingly like a Winston Churchill or Teddy Roosevelt is so rare. So the book is kind of frustrating because it is frankly a little dull.

JIM LEHRER: Have you read it?

MARK SHIELDS: I haven't, Jim.

JIM LEHRER: Are you going to?

MARK SHIELDS: It's right behind the -



DAVID BROOKS: -- the Spanish-English dictionary -

MARK SHIELDS: -- Spanish-English dictionary or "The Franco I Knew." No, I don't know, Jim, I really don't. I don't plan -

JIM LEHRER: Have you read it? You talk like you have you've read it.

DAVID BROOKS: I read parts; I stood in the bookstore for about an hour looking at it; I did not buy it.

JIM LEHRER: You went into the book store and picked it up and, what, skimmed it?

DAVID BROOKS: Simon & Schuster is now canceling my book contract but I have to tell the truth.

MARK SHIELDS: Does that sound like socialism to you?

JIM LEHRER: Quick word. David Brinkley died.

DAVID BROOKS: Another book. Everybody knows his TV career. To me he wrote a great book called "Washington at War."

JIM LEHRER: I remember that.

DAVID BROOKS: Where he talks about Washington in World War II, a great fact just out of that book. When people went to see Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt light the Christmas tree, they set their Christmas packages outside the White House and went in knowing that the packages would be there when they  
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came out. That's the sort of fact that he put in that book. It's a great book and it talks about how the social fabric has changed since that time.

JIM LEHRER: Quick word, David.

MARK SHIELDS: Robert MacNeil last night, marvelous interview - he talked about how dominant Huntley-Brinkley were -- 84 percent of the American sets at one convention would turn to Huntley-Brinkley. Two things happened, Jim: One, in a strange way he was eclipsed by Walter Cronkite who actually moved public opinion a lot more on Vietnam, and second as Robin pointed out last night, he became rather a cranky old man. It was kind of too bad; all he did was rail and rant against the income tax. This is a man that - you know, the country had been pretty good to him.

JIM LEHRER: I was very prejudiced about it because he was a good friend of mine and I knew him personally. I never worked with him professionally as others. But I admired him very much. Thank you both very much.

FINALLY- OUT OF AFRICA

JIM LEHRER: Finally tonight, Ray Suarez has a look at new findings about the origins of man, a story that may have begun in Africa.

RAY SUAREZ: A rare find of fossils in Africa may be the key to finding the origins of modern man. Archaeologists found three human skulls in 1997 in the Ethiopian village of Herto, about 150 miles northeast of Addis Ababa. It took six years of excavating, cleaning and testing before scientists dated the skulls of two adults and a child at about 160,000 years old. The child's skull alone



was pieced together from more than 200 scattered fragments of the cranium. Researchers have long sought to better understand a time gap between 100,000 and 300,000 years ago of the evolution toward modern humans began. By examining the structure of the skulls, researchers determined these African ancestors were the bridge between pre-humans and modern Homosapians. The new findings, they say, add strong evidence to the theory that modern humans first evolved from Africa and migrated across the world.

We get more findings now. It comes from the leader of the team that discovered the skulls, Tim White. He's a paleoanthropologist at the University of California in Berkeley.

Professor White, help us understand what this fills in about the picture of how we got to be who we are.

PROFESSOR TIM WHITE: Well, Ray, this is a problem that people have been working on for more than a century and a half. Where did anatomically modern people come from? There have been finds in Europe stretching back into the past, but they involve an ancestor called Neanderthal, an ancestor only of Neanderthal. These are creatures that these new finds in Ethiopia show to be a side branch. In Ethiopia, in eastern Ethiopia, in the low lands, we have evidence now that anatomically modern people just like ourselves were living there 160,000 years ago.

RAY SUAREZ: How is the dating done that leaves you so confident of that 160,000 year date?

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PROFESSOR TIM WHITE: Well, what we do in this desert region is we reap the harvest of geology. There are three major rift valleys that come together out there in eastern Ethiopia and this sets up a tectonic setting so you have lakes and rivers stretching back into the past along the shores of which we have a lot of remains of animals, stone tools left by humans, and sometimes human ancestors themselves. They're surrounded in this environment by these tectonic forces and they're associated with volcanism, large volcanoes that blanketed the landscape with volcanic ash. By using these volcanic ash horizons, we can sandwich the fossils in time. We can date ones above and ones below. And this cranium from Herto, Ethiopia, was dated by the volcanic ash above it which is 154,000 years.

RAY SUAREZ: And when we look at that skull and what you've been able to reassemble of it, what makes it distinctly different from things that we know are older and what makes it man-like -- close to modern human?

PROFESSOR TIM WHITE: Well, when we look at the face of a modern human being, we're struck by the fact that the face is quite small compared to earlier forms that we found in Africa. We find that the structure here of the cheekbone is very different, not only different from earlier ancestors in Africa but also different from these creatures known as Neanderthals. The new fossil from Ethiopia and this is just a replica here == this fossil shows a face that is

very modern in its conformation and distinct from the fish face that we see in this Neanderthal fossil from Europe. And yet this modern anatomy predates the demise of the European Neanderthals by many, many millennium. And so that's why we are saying it is very similar to this anatomically human cranium, although there are a few differences, it is already close enough to anatomically modern humans to place into our own species, Homosapians and thereby represent the earliest evidence of our species.

RAY SUAREZ: I know you paleoanthropologists deduce a lot from what you can find. In this skulls were found and some teeth. Can you figure out from that how tall, how big this person was, what they ate, the kind of place where they live?

PROFESSOR TIM WHITE: Those are great questions. You know, for the last 20 years, genetic data have been compiling that point the way to Africa as the source of all anatomically modern humans but these genes can only tell us about relationships. They can't tell us what the people look like. For that we need anatomically evidence. And that's why it is exciting to get a cranium like this so intact. And also in the same horizon, the same geological layer, we have artifactual remains, the tools made and use by these people to butcher mammals like hippopotamus. So we have the whole package here, the dating, the anatomy and some of the behaviors that open up this window on the past.

RAY SUAREZ: Was it a wet place, a swampy place, a forested place? Do we know much about Ethiopia 160,000 years ago?

PROFESSOR TIM WHITE: Well, we haven't known anything about Africa at 160,000 years ago. Ethiopia now has provided this first window into this critically important part of the human evolutionary story. By getting in and getting this basic knowledge of what the world was like there at 160,000 years ago, we can finally make comparisons with what it was like in Europe. And in Europe, you have at 160,000, a thick blanket, a continental ice sheet. And on the southern end of the ice sheet, we have the Neanderthals, these uniquely structured hominids that now are shown to be not ancestral, rather the African populations

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of Homosapians ancestral to ourselves, replacing these European Neanderthals.

The final ones went extinct at 130,000 years ago.

RAY SUAREZ: Professor, I'm sure you know there are people who say that Neanderthals are part of the human family and that this find doesn't necessarily change what we know about the human family tree. What closes the sale for you?

PROFESSOR TIM WHITE: I think it's the combination of overwhelming genetic data showing the very shallow roots of anatomically modern people. And we have not only that, now have a very good fossil record in Africa. Remember, you're looking here at the face of a virtually anatomically modern human that's 160,000 years old and very distinct from these specialized European forms that were replaced by people that look very much like your or I. So we have very strong fossil evidence now from Africa where previously we've only had that good

European record.

RAY SUAREZ: Quickly, are you heading back to Ethiopia to look for more?

PROFESSOR TIM WHITE: Yes. The National Science Foundation supports this work.

And it is a large international team involving 14 countries. We go out every autumn and in a collective effort, we are trying to push a little deeper into the past. We'd like to know exactly what the ancestor of this individual looked like and we'll do that in deposits we've already identified at around a quarter of a million years ago.

RAY SUAREZ: Professor White, good luck to your next trip and thanks for being with us.

PROFESSOR TIM WHITE: Thank you.

RECAP

JIM LEHRER: Again, the other major developments of this day: An Israeli missile attack killed another member of Hamas in Gaza City; 32 people were wounded. And U.S. forces killed 27 Iraqi fighters after being ambushed north of Baghdad. A reminder that "Washington Week" can be seen on most PBS stations later this evening. We'll see you online, and again here Monday evening. Have a nice weekend. I'm Jim Lehrer. Thank you and good night.

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**SHOW:** Local 8 At Four

**June 13, 2003, Friday 16:00-17:00 PT**

**NETWORK:** KFMB-TV

**MEDIUM:** Television

**TYPE:** Local TV

**LENGTH:** 63 words

**BODY:**

START: 00:15:50

Teased Segment - Mid East.; UN wants restraint but violence continues.

Visual - Gaza Strip.

Interview - Gideon Meir, Israeli sr. foreign minister, comments.

Interview - Nasser Al-Kidwa, UN Palestinian representative, comments.

Press Conference - Gen. Kieran Pendergast, UN undersecretary, comments. Drew Levinson reporting. :LRext

END: 00:17:54

**SEGMENT-ID:** 16

**PROGRAM-ID:** kfmbl6000613

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NEWS FORUM

**SHOW:** News Forum (6:30 AM ET) - LOCAL

**June 8, 2003 Sunday**

**LENGTH:** 3781 words

**HEADLINE:** Ambassadors Nasser al-Kidwa and Dan Gillerman discuss the recent progress in Middle East peace and Hamas' rejection

**ANCHORS:** GABE PRESSMAN; JAY DeDAPPER

**BODY:**

GABE PRESSMAN, co-host:

A few days ago I reported on the summit meeting in Aqaba, Jordan, of President Bush, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and the new Palestinian prime minister, Mahmoud Abbas. In separate statements, Sharon recognized the Palestinian right to a viable state and agreed to remove certain settlements; Abbas strongly condemned terrorism against Israel and promised to work vigorously against violence and hatred. Has the world taken a major step toward peace in the Middle East? Or is this latest effort doomed to failure? My colleague, Jay DeDapper, moderates NEWS FORUM in New York.

Announcer: From Studio 6B in Rockefeller Center, this is a presentation from NewsChannel 4, Gabe Pressman's NEWS FORUM. Now your host, senior correspondent Gabe Pressman.

JAY DeDAPPER, co-host:

And good morning, everyone. I'm political reporter Jay DeDapper in for Gabe Pressman this morning.

Our guests are the two representatives to the United Nations from the two parties affected here: the Palestinian Authority, or Palestine, as it officially is in the United Nations' charter, the way that it's written; and the ambassador to the United Nations from Israel, Dan Gillerman.

Thank you, gentlemen, for both being here this morning.

Ambassador NASSER AL-KIDWA (Ambassador to the United Nations from Palestine):

Thank you.

Ambassador DAN GILLERMAN (Ambassador to the United Nations From Israel):

Thank you.

DeDAPPER: I want to start out kind of the most basic question, which is: Why should we expect this to be any different than the previous roads to peace that we've been down that have not ended in peace? Either of you.

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Amb. GILLERMAN: Oh, I--I think that--I mean, there is the danger after seeing those very scenic and serene scenes on the Red Sea to think back on similar scenes in the past, whether on the Red Sea or on the White House lawn, and to get the feeling of what Yogi Berra used to call deja vu all over again, and to be skeptical and cynical and to say, 'Ah, those pictures don't mean anything.'

But I think the reason we can be more optimistic and must be more optimistic today is because we live in a changed world; we live in a different world to the one we lived in before.

The world has changed dramatically after 9/11, and it's changed even more profoundly after the war in Iraq. And the world we live in today is a world which I think is far more conducive to making peace, to doing away with the violence and the hostility, eradicating terror. I think there's an international commitment on the part of all freedom-loving countries that terror must be eradicated. And I think the resolve is there.

I think we also have a very unique combination, and that is that we have a very determined and brave American president. We have a very courageous and totally committed Israeli prime minister. And hopefully, we also have a very determined, changed and empowered new Palestinian prime minister. That combination, together with the different world we live in, I think allows us the very cautious optimism, which I feel today.

DeDAPPER: Do you share that, Ambassador al-**Kidwa**, because we--we have been--certainly President Clinton, for instance, was very committed to this and there have been committed people on other sides before and it--it hasn't happened.

Amb. AL-**KIDWA**: It could be a different--a different thing this time for a variety of reasons. I share some of the reasons that were indicated by the ambassador. It's--it's a new situation in the Middle East, and you have direct American presence in the neighborhood.

DeDAPPER: Meaning in Iraq.

Amb. AL-**KIDWA**: In Iraq. Somebody said something like the United States is becoming the 26th country of the region, so I guess the United States cannot afford to ignore such huge problem in the same neighborhood. There is, then, this important regional dimension.

There are also the fact that oth--other ...(unintelligible) such as--I think that the--the two parties have--have got tired of the conflict of the last 20, 28 months or so. You have very bad economic situation on the Israeli side; you--you have serious problem of security on the Palestinian side. The suffering, I think, was--was more substantial; there is huge amount of destruction. And thus, you have this kind of--of--of the feeling of being tired on both sides that might be conducive to the possibility of striking--striking a deal.

And then you have the fact that four parties came together--the Americans, the EU, the Russians and the United Nations--to produce that road map.

Unfortunately, now we see a departure from that road map on the part of the Israeli side with these 14 reservations put by the Israeli government, and the departure even in terms of the implementation. Nevertheless, this document

remains very important, and--and--and the--the--the participation of the four, of course, adds to--to--to its weight.

And finally, you have, yes, what appears to be an increased determination on the part of--of the US president, President Bush, that he really wants to--to do that; he wants to make a difference, and he--he wants to--to create the real peace in the region based on his vision of two states.

DeDAPPER: But already on Friday Hamas said that they would not--they would pull out of any kind of talks of disarmament, which is obviously a precursor to any of this from the Israeli perspective, and already settlers in Israel have been the biggest protesters. What is different this time when the--the two extreme sides, if you'll allow me to use, you know, that phrase, the--the two extremes of--of both camps are already saying, 'This isn't going to work'? Don't they hold the power in this?

Amb. AL-KIDWA: Well, I don't know. I'll--I'll just try to do this very quickly. The two extreme sides are no--are no different, that's--that's true, and that is precisely the reasons why the Palestinian side at least wanted to see more talking about the--about the final settlement, about the final shape, the outcome, the final outcome of all this process, because talking more...

DeDAPPER: We--we're talking more about Hamas. I mean, I...

Amb. AL-KIDWA: Yes, I'm...

DeDAPPER: All right.

Amb. AL-KIDWA: In reaction to that, talking about this will then create the necessary atmosphere and will lead to different position on the part of the overwhelming majority of the Palestinian people, as well as the Israeli people, thus isolating those extreme groups even more than they are isolated now. And that will then enable the leadership on both sides to proceed in the appropriate time.

DeDAPPER: Do--do you see it that way, Ambassador Gillerman? I mean, Hamas has said they're not going to be--they're not going to be a part of this.

Amb. GILLERMAN: Well, first of all, I think it's--it would be wrong to make a very direct correlation between the so-called two extreme sides, because what you have in Israel is settlers who are very, very--very extreme about wanting to stay where they are and--and keep their homes. On the other side, you have the Hamas, which is determined to continue to murder and slaughter and kill ...(unintelligible).

DeDAPPER: But politically they are. Politically they represent the two extremes is what I was getting at. I wasn't necessarily equating...

Amb. GILLERMAN: No. No. No. But--but...

DeDAPPER: ...what they...

Amb. GILLERMAN: Yeah, but I think--I think what--what--talking of Hamas and whether it's Hamas or Islamic Jihad or Hezbollah or other extreme groups, their



declared objective is to destroy Israel, but it is also to destroy the peace process. And that is exactly where the determination and the resolution and the resolve of Mahmoud Abbas as the newly appointed, elected president--prime minister of the Palestinian Authority will be tested, his and Muhammad Dahlan and others, because they know who these people are, they know where they are, they know where their weapons are stashed, and they can, if they want to, and once they decide they can, arrest these people and they can deal with them. These are elements which, I think, are still the minority of the Palestinian people.

I truly believe, honestly, that most of the Palestinian people want to live in peace, want to make a living, want to have their own state in which they can determine their own destiny. So it is up to the new Palestinian leadership to show the kind of resolve which is part of the international resolve of eradicating this terror.

In Israel, on the other hand, and this is maybe part of the equation, as the prime minister stated, Israel is a state where the rule of law is supreme. Israel has proved it time and time and time again. And when the Israeli government decides and goes ahead and does whatever it feels is necessary, however painful it may be--and the prime minister's already stated that he will remove any unauthorized outposts. This will be done. It may be done with pain, it may be done with some violence, but it will be done. And the same resolve, I hope, will be shown also on the Palestinian side and eradicate terror.

If both countries, if both parties, exercise their rule of law, at the end of the day it will be the moderates and the people who really want peace...

Amb. AL-KIDWA: I...

DeDAPPER: All right.

Amb. GILLERMAN: ...who will prevail.

DeDAPPER: There's a lot you want to respond to, I think.

Amb. AL-KIDWA: I categorically disagree, at least with the first part, and the issue of settlers and settlements might prove to be the reasons why, God forbid, we might not be able to reach final settlement. Those settlers are there colonizing our land. They want a greater Israel. They want to prevent the existence of Palestinian state. Settlements are illegal under international law. They represent war crime, and they should be stopped and reversed. We are not talking here about unauthorized outpost. We are talking about all kind of settlement that, again, are prohibited under the full Geneva Convention and other instruments of international ...(unintelligible).

DeDAPPER: Do--do you believe Prime Minister Sharon when he says they're going to be removed?

Amb. AL-KIDWA: That--that wa--that is one of the big problems. First, Prime Minister Sharon did not make it clear that he intends to remove even all the unauthorized settlements. But more importantly, he didn't--he didn't accept one of the basic requirements in the road map itself--that is, a complete cessation



of settlement activities. Because of those--if--if those settlement activities

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go--go--go on, that--that will mean for the Palestinian people that--more confiscation of Palestinian land, more Israeli settlers brought illegally to the Palestinian land, ultimately preventing the realization of the national rights of the Palestinian people and the establishment of the Palestinian state. So th--this is a--a basic--a basic matter. Without the Palestinian people clearly hear from the Israeli side that settlements will be stopped, that this process will be reversed, thus allowing the existence of Palestinian state, without that, no progress is possible in the peace process.

DeDAPPER: All right. We have to take a break, and we'll come right back and pick this up where we've left off.

(Announcements)

DeDAPPER: And we're back with Ambassador Dan Gillerman from Israel, the ambassador to the United Nations, and the ambassador to the United Nations essentially for Palestine, Nasser al-Kidwa.

Let me turn to you, Ambassador. What do you think is the biggest potential sticking point, the thing that could stop this process? I don't--I don't want to turn to the negative and be cynical, but there--we have to be realistic.

Amb. GILLERMAN: We must all realize that over the last three years--and it is nearly three years of what was called an Intifadah, but in a way was a real war waged in our region--the ugliest, most brutal, most evil war ever waged, where civilians, children and grandchildren and grandmothers were specifically targeted and slaughtered in schools and cafes and restaurants and buses. The most precious commodity that has been destroyed beyond the precious lives that were lost was trust, trust between us and our neighbors, the Palestinian, which was, at its highest, three years ago. When we were nearly there, when at Camp David and then Taba, President Clinton and Prime Minister Barak offered what was a very far-reaching compromise agreement and were based on trust following all the agreements we've done in the past, we felt that we were nearly there. We were thrown into this horrible destruction and poverty and bloodshed, which is the result of last three years.

Now trust is very difficult to build; it is even more difficult to rebuild.

So I think that the greatest obstacle today is trust. We have to feel that there is a real change in the Palestinian Authority, that it is not just semantics, it is not just language, it is not just talking the talk, but walking the walk. We have to feel that there is a real determination there to fight terrorism because it must be understood that until terrorism is eradicated there will be no negotiation and there will be no peace. Israeli...

DeDAPPER: So--so--so a single--a single suicide bombing would be the--would start this path...

Amb. GILLERMAN: Israelis--Israelis will not negotiate by day and be murdered

by night. The Palestinian Authority cannot vote in a new prime minister with its right hand and continue to kill Israelis with its left hand.

Now I think this must be demonstrated in a very resolute way with a new Palestinian Authority, and then, if trust is rebuilt, if Prime Minister Sharon and the Israeli people truly feel that they have a viable, trustworthy,

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empowered, changed Palestinian Authority, I believe we will go very long way.

Let me just remind you very quickly, in the past, whenever Israel was confronted or provided with a Pale--with an Arab leader it could trust, it went a very long way with them and made peace. That's what happened when Anwar Sadat came to Jerusalem and found in Menachem Begin a partner who gave back every inch and made peace. That's what happened with the late King Hussein, who made peace with Yitzhak Rabin. These were leaders we could trust. If we feel that we have on the Palestinian side, hopefully--hopefully for us and hopefully for the Palestinians--a leader we can trust, I promise you that you will find in Prime Minister Sharon a partner who will go with them a very long way.

DeDAPPER: But--but you're saying--and--and then I'm going to let you respond to this. I--I just want to clarify, you're essentially saying in--in holding the--the new prime minister to task for controlling the--the terrorist groups, as you label them, in then Palestinian territories, then you would say that--that there is no control over that by the--by the Palestinian Authority. Is that right?

Amb. AL-KIDWA: First, let me say that generally I--I agree that trust and confidence is very--is very important, and it might be hard to build. That's why it--it requires efforts from both--both sides. I have the feeling that ambassador is--is trying to suggest that it is up to the Palestinian side to do the work first in a way that will then lead to--to building trust with the--with the Israeli side. This is not in line with the letter and spirit of the road map. The road map require that both sides take certain steps simultaneously--simultaneously in parallel--in parallel. And, of course, each phase will then be subject to some kind of evaluation at the end of the phase to determine moving forward to the--to the next phase.

DeDAPPER: But that first step is--is the control of Hamas or the other--Hezbollah or whatever.

Amb. AL-KIDWA: Not only that...

DeDAPPER: I mean, can that be done? Can the Palestinian Authority do that, as the Israelis suggest that it can be done if you have the will to do it?

Amb. AL-KIDWA: It can--it can be done--it can be done provided that the Israeli side lives up to its own obligations, thus creating the necessary correct political atmosphere needed for the Palestinian action to be taken. And by that, I mean precisely a clear commitment to cessation of settlement activities, one of the basic requirements in the road map.

And again, we are talking about trust. There is a fact--simple fact that during the--the Oslo peace process the number of Israeli settlers was doubled; in 10 years was doubled. That is to say big chunk--big additional chunk of our land was colonized. That was undermining--real undermining of--of confidence in the peace process itself and confidence in the--in the other side.

And about destruction, by the way, it's true that what happened against the--the Israeli civilians was--was really awful, but it's also true that what the Israeli army committed against the Palestinian people as a whole was as awful, and there is a complete destruction of the life of the Palestinian

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people.

The first three months of the Intifadah more than 300 Palestinians were killed before one single bullet was shot against the Israelis.

DeDAPPER: But I have...

Amb. AL-KIDWA: Nobody seems to remember these facts.

DeDAPPER: We have less than a minute. I want to give you each 15 seconds. I know it's not much time. What's the single thing that gives you hope?

Amb. GILLERMAN: The most important thing that gives me hope is my complete confidence that Israel wants peace, yearns for peace. It will make every effort to achieve peace, not at the cost of its security, but it will make every effort to go along with the Palestinian leader to make peace. And I hope that the new world we live in and the results shown by the American president and by the Israeli prime minister will be matched by that of the Palestinian prime minister, and then at long last, after a very long time of despair, we may be able to hope.

Amb. AL-KIDWA: Well, the--the beginning by the--Mr. Sharon, frankly, was not--was not very promising. Nevertheless, we still--we still have confidence in--in some--we still have some hope, at least, in this process out of what we see as an increased and--and clear commitment of--of the--of the US president to this process.

DeDAPPER: All right. We'll be right back.

(Announcements)

DeDAPPER: And we're back.

Ambassador Gillerman, I want to start with a question to you in this final segment. The final settlement, the final lay of the land, how this all works out has always been the thing that has been put off in previous plans. It has been put off in this case, too. Isn't that the--kind of the--the landmine that awaits you down this road?

Amb. GILLERMAN: There are landmines along the--along the road. There are obstacles. I don't know whether you're aware of it, but the name Aqaba means obstacle in Arabic, so that in itself is...

DeDAPPER: It's an ironic choice really.

Amb. GILLERMAN: It is an ironic choice. But obstacles are there to be met with courage, with resolve, with leadership and with vision. I think that both parties, both the Palestinians and the Israelis, at the end of the day want to live side by side in peace and hopefully even cooperate, and I believe even act as a model for the rest of the Arab world, the rest of the region and maybe the rest of the world of how two people who have seen such hostility and such bloodshed can at the end of the day live together, work together and prevail together.

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So I know there are obstacles along the way, and some of the major issues are not dealt in the road map, but that is why this is called a road map and not a peace plan. This is a mechanism. This is something to get both sides talking again, negotiating again and wisely allowing the two parties and not some foreign power to decide their fate and their dast--and their destiny. So--but I believe very much that if we do the right thing and if the atmosphere prevailing in the world today will prevail also in this process and there will be confidence in--confidence-building measures along the way and both parties will learn to trust each other and with time will realize that they can do it, then I believe all the other issues, which are very major and they've been issues which have been dealt with not over the last 28 months but over the last hundred years, and it will be difficult, but if there is trust--and I repeat, the main element is trust--if there is trust, I believe all other issues can be overcome.

DeDAPPER: Ambassador al-Kidwa, Jerusalem, for instance, the end of this road map established a Jerusalem, what happens there? That seems to be the biggest hurdle of all.

Amb. AL-KIDWA: Well, not only Jerusalem, but you have Jerusalem, you have the Palestinian refugees, the rights of the Palestinian refugees, you have, of course, the exact border to be drawn on the basis of the line of 1967.

DeDAPPER: Jerusalem's very emotional. It has--you know, because of the religious implications and all that, it seems to be the thing that stirs up the most emotions. When you try and figure out that, that's left to some future date.

Amb. AL-KIDWA: That's left to some future date, but I have to indicate, nevertheless, that the road map itself gave clear harbingers with regard to those elements. And what worries us most as Palestinian, frankly, is what was he coming from the Israeli side and as--as ignoring those harbingers by taking decisions contradicting what is in the road map itself. That clearly suggests to us that the Israeli side is not serious about reaching the necessary final outcome. The words of--of--of the ambassador are positive, but nevertheless, let's--let's remember that we are the people under occupation. We are the deprived people from our state. We are the stateless. We are the--the--the suffering--the suffering party. And it's not good enough to be told that,

'Well, down the road things will be OK.' We need to see clear political decis--positions that indicate where exactly are we heading.

In accord--in accordance with the road map, we--we need to--to see cessation of settlement activities, we need to see acceptance of the line of 1967 as a basis for further negotiations, we need to see reasonable position with regard to the refugees, and we, of course, will be--will be very absolutely ready to reciprocate and to--to begin a new experience and a new life...

DeDAPPER: I--I hate to interrupt, but that's going to have to be the last word. Thanks for coming in today. Appreciate it.

Gabe Pressman will be back next weekend. Have a nice weekend.

Amb. AL-KIDWA: Thank you.

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CNN INTERNATIONAL

**SHOW:** DIPLOMATIC LICENSE 09:00 PM Eastern Standard Time

**June 6, 2003 Friday**

Transcript # 060600cb.k03

**SECTION:** NEWS; INTERNATIONAL

**LENGTH:** 4052 words

**HEADLINE:** DIPLOMATIC LICENSE

**GUESTS:** Nasser Al-Kidwa, Dan Gillerman, Colum Lynch, Philippe Bolopion

**BYLINE:** Richard Roth

**HIGHLIGHT:**

A look at current events worldwide concerning the United Nations.

**BODY:**

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: It's going to be difficult. We expect to have bumps in the road.

GEORGE W. BUSH, U.S. PRESIDENT: We're on the roof (ph). We'll reveal the truth.

HANS BLIX, U.N. CHIEF WEAPONS INSPECTOR: (UNINTELLIGIBLE), that means be prepared. That's what the Boy Scouts used to say.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

RICHARD ROTH, HOST: If you are like me, you have a problem reading maps or

even using them. Maybe it's a guy thing. But wait, I don't drive.

Welcome to DIPLOMATIC LICENSE. I'm Richard Roth.

Everybody's talking about a map this week, the roadmap for the Middle East.

Here's President Bush driving in the Middle East, escorting leaders of the

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DIPLOMATIC LICENSE 09:00 PM Eastern Standard Time June 6, 2003 Friday  
summit conference this past week in Egypt without a map visible, but the U.S.  
president has now promised to ride herd on all sides to keep the elusive peace  
process moving.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BUSH: No leader of conscience can accept more months and years of  
humiliation, killing and mourning. And these leaders of conscience have made  
their declarations today in the cause of peace.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ROTH: At a separate meeting with President Bush in Aqaba, the leaders of the  
Israeli people and the Palestinian people offered verbal gestures to ease on  
down the roadmap.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

MAHMOUD ABBAS, PALESTINIAN PRIME MIN. (through translator): And we are ready  
to do our part. Let me be very clear. There will be no military solution to  
this conflict, we repeat our renunciation and renunciation of terrorism against  
the Israelis, wherever they might be.

ARIEL SHARON, ISRAELI PRIME MIN.: We can also reassure our Palestinian  
partners that we understand the importance of territorial contiguity in the West  
Bank for a viable Palestinian state.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ROTH: Today on DIPLOMATIC LICENSE, we have two separate guests, Israeli and  
Palestinians breathing side by side. Sounds like the roadmap.

We welcome Palestinian Ambassador to the U.N. Nasser Al-Kidwa and Israel's  
United Nations Ambassador Dan Gillerman. This makes the third different  
ambassador our Palestinian guest has sat down with on our program, and I'm still  
the host.

What's different, if anything, this time, Dr. Al Kidwa, about this roadmap?

Do you have any cause to think that something is going to be achieved eventually  
down the road?

NASSER AL-KIDWA, PALESTINIAN AMB. TO THE U.N.: Well, we certainly do hope so.  
The difference, I think, comes from the regional dimension and comes from the  
fact that the two sides probably got tired a little bit and they are looking  
sincerely for a way out.

In addition to that, the roadmap itself and the existence of the Quartet, the  
four parties that came together to put the text.

ROTH: The United Nations, the United States, Russia.

AL-KIDWA: Yes, the United States, European Union, Russia and United Nations.

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The fact that they came together and, I think.

ROTH: But they've been working at it for a long time, and a few weeks ago you said you're not really in love with this roadmap. Can you grow to love this?

Can this relationship blossom?

AL-KIDWA: We are still not that in love with the roadmap, but we did agree to it without reservations, and we think that the yardstick should remain compliance with the text.

Unfortunately, on the Israeli side there isn't such compliance. There are reservations. 14 of them. And in Aqaba, again, Mr. Sharon, I think, did not comply with the requirements in the roadmap with regard to the text of the statement that should be made by the two sides.

ROTH: You have reservations about his reservations about Sharon's reservations?

DAN GILLERMAN, ISRAELI AMB. TO THE U.N.: I have a lot of reservations and a lot of anxiety, but I also have a lot of hope.

And to answer your first question, I think what has profoundly changed is that the world has changed.

We live in a different world. It became a dramatically different world after 9-11. It became an even more profoundly different world after the war in Iraq, and I think the world we live in today is a world which makes this roadmap possible and makes peace in our region possible.

ROTH: And the Israelis were waiting for that move into Iraq. You were waiting for years. You think it is the breakthrough towards establishing a holding, lasting peace with Israel's neighbors?

GILLERMAN: No. I think the breakthrough is the fact that most of the freedom-loving world has realized that this will -- we have to rid this world of terrorism. We must make it a world where children and grandchildren and mothers and grandmothers can live in peace.

ROTH: But people were saying these words in the mid-70's as terrorism was raging.

GILLERMAN: Well, that's why we are cautiously optimistic.

Everybody who witnesses that very serene and scenic picture by the Red Sea only a few days ago was obviously reminded by similar pictures by the Red Sea and the Araba (ph) and on the lawn of the White House, and could maybe very well say what Yogi Berra said, that this could be deja vu all over again.

But there is one very big difference, and that is that what we have today is a unique combination. We have a very courageous and determined American president. We have a very brave and committed Israeli prime minister. And hopefully we have a very committed and changed Palestinian leader.

If that is the combination, hopefully we can do it.

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ROTH: We have a global audience here. Yogi Berra was a senior U.N.

undersecretary general at one point, like baseball. Do you trust Mr. Sharon?

AL-KIDWA: Until now, we don't have enough reason to trust him, frankly. And what happened recently in Aqaba again shows that our worries are justified.

ROTH: Why? What did he -- the guy comes out and says he's going to start dismantling outposts, not settlements, outposts -- starting.

AL-KIDWA: Well, the roadmap has clear requirements. First of those requirements is the complete cessation of settlement activities. He didn't utter those words. He spoke in vague terms about the outposts, that is absolutely not enough.

He couldn't utter the word Palestine yet alone a sovereign independent state of Palestinian, as required in the roadmap. Even when he spoke about the contiguity of the Palestinian land, he added a sentence in the last minute that said something to the effect that only with regard to the territory that will come subject to direct negotiation between the two sides, meaning that he is negating the first sentence about the contiguity. It's not -- it's very troubling.

ROTH: Do you trust your colleague, here?

GILLERMAN: You mentioned a very important word, and that word is trust.

Trust is probably one of the most precious commodities which we lost over the last three years in that conflict with the Palestinians. Trust is very difficult to build. It's even more difficult to rebuild.

I trust Prime Minister Sharon. I believe that he has made the strategic decision to go for peace.

The big question is, can we trust the Palestinian leader? I hope we can, because history has shown that whenever Israeli was provided with an Arab leader it would trust, it made peace with him, and it went all the way.

We did that with Sadat, who found in Menachem Begin a person who went all the way with him. We did it with the late King Hussein, who found in Yitzhak Rabin a leader who made peace with him.

I assure you that if Mahmoud Abbas proves to be a truly empowered, changed Palestinian prime minister, will act against terrorism, eradicate it, create democracy and rid this society of corruption, but especially be truthful in wanting to make peace and recognize Israel, he will find in Prime Minister Sharon a very willing and courageous partner to go with him all the way.

AL-KIDWA: I'm afraid that all these ifs will provide the reasons for not succeeding, because it is not like the Palestinian side has to do a list of things while the Israelis are watching and then making their own determination whether to proceed or not.

The roadmap provides for steps to be taken by both sides simultaneously and in parallel and it should be understood and implemented this way.

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Now, let me add another point, frankly. This interference, continuous interference in the internal affairs of the Palestinian people is not also something positive. It's not going to work. The Palestinian leadership is something to be decided by the Palestinian people and.

ROTH: Well, who is leading the Palestinian people? Chairman Arafat, you're very close to, comes out strongly against what Prime Minister Sharon said, and the Israelis are looking to Mahmoud Abbas. So who should they be listening to? Is there going to be a civil war first on the Palestinian side?

AL-KIDWA: Let me assure you that there will not be a civil war. Some unfortunately on the Israeli side and some even in America, including a columnist in "The New York Times," publicly called for a civil war.

ROTH: I hope that wasn't Jayson Blair.

AL-KIDWA: No, it wasn't. Maybe a worse one.

But there is this kind of thinking, and this is not going to happen.

With regard to who is leading the Palestinian people, it's well known. There is a legitimate leader, an elected president, and there is also an empowered prime minister that was appointed and that was got confidence by the legislative council.

I mean, the two men have their jobs to do, and they have to do it together.

ROTH: All right, what about in Israel? Settlers protesting. Civil war there? What kind of front are you going to show the Palestinians?

GILLERMAN: There isn't going to be civil war in Israel. Israel is a society of law and order. Whatever the Israeli government will decide will be done. It may not be easy. There will be obstacles along the way.

ROTH: What's Israel going to do if there's a bombing, a string of suicide bombings? Is the whole thing going to collapse again?

GILLERMAN: I hope very much there won't be another suicide bombing. If there is one, we'll have to deal with it, because our first responsibility is to make our people safe, is to our children and to our grandchildren.

Israel is the only democracy in the world where cafs and restaurants and schools and universities are still guarded by armed guards. We have to put an end to it.

ROTH: Hamas Friday said they don't want to talk about stopping terrorism. What concrete steps can the Palestinians do to make progress on that key part in the roadmap?

AL-KIDWA: The reaction of Hamas was unfortunate. Partly, however, it came in response to what was said by Prime Minister Sharon, which didn't go to any extent in assuring the Palestinian people and the Palestinian side that there will be something tangible for them.

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But nevertheless, we have to keep trying and we have to reach some kind of

agreement with them.

ROTH: All right, gentlemen, we have to leave it there. For once, we're having a discussion after the Middle East after a peace conference of sorts, not some horrible act of violence or military incursion.

Nasser Al-Kidwa, Palestinian representative at the United Nations, thank you very much. Dan Gillerman -- he's only been there five months at the United Nations, and we hope to see more of you. Thank you very much.

GILLERMAN: Thank you very much.

ROTH: A couple of meetings in the Middle East this week doesn't mean a lasting peace is at hand. While President Bush added some weight to the quest, the U.S. leader usually delegates the details of major issues to his staff.

It was Secretary of State Powell who was up until 4 a.m. with sessions with Arab leaders, and the woman who held the job before him as secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, says expect more to come.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

MADELEINE ALBRIGHT, FMR. U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE: I think that he needs to tell Secretary Powell that this is his daily work. There is not any secretary of state who has ever wanted to do the Middle East on a daily basis, and every secretary of state has done it, and the only reason that it happens is because ultimately it is the single most divisive and important issue.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BLIX: Betrayal is not the right word for it. I felt some disappointment, yes, because I thought that it was conceivable that in some more months we could have come further, but I could never guarantee that we would be able to really to fully explore the dossier.

But it was for my part a business that was not finished, and it would have been nice to be there to finish.

Thank you very much -- I have a finish now, though.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ROTH: Next stop, Stockholm for the U.N.'s chief weapons inspector for Iraq, Hans Blix, a final briefing for the United Nations Security Council and the press.

Remember when the world hung on every word Blix said in the run up to the war? His conclusion still carry some weight, especially outside the United States.

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In Blix's last report before he retires this month, the Swedish inspector says he's teams couldn't prove for sure that Iraq did not possess any weapons of mass destruction. However.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BLIX: It is not justified to jump to the conclusion that something exists just because it is unaccounted for.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ROTH: Was Blix slipping in signals for the Bush administration?

Well, who better to comb the details of this week's Iraq United Nations weapons story than a couple of United Nations news detectives.

From the CNN U.N. office, Colum Lynch of "The Washington Post," and also at our United Nations office, Philippe Bolopion of Radio France International.

Colum, what stood out for you in this final report from Hans Blix?

COLUM LYNCH, "THE WASHINGTON POST": Well, basically, I mean, the thing that's most interesting is that he's sort of telling the Americans that -- he's signaling to them that he is very much willing to work with them.

He has a team of inspectors. He wants to try and preserve that core of experts, to persuade the Americans that they've got to go to these guys, that they have more credibility than the U.S. and British, to certify Iraq's final disarmament.

Also said to the Americans essentially, these allegations that Iraq has used these recently discovered mobile biological weapons production plants, that he cannot certify whether these are really used for those purposes unless he gets in there on the ground and sees it.

ROTH: But they don't want him there. Why doesn't the United States want Blix or the U.N. weapons inspectors on the ground there?

LYNCH: Well, essentially, they don't want them on the ground because they've caused them so much political difficulty in the run up to the war.

The United States wanted the Council to sort of recognize that Iraq was in violation of its disarmament obligations, wanted to use Blix as a so-called trigger for military action, and Blix would have none of it.

He took a very sort of balanced, evenhanded approach to this that wasn't useful for the Americans.

PHILIPPE BOLOPION, RADIO FRANCE INTERNATIONAL: . another very simple reason is that for now they have absolutely nothing to show him and to show the inspectors.

Perhaps they will feel more comfortable asking the inspectors to come back to Iraq if they find something, but with two suspicious trucks for now, they have  
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nothing to show. So for them, having the inspectors coming back would be just more embarrassment and even more pressure to find some weapons that perhaps are not there.

ROTH: One diplomat from France said the Americans didn't like them. When I asked why, this diplomat said he looked too French -- Colum.

LYNCH: Well, I don't know if that's the problem, but in any event, there is, despite all the problems that they had with Blix, there's sort of mounting

pressure in the Council to keep UNMOVIC around, to get them to play some nominal role in certifying disarmament.

There was an interesting debate in the Council this week. One interesting thing is, though, that Pakistan and Syria didn't want the inspectors to stay around too long. They objected to a proposal by Blix to sort of preserve this agency as perhaps a sort of permanent enforcement agency of the Security Council. Perhaps Pakistan and Syria a little bit concerned that maybe they might use that expertise to look into charges of biological and chemical weapons in their own countries.

So, in any event, I thought that was kind of amusing.

ROTH: I mean, a very different scene outside the U.N. Security Council when Blix briefed during January and February. Every country was available it seemed on microphone and with gaggles of press around to comment on what they thought about Blix, the inspectors should be there.

This time, everyone kind of scattered afterward -- Philippe.

BOLOPION: Yes, absolutely. It was a very, very different conference.

What I found funny is that Hans Blix was exactly still the same. You know, even though he is going to leave the United Nations and retire, he was exactly himself. He was very balanced. He was not speaking too much.

You would have expected that after such a stressful mission, now that he was giving his last report, he could feel a bit more comfortable and speak out a little more, speak his mind, say a bit how he felt under the U.S. pressure all these months, and he didn't do that. He just stayed the very Swedish diplomat that we know, very balanced, very cautious.

ROTH: He'd like to see the UNMOVIC agency, as you mentioned, still stay in place there. Speaking of inspectors on the ground, I mean, the United States is really controlling the International Atomic Energy Agency team that went back in to look at one plant -- Colum.

LYNCH: Yes, I mean, that was sort of interesting. The Americans have left the door open to the possibility.

Well, first of all, they allowed the IEA inspectors into the country. This is on a separate mandate than the one that UNMOVIC operates under. This is sort of an old agreement that sort of was put together many, many years ago to try to limit the spread of nuclear weapons.

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So they gave them a very limited mandate to go back there to look at one facility, to see whether the stockpiles of sort of uranium was still in place.

They knew that a lot of it had been looted in the last couple of weeks, but it's nothing along the lines of.

BOLOPION: It's quite amazing that the United States is going to war with Iraq to try to avoid the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, wouldn't secure such an important site.

They knew about its existence. They knew there were radioactive materials there. And they didn't do anything to try to secure it, even though the IAEA warned them several times. I find that very, very surprising.

ROTH: Very quickly, three words -- Colum Lynch, what's Hans Blix's legacy, in three words.

LYNCH: I think he's rapidly being vindicated every day the Americans don't find anything.

ROTH: Philippe.

BOLOPION: I think he is a very good U.N. diplomat and he stayed until the end very balanced, very independent.

ROTH: OK. Maybe a different view, though, in Washington. They kind of lost faith in him.

Let's thank Colum Lynch on the left, of "The Washington Post," Philippe Bolopion, of Radio France International. Thank you for your second consecutive week together again.

What's next for the man who once said you can't make mustard gas from marmalade? Well, after a Florida vacation, where Disney seems like the perfect place Hans Blix should go considering the last few months and years, Blix will instead at the end of June enjoy quality time at home in Sweden with his wife and his garden.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BLIX: For my immediate plans, I want to go home. I came here -- I hoped to be here for a year, year-and-a-half, and it's now over three years. So I do long for picking my mushrooms and I may extend them to blueberries. But I also said to the Council that, yes, I'm not abandoning my interest in the question of how do we prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction or indeed the elimination -- not just the spread of them, but the elimination of the weapons of mass destruction in the world.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Are you sad that the era of the Concorde is ending? And  
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how does this impact your diplomacy, that the planes will take longer to get you around the world?

KOFI ANNAN, U.N. SECY.-GEN.: Well, it will probably give me a bit more time to think in the air. Thank you very much.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ROTH: One of the many famous people who rode the supersonic speed Concorde aircraft, Kofi Annan moved faster than some U.N. departments, jetting across the Atlantic Ocean.

Well, the Concorde is being phased out of service. Air France stopped May



31. British Air will halt in October. Some of the planes will eventually be housed in museums. I think the plane would make a fine exhibit for the United Nations' lobby.

I don't know about you, but talking about the Concorde reminds me of children. Boy do they move fast.

Well, if you think you're about to see a warm, heart-rending close of the show feature about the next generation, you've just won a ticket on a Concorde flight, but it's for next January, and the planes will be grounded by then.

So take a seat at Mach speed, and after the misery you watch all day on global news channels around the world, observe what happened at an international children's congress in New York City two weeks ago.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: My name is Catherine (ph). I come from China. I'm 10 years old.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: My name is Denzel (ph). I'm from (UNINTELLIGIBLE). I'm from the U.S.A.

UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: I'm Nina (ph) and I'm from Georgia. I'm 12 years old.

MARY SOCHET, U.N. CHILDREN'S CONGRESS: They come together today to talk together and think about the problems kids are having in the world and what they can do to help change things.

Quite a few kids here from Cuba and China, and there are kids from Georgia, from the Russian Federation. There are kids from Liberia, St. Lucia, kids from Ecuador.

UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: How do you think the United States knew about Iraq's supposed weapons of mass destruction that they have, which they did not find anything?

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: I doubt the efficacy of the United Nations because if the United States was able to go over there decision and not listen to the United Nations, that makes me wonder, how credible is actually the United Nations.

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UNIDENTIFIED MALE: I didn't like the war, because, you know, other kids like us that don't have the opportunity to (UNINTELLIGIBLE). They don't have the opportunity to go to school like we do.

UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: (UNINTELLIGIBLE).

UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: I think the government should help set up more funds for girl's education.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Us kids, we need the right to have a voice over the problems that effect our futures.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: In my country, when there is war, you know, we stop going to school. You know, school -- and then also, children, more and more kids get into child soldiers. That's bad. Kids end up doing labor work which they're not supposed to be doing.



UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: And this means that everybody should have love for other peoples so we can help each other.

UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: I learned the rights of the children; they're peace (UNINTELLIGIBLE).

SOCHET: There's certainly a hope for peace on a lot of kid's parts, and I think that they're hoping that the United Nations will be a way that they can make peace in this world.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

ROTH: Children's rights was the focus of the Congress. We had a sharp young man here on DIPLOMATIC LICENSE last year from Liberia. We hope he is protected in the latest fighting in that African nation this weekend.

That's DIPLOMATIC LICENSE. I'm Richard Roth, in New York. The latest CNN news is coming up next.

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CNN INTERNATIONAL

**SHOW:** Q&A WITH JIM CLANCY 11:30 AM Eastern Standard Time

**June 5, 2003 Thursday**

Transcript # 060501cb.k18

**SECTION:** NEWS; INTERNATIONAL

**LENGTH:** 2534 words

**HEADLINE:** Q&A 11:30

**GUESTS:** Nasser Al-Kidwa, Daniel Ayalon, George Mitchell

**BYLINE:** Zain Verjee

**HIGHLIGHT:**

A look at the aftermath of the Aqaba summit.

**BODY:**

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

ZAIN VERJEE, CNN INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENT (voice-over): The aftermath of the Aqaba summit.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: We hope that there will be a just and lasting peace.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: We're hopeful.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: We are ready to stop murderous operations inside Israel.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: This is not free process. This is surrender in process.

UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: Who has the right to give killers a state?

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Our biggest disaster as a democracy.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Unfortunately, he still hasn't offered anything tangible.

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(END VIDEO CLIP)

VERJEE: On this edition of "Q&A," the road map to peace, new agreements, old differences.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

VERJEE: Welcome to "Q&A."

The day after the summit on Middle East peace, announcements by the Israeli and Palestinian prime ministers that they're taking action. Palestinian Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas meets with militants this weekend in an effort to stop attacks on Israelis. And Israel's defense ministers met with army commanders to prepare for the dismantling of settler outposts. But there's already been opposition. What lies ahead?

With their insight, we're joined now from New York by George Mitchell, a former U.S. senator and former Middle East negotiator, one of the architects behind plans for Middle East peace. Also in New York, Nasser Al-Kidwa, Palestinian representative to the United Nations.

We're hoping to get an Israeli representative on our program, and we'll establish contact when we can.

But first to you, Mr. Al-Kidwa. The meeting that's anticipated this weekend between Mr. Abbas and Palestinian militants. Can he make a deal? Can he get them to cease fire.

NASSER AL-KIDWA, PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS:

Well, we

do hope so. Of course, we had hoped for a better and more complete and positive results from the meeting of yesterday in terms of Israeli position that then could create the necessary overall positive atmosphere among the Palestinian people, something which would then constitute additional pressure on those groups.

Unfortunately, the position of Mr. Sharon was not as forthcoming as we had hoped for. However, we have, nevertheless, underlined the positive position taken by President Bush. And let's hope that that administration will proceed with this kind of line until the point that being facts and positive -- being positive fact on the ground are created.

VERJEE: Daniel Ayalon, the Israeli ambassador to the U.S. and the former

policy adviser to Ariel Sharon joins us now.

Mr. Ayalon, Mr. Al-Kidwa is saying that the Israelis were not as forthcoming as they would have liked. Does Israel feel the Palestinians were forthcoming enough?

DANIEL AYALON, ISRAELI REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED STATES: Well, this is very unfortunate. We are on -- forward looking, and I would say that we were very satisfied with the statements that came from the new Palestinian leader, from Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas. I think, for the first time, he took responsibility for the terrorism and a commitment to fight the terror as a precondition to move ahead on to the political realm.

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As far as Israel is concerned, we have been ready for peace all the time. We are ready to do it now, and we are taking concrete steps about it. We are going to remove unauthorized outposts starting two or three days from now. We have been transferring funds to the Palestinian Authority. We are increasing the work permits. We are opening closures.

And not without risks because terror is still rampant and there has not been any action against the terror.

VERJEE: How many...

AYALON: So...

VERJEE: How many posts are going to be dismantled, those unauthorized outposts, in the West Bank, Mr. Ayalon? The road map says all of them should be dismantled. Is Israel going to dismantle them all?

AYALON: Israel is going to dismantle them all. It is going to do it in a phased-out manner. It's going to start very quickly. We are very sincere about it.

For us, peace is not just a strategic option, it's a moral obligation, but we would like to do it without killing ourselves, and this is what we would like to see here, that there is one track of political negotiation which is done in an atmosphere of peace without violence, without incitements.

We know that there might be some -- some difficulties on the Palestinian side right now to fight the terrorism in massive scale, but pleading ineptitude or incapability cannot be a substitute for a long-term policy.

And we would like to see some action, some concrete actions on their side -- for instance, stopping an incitement -- that could be done right away -- and then, on a gradual basis, as they build more and more capabilities, to really fight the terror, outlaw them, dismantle the infrastructure, not merely a cease-fire with al Qaeda-type organizations, like the Al-Aqsa Brigades, which are answerable directly to Arafat, or the Hamas or Jihad.

If this happens, if we will see concrete steps on their side as we are taking concrete steps, I think we have a -- we're looking optimistically into the future...

VERJEE: OK.

AYALON: ... and I do believe that peace can come and prevail.

VERJEE: We'll pursue that with Mr. Al-Kidwa in just a moment. But let me bring in George Mitchell here.

Mr. Mitchell, clearly, both sides are taking some baby steps toward some degree of progress. You've seen peace efforts come and go. You've been involved in negotiations in the Middle East between both sides. Is this time different?

GEORGE MITCHELL, FORMER UNITED STATES SENATOR: Well, only time will tell, of  
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But, in any event, there is no alternative. The alternative of continued conflict, I think, is simply not acceptable to anyone. Life has become unbearable for ordinary Israeli citizens who live in a constant state of fear and anxiety. Life is unbearable for ordinary Palestinians whose economy has been destroyed, whose freedom of movement is limited.

I think there's a growing realization in both societies that the current course of action simply promises more of the same, which is an unbearable life, and, therefore, the better option is to resume negotiations.

Inevitably, there's going to be disagreement, and you described these as baby steps. In a sense, you are correct, and they are small steps. But I think since attitude is also important. It's -- it's critical that the process begin and that the attitudes toward negotiation be positive.

So I'm hopeful, and I commend all concerned for the effort and for what's under way. Much, much remains to be done, and there are, no doubt, going to be setbacks along the way. The real test will be patience and perseverance when things are not going well, but I believe that this is a worthwhile effort.

VERJEE: Nasser Al-Kidwa, a worthwhile effort. Certainly, both sides seem to be giving positive indications, some that we've not heard in a long time. The intentions are there, but how will the Palestinians turn their intentions into deeds that will make a difference on the ground and not be hijacked by extremists?

AL-KIDWA: Well, again, we expressed our readiness to proceed with our obligations and to take complete measures on the ground. There is no doubt about that, but we also said that, unfortunately, the Israeli side didn't destroy...

VERJEE: But what concrete -- what concrete measures will the Palestinians take?

AL-KIDWA: The first step will be an attempt to achieve a cease-fire, a complete cease-fire, which will also require, of course, that Israel cease its military attacks, something that is also required under the -- under the road map.

So we will try to do that, given -- given the fact that the Israeli side had destroyed the security capability of the Palestinian side, but, nevertheless, we'll do our best and we are determined to proceed in that direction. But, again, when it comes to the political overall context -- and I'm happy that Mr. Ayalon was saying that Israel would remove all the unauthorized outposts. Unfortunately, the prime minister didn't say exactly that yesterday. Furthermore, he didn't state at all that there will be a cessation of certain activities, a very important point that -- a very important requirement in the road map.

The prime minister also did not repeat his position on ending the occupation,  
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did not utter the word the state of Palestine. When he spoke about continuity, he added a sentence that undermined completely the meaning of the continuity and so on and so forth.

You know, we want to be optimistic. We are, indeed, in need to a different situation. We are committed to this process, but...

VERJEE: Well, let's...

AL-KIDWA: ... we need...

VERJEE: Let's put that...

AL-KIDWA: ... a pure political position on the Israeli side.

VERJEE: Let's put that to Mr. Ayalon, if he will.

Those larger settlements -- the road map does call for them to be frozen.

There was no mention made about the largest settlements yesterday in Aqaba.

Will they be frozen?

AYALON: Well, we are talking about unauthorized settlements, and there was a point there, and the American understand very much. The larger issue of the settlement is a political issue, which will be dealt with according to all agreements and understandings, according to the common sense when we reach the final status agreements.

AL-KIDWA: No, no. That is...

AYALON: The issue itself cuts down in to the core issue of the problems and the conflict that we have with the Palestinians.

What I would advise my friend, Nasser Al-Kidwa, to concentrate on the positives and not try to tear apart what Mr. Sharon said. I'm not going to tear apart what Mr. Abbas said. Concentrate on the positive. And to the extent that we can get some direction on the ground -- and we're very willing to move forward -- we would like to move forward. We are moving forward. Israel...

VERJEE: Mr. Al-Kidwa...

AYALON: ... is taking concrete steps.

VERJEE: ... why don't you get in here?

AL-KIDWA: Without cessation...

AYALON: We'd like to see the Palestinians take concrete steps.

**AL-KIDWA:** Without cessation of settlement activities, there is no hope because continuation of settlement activities means continuation of colonization, means that the Palestinians will lose more and more and more land and finally lose the ability to realize their national rights.

Now Mr. Ayalon says that this is the final settlement. This is not true.

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The road map is very clear, and the first phase -- in the first phase, there should be a complete cessation of settlement activities, and this is just another example of the Israeli position that makes us very worried about immediately after Aqaba.

The ambassador says now that this is not going to be dealt with until the final negotiations, while the requirement in the road map itself is very clear in this regard.

VERJEE: OK. George Mitchell, do you see this issue, the one that's being debated here on "Q&A," as one of the first roadblocks to implementing the first phase of the road map, or do you think that there is another, perhaps more serious one?

MITCHELL: Oh, I think every issue is likely to be contested in this manner, but I think we ought not to lose sight of the importance of what has happened and the necessity of keeping the process going.

And this means there will be an important role for the monitoring team, which was announced yesterday by the United States, headed by an American State Department official that will work with the two sides to deal with just this type of disagreement and many others.

No one should underestimate the difficulties ahead. They'll be contested.

They'll be negotiated. There are differences that have to be bridged, but I think the important factor is that the sentiment of the people on both sides, I think, supports both the desired goal of two states living side by side in peace and the political process needed to bring it about.

If I could just say that, in my experience in Northern Ireland, much the same thing happened. After many failed attempts, after 30 years of war, after many people killed and many more horribly maimed and disfigured, the public gradually came to accept the view that the course of never ending conflict was not likely to achieve their objective -- that's on both sides -- and that they're better off making the political compromises necessary to bring it about.

The negotiations, which I chaired, lasted for two years, and, throughout that period, there were disputes on almost every issue. There were many deaths, and there was continuing conflict, but the political leaders kept their eye on the fundamental objective, which was to ultimately reach an agreement to end the conflicts and to begin to resolve their differences through peaceful means.

And I think the same thing can -- and I hope and pray will -- happen in the Middle East.

VERJEE: One important political leader, Yasser Arafat, stating that nothing tangible was gotten out of Aqaba, for the Palestinians at least. He said they got nothing. He said that unauthorized outposts were -- were meaningless. Just moving one caravan from one place to another meant nothing really.

Mr. Al-Kidwa, if I can ask you, when we hear comments like this, it could be interpreted as Yasser Arafat really trying to undermine the process here, trying to undermine his own prime minister, Mahmoud Abbas. How real is the power struggle between Mr. Abbas and Yasser Arafat?

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AL-KIDWA: Let me first say that I don't think that the -- President Arafat said exactly what you have just quoted. I think he said that Mr. Sharon did not offer a lot of tangible things to the Palestinian people, and there is a difference. I would think that this is true.

We also think that the American position, as articulated by President Bush, offered some kind of serious hope for the future. Now, with regard to the -- what's -- the so-called power struggle, I think there is nothing -- not like that at all. We have an elected president, (UNINTELLIGIBLE) leader, and we have an appointed prime minister that...

VERJEE: OK.

AL-KIDWA: ... got the confidence vote of the (UNINTELLIGIBLE) council. Both men will do their job and -- to the best of their abilities, and we hope that this will continue in an appropriate way on the basis of the Palestinian law and the...

VERJEE: OK.

AL-KIDWA: ... Palestinian desires.

VERJEE: Nasser Al-Kidwa, the Palestinian representative to the United Nations. Daniel Ayalon, the Israeli ambassador to the United States. And George Mitchell, a former U.S. senator and former Middle East negotiator. Thank you all so much for speaking to us on "Q&A." Thank you.

That's this edition of "Q&A."

We're going to have more news in just a moment.

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CNBC News Transcripts

**SHOW:** CNBC Special Report with Maria Bartiromo (9:00 PM ET) - CNBC

**June 2, 2003 Monday**



**LENGTH:** 2161 words

**HEADLINE:** Nasser Al-Kidwa, permanent Palestinian observer to the United Nations, discusses what the Palestinians and Israelis will have to do to achieve peace in the Middle East

**ANCHORS:** MARIA BARTIROMO

**BODY:**

Dr. CONDOLEEZZA RICE (National Security Advisor): Prime Minister Sharon and his partners in the Palestinian Authority, we believe now are going to be on a path that will lead to peace. That's why the president is going. The president would not go if he did not believe that there was a new opportunity for peace.

MARIA BARTIROMO, host:

So will Wednesday's three-way summit truly be a new opportunity for peace after years of hatred and 32 straight months of intense violence between the Israelis and Palestinians? We just heard from a senior advisor to Ariel s--Sharon. Joining me now here in the studio is Nasser Al-Kidwa, the permanent Palestinian observer to the United Nations.

Mr. Al-Kidwa, good to have you with us. Thank you.

Mr. NASSER AL-KIDWA (Palestinian Observer To The UN): Thank you.

BARTIROMO: Well, you heard the interview...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Yes.

BARTIROMO: ...with Dr. Gissin.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Mm-hmm.

BARTIROMO: He emphasized the need to end the terror. He said, and I quote, "If we do not eradicate terrorism, dismantle the terror groups, it will be difficult to achieve peace." Do you think Abbas comes to this meeting with, in fact, a real cease-fire?

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Well, let me first say before that, it is not only about ending terror. It's about ending terror and ending occupation as well. I think the 'road map' has in itself, the--the obligations that have to be carried out by both sides. There is three phases there. And it is true that the movement from one phase to another requires some kind of evaluation by--by the quartet--the  
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United States and--and its allies--about the results of--of each phase. But within the phase, both parties have to implement their obligations, in respect of the implementation by the other side. And in this regard, one has to stress the need for the removal of the unauthorized outpost, that is the settlements, and also the complete cessation of settlement activities. You have yet to hear something like that by the Israeli side. So it's both. As I said, it's--it's an attempt to ending violence and terrorism but also ending Israeli attacks, ending Israeli assassinations, Israeli destructions as well as ending settlement activities in the occupied territories.

BARTIROMO: Let--let's focus first on the obligation on the Palestinian side.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: OK.

BARTIROMO: And--and one of those obligations is to dismantle these relationships with militant groups. Israel has argued that a truce with Hamas is insufficient, that a truce will only give the militant group more power, more time to rebuild, in effect. Sharon is demanding that Abbas take--fol--take certain steps. We have the steps on screen. I'd like you to take--take a look at these steps which have been outlined in the 'road map': the arresting of terrorists, confiscating of weapons, dismantling of the militant organizations, taking preventative measures to, in fact, end the indictment to violence. Do you believe Abbas is ready to do this in conjunction with the obligations on the Israeli side having been met?

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Ultimately, I think the Palestinian Authority will have to do these things, yes. First, we are talking about--about a cease-fire that's--that's, by the way, include both--both aspects. One, the n--the need to s--to--to stop all military attacks against Israeli civilians. This is a must, because this violate international law. The other part, the cessation of all kind of violence, including violence in the occupied territories. And, frankly, you need the other side as well to stop--to stop military attacks so tha--that you can have this kind of a comprehensive cessation of violence and all kind of attacks by either--either sides. After that, you will create, then, the necessary environment for further actions to be taken. At that time, the overwhelming majority of the Palestinian people will start believing in this process again, will lend their support for the Palestinian Authority for the Palestinian government, so on and so forth.

But, again, for this to happen, you'll need to see some real steps being taken by the Israeli side as well, foremost of which a clear indication that settlement activities will have to stop. Settlements are illegal under international law. They constitute war crimes. They represent colonization of the Palestinian land. You can't assume--you can't expect any movement forward without first the Palestinian people are being told that this process is stopped, and now we are heading into the other direction, the direction of reconciliation and the path for the two states.

BARTIROMO: It does appear that each side basically has the same message, that we will fulfill our obligations once we see evidence that they are fulfilling their obligations. As you sit here tonight, would your people be prepared to take the first step?

Mr. AL-KIDWA: I'm not saying we will do our part only when--when Israel does

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its part. I am saying both of us have to do that at the same time. This is what Mr. Gissin did not say, and this is precisely what the 'road map' is saying, and it--it--it indicates steps one, two, three, four. Finally, for instance, we got the acceptance of the 'road map' by the Israeli government. At some point the

Israeli government said no, we will not give our acceptance. Luckily, it did happen, and now we need to see the statements because this is another requirement of the 'road map' itself, the statements by the two sides. We hope this will happen in Aqaba. And thirdly, specific steps has to be taken by both sides; the Palestinian side towards ending violence, the Israeli side towards ending ending military attacks and removing the outpost as well as cessation of all settlement activities. So together, simultaneously at the same time.

BARTIROMO: What is your feeling as far as what you've heard so far from the prime minister of Israel? For example, Mr. Sharon has--has--just last week, he used the word 'occupation' in an interview, which we were just talking about with Dr. Gissin. He said, 'We will be ready to carry out very painful steps. I have decided to make every effort to reach the settlements.' Have you not been encouraged by his comments so far? What are your expectations specifically for the summit?

Mr. AL-KIDWA: One cannot deny that you are hearing things coming from the Israeli side, most importantly from Prime Minister Sharon, that were not uttered before. There's no way to deny that. Things like...

BARTIROMO: So there's been a strategic change?

Mr. AL-KIDWA: That I cannot say. I cannot say that it went that much. I hope so, but you hear now about the need to end occupation. You hear terms such as 'the Palestinian people.' You hear that we want to live together in--in dignity and--and--and--and real co-existence. These are good, positive, encouraging results. Now whether they will really materialize and--and get into some concrete new facts on the ground, I hope so. And we definitely need to give it our best and--and--and to proceed together in that--in that road, hopefully, with full help by the US administration.

BARTIROMO: W--we will slip in a quick break, Mr. Al-Kidwa. When we come back, I'd like to discuss the role of Arafat and what you're seeing there. We will be right back with Nasser Al-Kidwa, the Palestinian observer to the United Nations. Do stay with us on SPECIAL REPORT tonight.

(Announcements)

President GEORGE W. BUSH: And--and--and I will put in as much time as necessary to achieve the vision of two states living side by side in peace.

BARTIROMO: Welcome back to SPECIAL REPORT. We are discussing the upcoming Middle Eastern summit, and I am here in the studio speaking to Nasser Al-Kidwa, the permanent Palestinian observer to the United Nations.

Let's talk a little about the relationship between Abbas and Arafat. They are said to speak daily, meet weekly. Is that correct?

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Oh, probably more. I think they are--they have very close relationship. They have been together for maybe--What?--30, 40 years, part of

BARTIROMO: It is widely seen that Arafat is working behind the scenes before the summit, and e--exerts a lot of control. In your view, how much influence does Arafat continue to have over these negotiations?

Mr. AL-KIDWA: A lot. President Arafat is the leader of the Palestinian people--legitimate leader and the elected president. He went along and the--the Palestinian institutions--political institutions went along with--with the establishment of the post of the prime minister and with the nomination of Mr. Abbas, basically, frankly because we want to cooperate with the United States. This was one of--of the--the main--the main conditions, if you wish, for the United States to proceed with--with--with things. So as such, we are hopeful, but let me tell you something. Mr. Abbas will never accept things less than what the Palestinian people might accept.

BARTIROMO: Of course, but...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Or any other leader at that same time, so I don't think that this is the--the main issue. Mr. Abbas is doing a good job. However, the issue of choosing a leader of the Palestinian people will remain the business of the Palestinian people.

BARTIROMO: But the issue is Arafat possibly undermining Abbas and undermining the peace proposals. Time magazine reports just today, and I quote, "Arafat is working behind the scenes with some success to undermine the new prime minister."

Mr. AL-KIDWA: I think this is utter nonsense. If--if--if Time magazine means that Arafat still control a lot of the decision-making process, probably the magazine is correct, but not to undermine the prime minister; actually to implement the work of the prime minister and hopefully together to proceed toward the--the establishment of real peace. At the end, the Israeli side needs an authentic leader--authentic leader to sign a solid agreement with them, and that is Mr. Arafat. Until then, I think Prime Minister Abu Mazen will do a very good job as he is doing just now.

BARTIROMO: Let me talk to you about the--the draft statement that Palestinian leaders are working on right now. This draft is expected to be released sometime during the summit.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Yes.

BARTIROMO: Early word is that this, the draft, so far, does not include an important element which has been sought very severely by Israel--a recognition of Israel's right to exist as a Jewish state. Is that in the draft?

Mr. AL-KIDWA: No, it is not in the draft, and it cannot be, and let me tell you why. First, a few years ago we accepted the--the concept of mutual recognition, that Palestine would recognize Israel and vice versa. And then at that time, we were told, no, you have to accept something which is very strange under international law, the formula of Israel's rights to exist. We accepted that, although it doesn't exist in international law, to indicate that we are sincere about the future relationship between the two sides. Now we are being

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told that we have to accept Israel's right to exist as a Jewish state, meaning to accept dropping the right of return for Palestinian refugees in advance.

This is a code word for dropping this right, and it has nothing to do with reconciliation or co-existence between Israel and Palestine.

BARTIROMO: But--but, Mr. Al-Kidwa, the bottom line is, are you and the Israelis ready to split this piece of land? That's the--what...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Absolutely.

BARTIROMO: ...in the draft, what in the statement will be seen as a concession to the other side?

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Absolutely. The time we say we accept Israel and we accept its rights to exist within its 1967 borders. Israel has never said we accept Palestine on the whole West Bank and Gaza. And Mr. Sharon actually, publicly is speaking about Palestine on half of the West Bank, something that will never be accepted by the Palestinian side, and that is the dilemma. Now we are being asked to drop the right of refugees in advance, while it is something that should be negotiated during the final settlement between the two sides. So there's a lot of tricks there. I hope that viewers look carefully at these things and not just at the face value.

BARTIROMO: Mr. Al-Kidwa, good to have you with us. Thanks so much.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Thank you very much.

BARTIROMO: We appreciate it. Nasser Al-Kidwa joining us tonight.

Well, coming up in the next half-hour of SPECIAL REPORT, the business of baseball, basketball, and bureaucracies. We'll start with Christie Todd Whitman, former governor of New Jersey and soon to be former head of the Environmental Protection Agency. After two and a half years at the agency, we will hear about her victories, frustrations and what's next for her after she leaves Washington. This is SPECIAL REPORT. We'll be right back.

(Announcements)

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NEWS FORUM

**SHOW:** News Forum (7:30 AM ET) - LOCAL

**May** 11, 2003 Sunday

**LENGTH:** 3676 words

**HEADLINE:** Israeli Vice Prime Minister Ehud Olmert discusses the so-called road map for peace

**ANCHORS:** GABE PRESSMAN

**BODY:**

GABE PRESSMAN, host:

In the Holy Land, violence continues both in the Palestinian territories and Israel. The new Palestinian prime minister, Mahmoud Abbas, accuses Israel of delaying progress in implementing the road map for peace presented by President Bush. Israeli Prime Minister Sharon says the first step must be an end to terrorism by Palestinians. In recent days, a one-and-a-half-year-old child and two Hamas militants died when Israeli troops clashed with alleged terrorists. And at a nightclub in Tel Aviv, a suicide bomber killed three and wounded 55. Ehud Olmert, vice premier of Israel and former mayor of Jerusalem, has said if there will be terror, there will not be progress.

Announcer: From Studio 6B in Rockefeller Center, this is a presentation from News Channel 4, Gabe Pressman's NEWS FORUM. Now your host, senior correspondent Gabe Pressman.

PRESSMAN: And Ehud Olmert is our guest on NEWS FORUM today.

Good morning, Mr. Olmert. Welcome.

Mr. EHUD OLMERT (Vice Premier, Israel): Good morning.

PRESSMAN: Welcome. President Bush expressed optimism about the prospects of peace in the Middle East this week because of the appointment of the new prime minister, Mahmoud Abbas. 'The reason we'll make progress,' Mr. Bush said, 'is the Palestinians have a prime minister who has renounced violence.' Do you think President Bush is too optimistic?

Mr. OLMERT: I'd like to share the optimism of President Bush, and his optimism was very important in the course of the last few months. I mean, everyone was pessimistic about the achievements of the Americans in Iraq. He led the way with optimism and determination and strength, and it worked.

PRESSMAN: So you hope it's contagious.

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Mr. OLMERT: So I certainly hope that it will continue. However, I think you quoted from Israel's prime minister, Mr. Sharon, and I think that this is very accurate. It all depends on one thing: You started the show by showing some pictures from the Middle East. And what did you show? You showed, for instance, the burning of the Israeli flag by Palestinians. This is a symbol of hatred, of brutality, of the desire to kill and to fight. It must be stopped.

This is--when everything was said and done at the end of the day, this is the most fundamental requirement that will determine the outcome of everything.

Will the Palestinians stop this brutal terror against innocent people in the hearts of our cities? If they will, there is a great chance for a rapid movement towards a permanent agreement between us and the Palestinians.

PRESSMAN: Our president...

Mr. OLMERT: If they will not stop it, nothing will change.

PRESSMAN: Our president, Mr. Bush, says that Abbas understands that a peace process will proceed if and when there is a concerted effort to fight violence.

Do you think Abbas has that understanding?



Mr. OLMERT: You know, the problem is not the understanding. It's the execution. Probably he has understanding. He kept saying time and again--I have to give him that credit--that he is against terror. By the way, he said that he's against terror not because he doesn't think that terror is morally forbidden. He said that he's against terror because it didn't bring any good results to the Palestinians, so he said, 'Why should we continue with something that was--is not constructive part of the course.'

PRESSMAN: Purely on pragmatic grounds.

Mr. OLMERT: Yeah, pure--purely on pragmatic grounds. Well, all right. It's even better than those who are preaching for terror. So we are ready to start business with Mahmoud Abbas but not on their basis statement. He has got to prove that he's against terror, and the only proof that is reasonable for us is that it--he will end it, that he will fight it, that he will defeat these Hamas and Hezbollah and Islamic Jihad groups, that his security forces will be ready to get in direct confrontation with these groups and stop them so that we will not have to stop them.

PRESSMAN: Is that a mandatory first step before...

Mr. OLMERT: Absolutely.

PRESSMAN: ...Israel takes any steps?

Mr. OLMERT: Absolute. You wouldn't advise Israel to make concessions and then to find ourselves again, as we found ourselves so many times in the past, that we have to collect the pieces of bodies of Israeli citizens from the streets of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. Enough is enough. We are not ready to carry on any further.

PRESSMAN: You're a peace negotiator for Israel. The secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Powell, is in Israel this weekend for talks with both Mr. Sharon and Abbas. What conditions do you expect will be presented to Powell as

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necessary from Israel's point of view?

Mr. OLMERT: Oh, the--the--the--the manner of the relations that we have with Secretary Powell, with the American administration, is such that we are not putting conditions and we are not making demands. We have outlined the expectations and the needs that we have, and I think that the secretary understands it very well. He's familiar with all the different aspects of the situation. He knows that terror will destroy every chance for a peaceful settlement of this terrible conflict that is lasting for so many years. And I'm sure that the main emphasis that he will make when he comes to the Middle East will be to Mahmoud Abbas, to the new prime minister of the Palestinians, 'Stop terror. Just stop it. 'Stop it, if necessary by using your forces,' so that the Israelis will not need to--to use their forces.

PRESSMAN: Do you think Hamas is ready to renounce terror?

Mr. OLMERT: No. Not only that Hamas is not ready to renounce, they



are-- Hamas is ready to continue terror, and, therefore, the Palestinian Authority under the leadership of Abu Abbas will have to fight them and strong fight without any hesitations whatsoever if they want to succeed.

PRESSMAN: Yasir Arafat-- Abbas was a lieutenant of his for some time. Has Arafat truly given up control of the security apparatus on the Palestinian side?

Mr. OLMERT: Absolutely-- absolutely not.

PRESSMAN: So how can this be accomplished then?

Mr. OLMERT: That's a good question. It's precisely why the Israelis are looking with great cautious...

PRESSMAN: Skepticism.

Mr. OLMERT: ...at the-- yeah, skepticism is another good term under these circumstances. We have an experience with the Palestinians. Do you know how many agreements we've signed with the Palestinians? You know how many road maps were published in the past by good-willing countries, including the United States of America? Each time perhaps a different name to this framework but always aiming at the same thing, to try and impose on the Palestinians to stop terror and to lay the foundation so that both sides will be able to sit together and talk like decent human beings talk. So this is-- you know, we can keep talking for hours and-- about all the different aspects and all the different ramifications and all the opportunities, our great opportunities that lie ahead for both sides if there will be some kind of an agreement, but the beginning and the end is one. Stop terror. Stop this brutality. Stop killing innocent people, you know? We are sick and tired, all of us. You have gone through a terrible, terrible experience in this city, New York, and you know now better what I'm talking about.

PRESSMAN: The Palestinians, though, they charge that Israel has committed, in effect, terror against their civilian population with its so-called incursions into Palestinian areas.

Mr. OLMERT: Well, why do-- do we make these incursions into Palestinian areas?

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What for? For the joy of it? For the fun of risking the lives of Israeli soldiers in making these operations? This is nonsense. We all know why we did it. We did it because had we not done it, there would have been many more suicidal and homicide attacks against innocent Israelis in the hearts of our cities. You have been to Jerusalem many times, and I believe you have been also at times when there was terror there, and people were killed in the streets. And you know what a painful experience it is for thousands of people, not only those who are wounded, not only, of course, the victims, but the hundreds of people that are witnessing it, that are going through the pains of looking for their relatives, for their friends, finding out what happened to them and the shock that comes with it. So this has to be stopped. This is something that we can't compromise on.

And, you know, sometimes I hear, 'What do the Palestinians have to do so that you will be convinced that they mean business.' I say, 'What exactly do you mean? Do you mean to say that if only 10 Israelis are killed every week, it's all right? It's only--if the--20 are killed, then you comp--compromise with it?' And the answer is very simple. No, not a single person. Not a single baby. Not a single mother. Enough with coffee shops, with restaurants, with buses, with schools, with trips being attacked, with innocent people being killed when they go to work or when they just go to have lunch at the restaurant in Tel Aviv or in Jerusalem.

PRESSMAN: What about the Palestinian babies or the Palestinian civilians?

Mr. OLMERT: Terrible. Terrible. And that's...

PRESSMAN: But...

Mr. OLMERT: ...precisely why we come again to them and say, 'Stop it.' You know, I'll never forget that in one of the very--after one of the very tragic events in the war against al-Qaida in Afghanistan when unfortunately Americans killed some civilians...

PRESSMAN: Iraqis.

Mr. OLMERT: No, some civilians in Afghanistan.

PRESSMAN: Oh, in Afghanistan, right.

Mr. OLMERT: In--in--in the house where al-Qaida fighters were--terrorists were hiding, the secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld, who is held in the highest esteem in our part of the world, explained to the press how difficult and sometimes brutal this war is when you have to defend your soldiers and to fight against people that are putting human shields ahead of them in order to defend themselves and you know in advance that there is a great risk that when you defend you soldiers, when you defend your people, you might kill innocent people on the other side. And that's exactly what happens to us with the Palestinians. What do you do when there are three Hamas leaders that are responsible for the killing of 100 innocent civilians who are hiding in a certain place and you try to reach out to them and you find out later that they had surrounded themselves, something that you couldn't know, with 10 babies, so that if something happens to them, the whole world will see the...

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PRESSMAN: When did that...

Mr. OLMERT: ...brutality of the Israelis?

PRESSMAN: When did that happen?

Mr. OLMERT: Many times. Oh, most of the--most of the events that you are mentioning in the context...

PRESSMAN: Right.

Mr. OLMERT: ...of--of killing babies are a result of this tactic.

PRESSMAN: Let's come back and talk some more about the situation in terms of peace and also your job as minister of trade and how that affects Israel's

future after this.

(Announcements)

PRESSMAN: And we're back here with the vice prime minister of Israel, Ehud Olmert.

Mr. Olmert, as far as the road map is concerned, the so-called road map for peace, beyond the elimination of terror, what are the reservations that Israel has about the road map as it exists?

Mr. OLMERT: We have some basic understanding that the framework of the road map is a reflection of the ideas that were expressed by the president in his famous speech on the 24th of June last year.

PRESSMAN: Right.

Mr. OLMERT: It's the right framework. There are all kinds of details that must still be worked out and refined in the process of implementation. Believe me, at this point in life, these are not major items because everything depends on the starting point. It will not be a meaningful starting point if there will not be a serious effort to stop terror. The rest will just...

PRESSMAN: So then...

Mr. OLMERT: ...slide away.

PRESSMAN: So then there's the spirit of compromise, you would say, on the Israeli side?

Mr. OLMERT: Absolutely. Absolutely. I think you can look at the interviews that the prime minister of Israel gave last night and--and the days before.

PRESSMAN: He described Abbas as a peace partner.

Mr. OLMERT: That's right. We want--you see, the problem, by the way, is that if we talk too positively about Abbas immediately, some of his people from his side calls him a traitor and a collaborator with Israel.

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PRESSMAN: Do you think Arafat is...

Mr. OLMERT: So...

PRESSMAN: ...is still trying to pull the strings?

Mr. OLMERT: Absolutely. Absolutely. He doesn't even hide it. Now if we criticized Mahmoud Abbas, then everyone comes to us and says, 'How can you speak about a future partner like this?' So we have to be very care--careful in the choice of words, but basically, I can tell you, on behalf of the Israeli government and the vice prime minister of Sharon that he means business. He really genuinely wants to push this into a safer and more relaxed atmosphere. He's ready to make serious compromises, the like of which he never contemplated before. And this is not easy.

PRESSMAN: He's a great war--warrior in his background.

Mr. OLMERT: He was a great warrior, because at a time when Israel needed a military leader, he was the leader.

PRESSMAN: And you think he wants...

Mr. OLMERT: But he feels that now Israel needs a peace leader, and he's ready to be a peace leader. But he will not take Israel into a si--suicidal situation, and he will not allow us to make these dramatic concessions that he's talking about if there will not be an end to terror against Israelis.

PRESSMAN: What about the right of return. You expect the Palestinians to give up that.

Mr. OLMERT: Absolutely. The right of return...

PRESSMAN: The right of return to what is now Israel.

Mr. OLMERT: Yes. The right of return, you must understand, is a code name. The meaning that lies behind it is very simple, the destruction of the state of Israel as a Jewish state, full stop. And, therefore, this is not a start--if the Palestinians will insist on right of return--and you asked me before about some disagreements on the wording of the road map. They--their wording is not always sensitive to some of these aspects, which for us are essential. Now we are not arguing about this, because at this point, they're not relevant to the process but they will become. Israel will never agree to negotiate on the basis of the rights of return...

PRESSMAN: What about...

Mr. OLMERT: ...because this is an end to the existence of Israel.

PRESSMAN: What about Jerusalem?

Mr. OLMERT: Jerusalem--you know, if you will ar...

PRESSMAN: You're the former mayor.

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Mr. OLMERT: If--if--Gabe, if you will now make a poll and you will ask the people of this country, 'In their mind, which is the capital of the Jewish people?' what will they say? Will they not say Jerusalem? Is Jerusalem not the capital of the Jewish people for the last 3,000 years? Has it ever been a capital for any other people, for any other nation in the whole history of this great, extraordinary city that has been there thousands of years ago? Has not the Jewish temple been built twice in the city of Jerusalem?

PRESSMAN: And yet, is there a compromise possible on the religious aspects of Jerusalem?

Mr. OLMERT: On the religious aspects? Absolutely. Of course. We have enormous respect for other religions, and we'll allow freedom of religion for Muslims and Christians to exercise it now without any restrictions. I must say that Jerusalem never entertained greater religious freedom than in the period that we have full control of the entire city, and this will continue forever.

PRESSMAN: Bush--Mr. Bush had lunch with the emir of Qatar recently, and he said he had encouraged him to assume responsibility for stopping the funding of terror in Ar--by Arab countries and working with the Palestinian Authority to encourage the habits of democracy and freedom. Do you think the emir is a great exponent of democracy?

Mr. OLMERT: You don't expect a serious answer, do you? OK. The problem, of course, is none of the Arab countries, none of them, is a democracy. None of the emirates, none of the kingdoms, none of the republicans there are a democracy. There's only one single democracy in the Middle East, and this is Israel.

PRESSMAN: Let's come back and talk about trade and the economy after this.  
(Announcements)

PRESSMAN: And we're back here with the vice prime minister of Israel, Ehud Olmert.

You are also the minister of Industry, Trade and Labor. Is that correct?

Mr. OLMERT: Correct.

PRESSMAN: And what have you been doing this week in regard to that?

Mr. OLMERT: Well, I had a chance to meet lots of potential investors in the Israeli economy here in the United States. And I must say I was very encouraged by the--the curiosity, interest and willingness to invest in major projects in Israel.

PRESSMAN: Isn't it--isn't the--the terrorism and the violence that continues to this day a downer for people who want to invest?

Mr. OLMERT: Well, it certainly is a consideration that lots of people are making, but on the other hand, I think that there is a fundamental trust in the strengths and the b--dynamism of the Israeli economy. Lots of people know that the high-tech industries of Israel are on the very top level in the world, that  
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in Israel, you have more high-tech start-ups, for instance, in more than every other country in the world in absolute figures, except for the United States of America, that we invest in our economy more than any other country in the world per capita in R&D, in research and development. So there is a great potential. And lots of huge companies, including in this country, are interested. You know, that IBM has one of its largest R&D centers of the whole world outside of America in Israel and the same is Intel. And the same is most of the other huge companies...

PRESSMAN: Why?

Mr. OLMERT: ...from America. I think because of the talent that they find there, because of the resourcefulness and creativity of the Israeli entrepreneurs.

PRESSMAN: Is it a fact that real peace, durable peace in the Middle East would require an economic relationship between Israel, the Palestinians, the Jordanians, the Egyptians, maybe even the Syrians?

Mr. OLMERT: First of all, there are already economic relations between us and our neighbors. There are qualified industrial zones between us and Jordan that are responsible for a huge growth of the exports from Jordan to America. It's part of the free-trade zone between Israel and the United States. The largest

exporter from Egypt is an Israeli company. So there are serious beginnings--and this is precisely one of the most powerful arguments that we have all the time: Stop fighting with us. Let's cooperate together.

PRESSMAN: Well, you have six...

Mr. OLMERT: Let's build up something together to the benefit of all people...

PRESSMAN: You have 60 percent...

Mr. OLMERT: ...in our Middle...

PRESSMAN: ...60 percent unemployment on the Palestinian side...

Mr. OLMERT: Well, that's...

PRESSMAN: ...because they can't cross the border to work in Israel.

Mr. OLMERT: Of course. How can you expect Israel to allow them to cross the border and put bombs. If they will stop terror, again...

PRESSMAN: Right.

Mr. OLMERT: ...opportunities for economic cooperations are unlimited.

PRESSMAN: And...

Mr. OLMERT: And we are anxious to establish this kind of cooperation.

PRESSMAN: With the Palestinians as well.

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Mr. OLMERT: With the Palestinians, with Jordanians, with the Egyptians, with everyone that is ready to cooperate with us. We are part of the region. We are not outside this region.

PRESSMAN: On my bu...

Mr. OLMERT: And we need to be, in the future, an integral part of this.

PRESSMAN: On my business to Israel in the last year, several visits, I have noticed the--the hotels on the Israel side are virtually empty. Tourism is way down.

Mr. OLMERT: Well, of course, tourism was way down because enough people watch television and they see, sometimes, these homicidal attacks on innocent people and it discourages them. And I can't complain, although I'm very sad for my city, Jerusalem, that lost so many of the Jews that used to come regularly to visit the city. But, Gabe, I must say I'm optimistic. I am certain that, even if it will take somewhat longer than some political analysts in America expect, ultimately, it will move forward. And we, together with some good Palestinians and with many good Americans--we will defeat terror in our part of the world and we'll bring a new environment of cooperation that will be so helpful and so constructive for all the nations that live in our region.

PRESSMAN: I understand you had a personal reason for being in New York this weekend. Your son is graduating at NYU.

Mr. OLMERT: That's right.

PRESSMAN: What is he--what is he studying?

Mr. OLMERT: He studied computers and telecommunication at NYU, and I'm very proud of his education.

PRESSMAN: And he's getting--What?--a master of...

Mr. OLMERT: He's getting a master degree...

PRESSMAN: Master of arts?

Mr. OLMERT: Master of arts. That's right.

PRESSMAN: You're not an artistic type yourself, are you?

Mr. OLMERT: No, no, but his mother...

PRESSMAN: Art--art of politics?

Mr. OLMERT: His mother, my wife, is a very gifted artist, and I think he took all talents from my wife, and he's a very talented young man.

PRESSMAN: Thank you very much, Ehud Olmert, the vice prime minister of Israel, for joining us today.

We've invited the Palestinian representative to the--the United States, the

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permanent observer, Dr. Nasser Al-Kidwa, to share his views on this program.

He's agreed to do so as soon as his schedule permits.

This is Gabe Pressman. Good day.

**LOAD-DATE:** May 11, 2003

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**SHOW:** Your World With Neil Cavuto

**January** 29, 2003, Wednesday 16:00-17:00 ET

**NETWORK:** Fox News Channel

**MEDIUM:** Television

**TYPE:** National Cable

**LENGTH:** 34 words

**BODY:**

START: 00:24:54

Teased Segment - Mideast;

Sound Bites - Dr. Nasser Al **Kidwa**, Palestinian Ambassador tot he UN, comments on why Yasser Arafat wants to meet with Ariel Sharon. :LR

END: 00:28:21

**SEGMENT-ID:** 15

**PROGRAM-ID:** fnc16000129

**LOAD-DATE:** March 1, 2003

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CNN

**SHOW:** CNN LATE EDITION WITH WOLF BLITZER 12:00

**November** 24, 2002 Sunday

Transcript # 112400CN.V47

**SECTION:** News; Domestic

**LENGTH:** 21101 words

**HEADLINE:** Biden, Hagel Discuss War on Terror; Gissin, al-Kidwa Talk About Mideast Peace; Black, DiGenova Debate New Wiretapping Powers

**GUESTS:** Joseph Biden, Chuck Hagel, Claudia Kennedy, George Joulwan, Raanan Gissin, Nasser al-Kidwa, Thomas Menino, Glenda Hood, Anthony Williams, Joseph DiGenova, Roy Black, Christopher Caldwell, Peter Beinart, Jonah Goldberg, Donna Brazile

**BYLINE:** Wolf Blitzer, David Grange, Bruce Morton, Jonathan Karl

**HIGHLIGHT:**

Senators Joseph Biden and Chuck Hagel discuss the effort to disarm Iraq and Saudi Arabia's role in the war on terror. Then, Israeli spokesman Raanan Gissin and Palestinian representative at the U.N., Nasser al-Kidwa, talk about the prospects of peace in the Middle East. Finally, criminal defense attorney Roy Black and former U.S. attorney Joseph DiGenova debate FBI's new wiretapping powers.

**BODY:**

WOLF BLITZER, HOST: It's noon in Washington, 9:00 a.m. here in Los Angeles, 7:00 p.m. in Jerusalem and 8:00 p.m. in Baghdad. Wherever you're watching from around the world, thanks for joining us for this special LATE EDITION, Showdown: Iraq.

We'll talk with two leading members of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee about the effort to disarm Iraq and Saudi Arabia's role in the war on terror in just a few minutes. But first, a CNN news alert.

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BLITZER: And joining us now to discuss a little bit more about this entire Saudi potential connection, the overall war on terror, and Iraq are two key members of the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in his home state of Delaware, the committee's outgoing chairman, Democrat Joseph Biden, and in Washington, D.C., the Republican Senator Chuck Hagel of Nebraska. Senators, welcome back to LATE EDITION.

Senator Biden, I'll begin with you. As you read all these stories about the Saudi role, potential Saudi role, the connection, what's going on, as far as you

can tell?

SEN. JOSEPH BIDEN (D), DELAWARE: What's going on is the Saudis are trying to catch up with 10, 12 years of very bad policy.

I am doubtful that there was an intentional transfer of money from the ambassador's wife to the hijackers, but it's clear, Wolf, there's a long pattern of the Saudis essentially buying off extremism in their country. They've built thousands of madrassas. They have charities that they know were not doing good things.

They've basically kept the wolf from their door, no pun intended, by sending money to these organizations as long as they stay outside of the country, and they've been incredibly lax. They're tightening up.

And so I think what this is, this is a continuing part of a saga where the Saudis don't know, have not checked, are not nearly conscientious enough in determining whether or not, quote, a "charity" is genuinely a charity or a front for, or a back door for, terrorists or terrorist-sympathizing organizations or individuals.

BLITZER: Senator Hagel, I want you to weigh in, as well. But, specifically, moving it forward a little bit, do you get the sense the Saudis right now are doing everything they can to cooperate with U.S. law enforcement, U.S. intelligence in dealing with these allegations and dealing with the overall war on terror?

SEN. CHUCK HAGEL (R), NEBRASKA: Wolf, I think they are getting there. I think as Joe has described it, he's given a good framework for what has been going on, and I do believe the Saudi government is in the process of catching up.

Now, let's remember a couple of things. One is there is no final report yet. Two, our CIA and FBI have taken issue with some of these preliminary findings. And I suspect there will be some very intriguing and exhilarating differences made here, and we will not get to that until that final report's done, as far as the conclusions.

But the bigger picture is this. Our government has been looking at the funding of these foundations over the last year, where that money goes. And I think just as Senator Biden said, it's probably doubtful that the Saudi government was intentionally allowing money to be funneled to terrorists.

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But nonetheless, the Saudi government is going to have to define this in a much more critical and exact way than what we have seen in the past, and I do think that they'll get there. But they have probably not done in the last 12 months as much as they need to do to deal with this issue.

BIDEN: Wolf, can I...

BLITZER: Senator Biden, I want you to weigh in and express, are you frustrated about the lack of, or the cooperation that the United States is

getting from Saudi Arabia?

BIDEN: I think we're getting increasingly better cooperation, but if I can make an analogy for you. Right after 9/11, when we pointed out there were over 7,000 madrassas these guys funded, that is the Saudi government funded in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and they're just hate-holes, they're just places to fill with venom against America and the West, they said, "Well, OK, we're going to crack down." And they began to help us. They began to help us, they followed the money supply, et cetera.

But then they had a second stage. It's a little harder for them to tell very wealthy billionaires who aren't members of the family, who really are in fact independent of them, to tell them to stop funding these charities which are questionable. They started to do that.

In other words, they're getting gradually tighter and tighter, but they're not doing what we do in the United States of America. If we find out that you, Wolf Blazer (sic), is contributing to a charity that we think is a charity that supports terror, we will come down on you, Wolf Blazer (sic).

This government would not -- they, the government, stopped the direct funding, but they then were very hesitant to move on to Wolf Blazer (sic) and stop him from doing the funding.

We first got the answer that, "Well, you know, these are individual decisions made by wealthy individuals in our country and we're not going to control that."

Well, they've gotten better and better and better. It's a little bit like they've had a bit of an epiphany here. They're beginning to see that this really does implicate them in ways that are very startling.

I would wait until the CIA report and FBI report to see whether the wife of the ambassador is directly implicated, but she may have indirectly been implicated without her own knowledge.

And this is just, they're just not nearly as tight as they should be relative to these funding mechanisms.

BLITZER: Senator Hagel, it was interesting this week at the meeting that President Bush had with the Russian president, Vladimir Putin, Putin specifically himself railed out against Saudi Arabia and its role in the whole war on terrorism. Listen to what President Putin said.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

VLADIMIR PUTIN, PRESIDENT OF RUSSIA (through translator): We should not  
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forget about those who finance terrorism. Of the 19 terrorists who committed the main attacks on September 11 against the United States, 16 are citizens of Saudi Arabia. We should not forget about that.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: I think the actual number, Senator Hagel, was 15 as opposed to 16, but certainly the leader of al Qaeda, Osama bin Laden, is a Saudi himself.

Does the United States need lecturing about Saudi Arabia from the Russian president?

HAGEL: Well, President Putin also included Pakistan in that critique, if you recall.

But I think, again, let's look at the bigger picture here. What we have cracked into here over the last year since September 11th is a universe that we've never had to explore.

We, the United States, Russians, all nations, live in an imperfect foreign relations world. There's rarely an easy choice in relationships. It's usually a choice somewhere in the middle. And we have deferred addressing the tough decisions, just like we are talking about here this morning, these issues regarding Saudi Arabia. Pakistan is another good example. Putin locked into that, as well.

Do we, the United States, consider Saudi Arabia and Pakistan allies? Yes, we do. Have they been important to us? Yes, they have. Are they especially important to us right now in our war on terrorism? Yes, they are. But do they have down sides that they bring with them to this relationship? Yes, they do. So we are going to have to work through this in a steady way, challenge every area that needs to be challenged and probed, but keep in mind what the big picture and our long-term interests are. And that is that we win this war on terrorism. That means enhancements of our relationships, not necessarily looking the wrong way or other way when we have these tough issues to confront, which we've never confronted until the last 12 months. That's the game we're in right now, Wolf.

BLITZER: All right. And, Senator Biden, before we take a break, I want you to just wrap up this whole Saudi involvement, the Saudi aspect of this by talking a little about what the U.S. should be getting from Saudi Arabia right now as the U.S. prepares for the possibility of launching a war against Iraq. The United States is getting cooperation militarily from the Kuwaitis, from the Qataris, from the Turks, but the Saudis right now are taking a very different stance. Is that a source of concern to you?

BIDEN: No, because they will do what we ultimately ask them to do.

The real problem here, Wolf, in my view, is a cultural one. Here you have a government that is essentially a dictatorship, essentially an oligarchy, one that is not a democracy. And the way in which all of their social programs are taking place is through personal philanthropy, in effect. And so what you have

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is we're trying to get them to change the way in which they culturally provide for those people in their country that are in need.

And so what happens is you have all these individual charities set up in effect -- I'm vastly exaggerating in the interest of time -- but these individual charities instead of a Department of Human Resources, for example,

and you have no democratic input here.

And so we're asking them to curtail the way in which they've kept themselves in power by doling out all these little bit of, you know, dole to everyone out there. And they're finding out now that a significant portion of those people to whom they dole these things out are not good people. They're bad people. They mean them harm, and they mean us harm.

And so this is a very serious cultural change they're trying to undertake while they continue to resist anything remotely approaching democratic institutions. And until they do, Wolf, we are going to have a problem with Saudi Arabia, and this is going to be a long time and arduous journey between us and Saudi Arabia over the next decade.

BLITZER: All right. Let's take a quick break, senators, we have a lot more to talk about, including Iraq, the potential of a U.S. war with Iraq, indeed the entire showdown Iraq.

We're also looking for your phone calls. LATE EDITION will continue right after this.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

GEORGE W. BUSH, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: Deception this time will not be tolerated.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: President Bush in Europe this week, pressing to disarm the Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein.

Welcome back to this special LATE EDITION, Showdown: Iraq.

We're talking with two key members of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the panel's chairman, the Democratic Senator Joseph Biden of Delaware and the Republican Senator Chuck Hagel of Nebraska.

Senator Hagel, do you believe that these upcoming inspections by these U.N. weapons inspectors can really get the job done?

HAGEL: We'll see, Wolf. The important thing is that we are now on a diplomatic high ground process and we are working that process to, in fact, reach a conclusion.

And what's important there is that we have the world community with us. We have the force of the United Nations with us. It's now up to Saddam Hussein. And what happens as we go along is really in the hands of Saddam Hussein.

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So I think we'll have to wait and see, but I think this is the correct course of action that we are on. And we are preparing for a military option, if that would be required, and that's appropriate.

BLITZER: Senator Biden, are you optimistic that the inspectors can do it?

BIDEN: I'm optimistic that the job will get done one way or the other.

And I agree with Senator Hagel. If in fact, he blocks them and/or there is duplicity somehow and it's not functioning, then I think the world will support

the effort to go in and take out those weapons and find them.

But it remains to be seen what action he'll take. My guess is he'll probably misjudge, as he always does. And my guess is that we're likely to be, with other willing nations, at war with Saddam over the next -- sometime in the next six to 12 months.

But I hope that's not true. This is the single best hope we have. But if we do go now, we are so, so much better off because the leadership of the president and going through the United Nations that it drastically enhances our standing in the world, as well as our prospects in Iraq.

BLITZER: Senator Hagel, let me ask you the specific questions about these no-fly zones. As you well know, Resolution 1441, the latest U.N. Security Council resolution, says that the Iraqis should not interfere with coalition aircraft. But since the Iraqis accepted that resolution, they have indeed continued to target British and U.S. planes patrolling the no-fly zones in the north and in the south.

The U.N. secretary general, Kofi Annan, insists this is not necessarily a violation of the agreement. He says this -- he said it this past week: "I don't think the Council will say that this is in contravention of the resolution that was recently passed."

But the Pentagon spokeswoman, Victoria Clarke, has a very different point of view, reflecting, indeed, the Bush administration stance. Listen to what she says.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

VICTORIA CLARKE, DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS: Two things

are very, very clear. One is we're going to continue to patrol these no-fly zones. We are going to continue to protect the Iraqi people from the Saddam Hussein regime. Second thing is, we do consider it a material breach.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: Do you consider -- do you agree with the administration, Senator Hagel, that the Iraqis are already in material breach of Resolution 1441?

HAGEL: The firing at American and British aircraft, Wolf, is not new. This has been going on, off and on, for the last 10 years. Is that right? No. But the fact is, this is not a new development. Is this a provocation of Saddam Hussein's government trying to interfere with our inspectors? I don't think

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We're going to have to resolve this issue, because you've got the American government interpreting it one way and the secretary general of the United Nations interpreting it another way.

Obviously, if there is some blatant, provocative act on the part of Saddam Hussein's government, then I think that's a clear and easy issue to deal with.



We'll know what we have to do.

But in this case, since it is not a new provocation, we're going to have to find a way to resolve this. Because if this continues, then we may find in the next two or three weeks the U.N. inspection effort completely neutered and neutralized and ineffective because the United States government says, "Well, I'm sorry this is a material breach. All bets are off, and we have now one option and that is a military option." So this is going to have to get resolved within the United Nations Security Council.

BLITZER: It's clear, Senator Biden, that the Bush administration is not going to go to the U.N. Security Council specifically on these -- the interference, the Iraqis targeting the U.S. and the British warplanes in the northern and southern no-fly zones, even though they insist the Iraqis are in material breach since they accepted the latest U.N. Security Council resolution.

A lot of critics, including conservative Republicans, are wondering where else would the U.S. allow an enemy, if you will, to fire on U.S. warplanes and not respond, let's say, more massively than the U.S. has already responded?

BIDEN: Fortunately, the president doesn't listen to the Defense Department spokesperson most of the time. You say, Wolf, I think your phrase, this reflects the Bush administration's position. I would respectfully suggest nothing reflects the Bush administration position until President Bush states it.

You'll recall the Defense Department said we will not go to the United Nations. You recall the Defense Department said we will not go to the Congress. You'll recall the Defense Department said there is no option here but the use of force. Fortunately, the president makes his own decisions. He listens to other voices.

This seems to me to be the perfect ploy for Saddam Hussein. Get us in a fight with the United Nations over whether or not a 10-year pattern of firing at American planes is a material breach. Divide the United Nations, divide the allies on that issue, and then do exactly what Senator Hagel predicted would happen, render useless the investigations.

The president is too smart for this. The president will say when in fact it is materially, it's a material breach that existed before this new resolution and it continues. We should not take it lightly. We should fire on them. We should take out whatever they fire at us. We should go beyond that if we need to. But we should not all play into Saddam Hussein's hands and break up this coalition.

There will be stages here. What you have is the Defense Department doesn't

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want us there in the first place, Wolf. They never wanted us to go the United Nations in the first place. They think the president made a serious mistake in locking himself into this process. It's Powell against the rest of that



organization. And this is just part of that same old game.

Let's listen to the president of the United States. I predict he will not blow the whole thing up over these continued 10-year pattern of firing on American aircraft.

BLITZER: So what you're saying, Senator Biden, just to be specific, not the Defense Department, what you're saying is that the secretary of defense, Donald Rumsfeld, is on a different page than the secretary of state, Colin Powell?

BIDEN: Absolutely, and so's the vice president based on what I can see. And they're great men. They have a fundamentally different view.

They think -- I'm reading into what I know from my conversations over the last year and the actions that have occurred over the last year. They believe it was a material mistake to go to the United Nations, to get ourselves locked into this process. They know full well that if we were unilaterally tomorrow to say this is a breach, and we invade it, then we would lose all of what we just built up.

Let's have a little bit of patience here. Nothing new has happened. Let's let the inspectors go forward. Use all the force needed to defend those no-fly efforts. Do whatever we have to do to do that. But let's not get into a semantic debate about whether is a material breach. Let's establish to the world that this guy is continuing to pursue weapons of mass destruction, generate a consensus to the world to go in and take him out.

BLITZER: All right, Senator Biden and Senator Hagel, stand by. We're going to take another quick break. We'll continue our conversation.

Also we'll be taking your phone calls. LATE EDITION will continue right after this.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Welcome back to LATE EDITION, Showdown: Iraq. We're continuing our conversation with Delaware Democratic Senator Joseph Biden and Nebraska Republican Senator Chuck Hagel.

Senators, we have a caller from Wisconsin who has a question. Go ahead, Wisconsin.

CALLER: Hello, Senators, how are you doing today?

HAGEL: How are you?

CALLER: Can you hear me?

BIDEN: We can hear you.

BLITZER: Yes, go ahead with your question.

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CALLER: OK, my question is -- it's quick -- I hear a lot that we're not allowed to -- or it's hard for us to fight Iraq, Saddam Hussein and al Qaeda at the same time, although during World War II we were able to fight two wars, basically, at the same time. Why is it so hard today?

BLITZER: What about that, Senator Hagel? You're a military veteran. Can the

United States fight Iraq and continue the war on terrorism at the same time?

HAGEL: Yes, we can, if we have allies. That's a critical part of all of this, in my opinion, Wolf. The enhancement of America's relationships around the world is the key to our future success in this war against terrorism. That means enhancement of intelligence gathering and sharing with other nations, law enforcement, diplomatic, humanitarian, economic trade, as well as the military piece.

And we will do what we must do, certainly, to protect ourselves and our allies. But it's going to require coalitions of common interests, partnerships. And that is the future, I think, in the 21st century, and that's the future for America.

BLITZER: Senator Biden, as you well know, the NATO alliance expanded this week, seven new nations, former Communist countries coming into NATO. The president was in Lithuania on Saturday, and he spoke in words that presumably he believes the people in Lithuania and elsewhere would appreciate. I want you to listen to this one specific reference he made to World War II and the current war on terrorism and a potential war with Iraq. Listen to this.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BUSH: Our alliance with freedom is being tested again, by new and terrible dangers. Like the Nazis and the Communists before them, the terrorists seek to end lives and control all life. And like the Nazis and the Communists before them, they will be opposed by free nations, and the terrorists will be defeated.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: Is that appropriate, to compare these current threats against the United States to the Communist threat during the Cold War and even earlier, as well as the Nazis during World War II?

BIDEN: As I heard the president, I think what he was doing is comparing not so much the Communists and Nazis to al Qaeda, but the need, the kind of thing that was needed to defeat the Communists and Nazis was needed now, which is what Chuck Hagel talked about, cooperation of nations that love peace, nations that seek freedom.

One of the points that Senator Hagel made a moment ago -- and I completely concur with his answer to the caller, I'd just expand it slightly -- is that we have the military wherewithal to fight both al Qaeda, wherever we find it, and Iraq and more, if need be.

What we have to have, though, is, we have to have the intelligence cooperation of a vast number of other countries, in order to be able to know where to send our military. And if they're at odds with our overall policy on

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Iraq or anything else and refuse to cooperate with us, it makes it impossible for us to fight both wars effectively, against al Qaeda and against Iraq. And so I think what the president was talking about -- and I agree with him

-- is that there is a need to have the same kind of cohesion, the same kind of understanding of the threat and the same kind of cooperation that it took to defeat Nazi Germany and that it took to defeat the Soviet Union, in effect defeat the Soviet Union, with the Wall coming down.

BLITZER: Senator Hagel, as you know, in the war against al Qaeda, the U.S. still has not captured or killed Osama bin Laden, but it did manage to catch what U.S. officials describe as a "big fish" this week, one al Qaeda operative named Abd al-Rahim al-Nashiri.

How big of a deal is this? Is this guy a big fish?

HAGEL: He is a big fish. And this, once again, points up the need for cooperation among our allies. As Joe Biden just said and reflected on some of my earlier comments, the intelligence gathering and sharing, the processing of that is the way we scoop these guys up. This is the way we really deal with this new scourge of mankind called terrorism.

And every time we can pick one of these guys up, we build on that success. We will continue to build on that success. So this was a good week for our intelligence community.

BLITZER: We're almost out of time, but Senator Biden, before we go, I have to ask you this question. We saw a lot, we heard a lot from the former Vice President Al Gore this week. He seems to be making a lot of indications that he's going to run again for the presidency. A, do you believe he will? And, B, are you thinking about running for the presidency?

BIDEN: Yes and yes.

BLITZER: How seriously along the road are you toward making a formal announcement that you want to run?

BIDEN: Oh, I have to learn a lot more about what prospects I'd have before I would do that. I am looking at it. I am a long way away, but I think Al Gore is not and should not be. Al Gore is a significant national figure. I think if he decides to run he'll be formidable, and I think he should.

BLITZER: But you are ready to challenge him as leader of the Democratic Party and seek that presidential nomination, at least you're thinking about that very seriously?

BIDEN: If after the next several months I concluded I had a reasonable shot of doing that, I would not be reluctant to do it. I don't know that I have that reasonable shot. I paid no real attention to it in the sense of going out. As you know, you've covered presidential politics, Wolf, you have to do this full time. I have not been doing it full time. I'm going to go take a look and decide whether or not it's viable.

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But if it were, I have real disagreements with Al on some things. I would not hesitate to run because he's running. But I do think he's very formidable within our party, and obviously he's a serious fellow.

BLITZER: And what do you bring to the table? When you talk about disagreements, what do you think you would bring to the Democratic Party as leader of the party as its presidential nominee that Al Gore would not necessarily bring?

BIDEN: Well, that's a little premature to engage in that at this moment.

BLITZER: All right.

BIDEN: Thank you.

(LAUGHTER)

BLITZER: But it's always fun to do it in any case.

BIDEN: Thank you very much.

BLITZER: Senator Hagel, you're looking at becoming the majority in the Senate. You're going to be -- what are you going to be doing now in your role? Are you going to be chairman of the committee?

HAGEL: Well, Senator Lugar is going to replace Joe Biden. And fortunately for this country, I think Senators Lugar and Biden are two of the preeminent thinkers and most experienced foreign policy people we have in government. They work closely together.

I then will be the ranking Republican on the Foreign Relations Committee. I look forward to working with the new chairman and the outgoing chairman over the next couple of years, working with the administration. We have many great challenges ahead of us.

And I would say that as far as my family's concerned, we already have a president, and that's Bush. His name is Bush, and I expect him to run again. And if Joe decides to run, I think he'd be a formidable candidate.

(LAUGHTER)

BIDEN: That's a long way away.

BLITZER: Senator Biden and Senator Hagel, we'll be watching all of this in the next weeks and months to come, and we'll have a little bit of fun on this program, as well. Always good to have both of you on the show.

BIDEN: Thank you very much, Wolf.

HAGEL: Thank you.

BLITZER: Thank you very much. Thanks to both of you.

Just ahead, U.S. troops prepare for a possible second war in the Persian

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Gulf. What will they face this time around? We'll get some unique insight into the U.S. plan from the former NATO supreme allied commander, General George Joulwan, the retired U.S. Army lieutenant general, Claudia Kennedy, and the retired U.S. Army brigadier general, David Grange.

It's all coming up on LATE EDITION.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BUSH: My expectation is, is that we can do this peacefully if Saddam Hussein

disarms. That's my expectation. But Mr. Saddam Hussein has got a decision to make.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: President Bush speaking during a visit with European allies this past week.

Welcome back to LATE EDITION, Showdown: Iraq.

If the crisis with Saddam Hussein does end in war, what are the challenges of a U.S.-led military campaign this time around? Joining us now with some perspective, three very distinguished military veterans.

In Washington, the former supreme allied commander of NATO, retired U.S. Army General George Joulwan. Also in Washington, retired U.S. Army Lieutenant General Claudia Kennedy. She's the Army's first female three-star general and is the author of an important book about that experience, entitled "Generally Speaking." And joining us from Oakbrook, Illinois, is retired U.S. Army Ranger and Brigadier General David Grange. He's also a CNN military analyst.

Generals, good to have all three of you on LATE EDITION.

General Joulwan, you're a retired four-star general so I'll begin with you.

(LAUGHTER)

The U.S. military, by most accounts, seems to be pretty much ready to go. It's deployed in the region. Probably going to take a few more weeks, but what's your sense right now as far as readiness level of the U.S. military if the president should give that order to go to war?

GEN. GEORGE JOULWAN (RET.), FORMER NATO ALLIED SUPREME COMMANDER: I think

we're fairly well set, Wolf. We've deployed command and control headquarters, troops, the prepositioned stocks are ready. Our air bases are up. The predeployment of both air, land and sea forces are there. I think it's very important here not to get locked into option A or option B because I'm not sure the president has made that decision yet. But all options are still on the table, the military are working all those options. But quite a bit, quite an impressive bit of deployment and much different than we were in 1990.

BLITZER: And I want to flesh some of those differences out in a moment.

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But, General Kennedy, as you look at that readiness, how long can a military remain in that kind of high-ready capability without losing some of its edge?

LT. GEN. CLAUDIA KENNEDY (RET.), U.S. ARMY: Well, that's always something we think about, and our commanders both at the strategic level and at the tactical level have a very good sense of how to cycle the soldiers through periods of intense training and then less intense activity.

BLITZER: So basically what, is this a matter of weeks, months? How long can they continue at sort of this hair-trigger level?

KENNEDY: Well, this army is the best prepared and the most ready we've ever

had. And so, part of the reason for that is the leadership that they get. That leadership is very sensitive to the need to keep people in a high-energy state. And so we're able to do this as long as it takes. We're in here for the long haul.

BLITZER: General Grange, if the readiness level is eventually, once the president gives the order, supposed to be, let's say, at a 10, where do you estimate the U.S. military is right now?

BRIG. GEN. DAVID GRANGE (RET.), CNN MILITARY ANALYST: Yes, I don't think any military is ever at a 10. There's always things as a commander that you want to do that you haven't had time to do. But it's true, it's the best trained army in the world. It has the most experience of any army in the world since the first Desert war all the way up through all the operations ongoing until now. So it's ready.

There's some things that need to be tweaked. There's some more stocks that need to be replenished. But it's in good shape and this is what soldiers, Marines live for is actually this type of training.

BLITZER: Airmen and sailors, as well, I'm sure you meant to include them in your analysis, General Grange.

GRANGE: Absolutely.

BLITZER: Let's get right to our caller from Georgia. Go ahead, Georgia.

CALLER: Yes, thank you very much, Wolf. I'd like to ask your outstanding panel, in the event we attack Iraq, how many ground troops will be needed and how long do you think it'll take to achieve victory?

BLITZER: Tough but important question, General Joulwan.

JOULWAN: Again, I hate to give a number. I think the 70,000 to 80,000 would seem, I think is something we should think about. But remember what I said.

The president has not yet made a decision.

And the president will make the decision, not any of his Cabinet. The president will make his decision. And based on that option, whether it's going to be quick with SOF and Air Force, that's option A, all the way to a large ground force.

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I would not underestimate the number that's going to be required now. I think it's very important to keep all those options on the table. If regime change comes into this and that means going into Baghdad, that's going to require another set of force structure. I can tell you the military is planning for all of that. I think they're looking at simultaneity, which they're not just going to come in from one axis, from one country. This is the sort of pressure that I think Saddam Hussein needs to feel.

So, the numbers involved here can vary from a very small number with SOF and Air Force, up to a larger number if that political decision is to go in and take Baghdad.



BLITZER: General Kennedy, I'm sure you've noticed, as a lot of our viewers have noticed because I get tons of e-mail on this, that many of the retired generals perhaps are considered more dovish as far as going to war with Iraq, specifically Secretary of State Colin Powell, the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, our own General Wesley Clark, a former NATO supreme allied commander, as opposed to some of the political leaders, some of them who never served in the military.

What's your take on this?

KENNEDY: Well, my sense of this, Wolf, is that retired general officers, as is true of all ranks of soldiers who have retired, we have a perspective on this that is built on experience. And General Powell and General Clark, as well as any number of others, understand the price of war and we understand what it costs.

And so we want to make sure that when this country goes to war that we're very serious about it, not only about the military operation but about the sustained, political effort, the sustained economic development that would be devoted to this region upon completion of military operations.

BLITZER: All right. Generals, we're going to take a quick break. We're only getting started.

We have a lot more analysis to do with our outstanding panel of retired generals. They'll also be taking more of your phone calls. This special LATE EDITION, Showdown: Iraq, will be right back.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Welcome back to LATE EDITION, Showdown: Iraq. We're talking about the military challenges of a possible new war with Iraq with the former NATO supreme allied commander, retired General George Joulwan, the retired U.S. Army lieutenant general, Claudia Kennedy, and the retired U.S. Army brigadier general and CNN military analyst, David Grange.

General Grange, I want you to listen to what the secretary of defense, Donald Rumsfeld, told CNN's Bob Novak this past weekend, over these past few days about the next war, if there is a next war, against Iraq. Listen to this.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

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DONALD RUMSFELD, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE: Saddam Hussein's forces are considerably weaker today than they were then, and our forces are considerably stronger.

The fact remains that the existence of weapons of mass destruction changed the equation. And so, the very reason why it's important for him to disarm also changes the circumstance quite substantially. And one has to be sensitive to those risks.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: Talk, General Grange, about those risks. Assuming the Iraqis



militarily are weaker, the United States militarily is stronger, there is this whole wild card of weapons of mass destruction.

GRANGE: Well, that's correct. I mean, tank on tank, aircraft on aircraft, there's obviously no match, and I think Saddam and his regime knows that. The threat would be a special Republican Guard fighting in the cities, as an example, or use of WMD, in this case a chemical attack on an advancing U.S. force or coalition force or starting, let's say, some type of biological warfare on his own people, like the Shi'a in the south, to contaminate an avenue of approach moving north.

Things like that he could use, and I think he's the kind of person that would do it, and likely if we go to war again.

BLITZER: That sounds, General Joulwan, like a huge potential challenge facing the U.S.

JOULWAN: Of course it is, and not just the U.S. I think it's also a great challenge for our European and NATO allies who are very close to Iraq, Turkey in particular, very important for our ally Israel and other nations in the region. So I truly think that the weapons of mass destruction, by the way, have been around for 20-plus years in Iraq are something that needs to be contended with. I wouldn't panic over it, but we need to address it.

And, by the way, I'm a little bit concerned about being a doveish retired general here...

(LAUGHTER)

... but I think it's something that we really need to be concerned with but equally with our allies.

BLITZER: I didn't say you were a doveish general.

(LAUGHTER)

I called General Powell and General Clarke doveish. We'll talk about that in a moment. Generals, all of you stand by. I'm not categorizing any of you.

We're going to take another quick break. Coming up in the next hour of LATE  
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CNN LATE EDITION WITH WOLF BLITZER 12:00 November 24, 2002 Sunday EDITION, we'll get much more insight from our distinguished military panel. Then we'll move on, talk about the war on terror. We'll have three big-city mayors. They'll be weighing in on the state of homeland security in the United States.

All that, much more, including Israeli and Palestinian officials. LATE EDITION will be right back.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Welcome back to LATE EDITION. We'll continue our military roundtable in just a moment, including more phone calls for our three generals, but first, here's CNN's Carol Lin in Atlanta with a news alert.

(NEWSBREAK)

BLITZER: We're getting some insight into the obstacles and challenges of a

possible new war with Iraq from the former NATO supreme allied commander, retired General George Joulwan, retired U.S. Army Lieutenant General Claudia Kennedy, and retired U.S. Army Brigadier General and CNN military analyst David Grange.

General Kennedy, if you're taking a look at the differences of the U.S. and the Iraqi militaries a dozen years ago as opposed today, you add in this ingredient that the Iraqis, if pressed against the corner, Saddam Hussein might unleash weapons of mass destruction. That certainly scares a lot of Americans right now who are worried about their loved ones who may serving in the U.S. military.

KENNEDY: Yes, well, certainly people are always very proud of the people who serve who are from their families who serve in our American military, and always a bit concerned especially in times of active operations like these.

One of the differences is that, compared to the first Gulf War, is that our munitions are far more precise than they were a dozen years ago. We have a more capable army. It will be a different size and scope of a war, although I completely agree with General Joulwan that there's a lot of range in the planning right now.

And I think that one would have to assess that the Iraqi military lacks the same robustness that it even bordered on before. And, frankly, we saw what happened once active operations got under way.

BLITZER: Do you see, General Grange, perhaps on a much bigger scale, but the same model that was used to effectively liberate Afghanistan from the Taliban and al Qaeda a year ago, that same model, bringing in special operations forces early on, then working with these -- the air power, do you see that effectively getting the job done, at least to start with, in Iraq?

GRANGE: I think it'll be more simultaneous use of forces this time, both general-purpose and special-operating forces. And I think it may start off with a limited size, but very quickly it'll, I think, produce overwhelming force, in case things change, once you start to fight, which always appears to be the case, and then have enough force in place, when you go into the consolidation

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CNN LATE EDITION WITH WOLF BLITZER 12:00 November 24, 2002 Sunday phase, after you remove the regime, that you can control Iraq itself for the transition.

BLITZER: General Joulwan, we saw a historic expansion of NATO this past week. Seven additional countries from Eastern Europe, the former Soviet bloc, now full-scale members of NATO, something that would have been unthinkable only a few years ago. And the Russians simply stood by the side. The president then went to see President Putin the next day and got a pretty warm reception over there, as well.

What role as an organization, if any, should NATO have if there is in fact another war against Iraq?

JOULWAN: Well, I think, first of all, the Prague summit was a great success. And when linked to the congressional resolution here, the U.N. resolution, and now a very strong resolution coming out of Prague, it's very significant. And I think politically that's important for Saddam Hussein to feel that pressure, so he doesn't miscalculate.

I think the allies can, and NATO in particular, can help in many different ways: basing, overflight rights, logistics, as well as on the ground. Remember, there are 400 Romanians now in Afghanistan, with U.S. forces. I think you will see several of our NATO nations joining us, if and when we get involved in Iraq. And remember also that the Germans and Dutch will take over the international security force in Afghanistan. There is a willingness, and I think that was demonstrated.

This cohesion, this mutual trust and confidence that we felt for so many years in NATO is there again today. NATO is every bit as essential today as it was in the past. I hope we realize that. And they will be very important, particularly Turkey as a NATO member, if and when we go into Iraq.

BLITZER: All right. Let's take a caller from Kansas. Kansas, go ahead, please.

CALLER: Yes. My question is, after Iraq, what other nations we take on, especially nations where the terrorism evolved, namely, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia?

BLITZER: General Kennedy, your background, at least in part, is in intelligence. What happens after Iraq, assuming there is a war with Iraq?

KENNEDY: Well, one of the most important activities in the aftermath of military operations in Iraq is to do something about making sure that that country does not fragment, that politically they're able to find a way to effect a regime change that has some kind of transformation from the current dictatorship to something approaching democracy, and to get back on their feet economically.

I think the focus ought to be on Iraq and making sure that these people, who are basically well-educated, well-schooled, have plenty of background to be able to take on their own self-governance, that they're able to do that.

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Now, that requires a longer-term commitment by the United States and all of our allies than just the period covered by military operations.

BLITZER: We know, General Grange, the U.S. military has done some extensive planning for the possibility of urban warfare in Baghdad, other major cities of Iraq. We, in fact, have some 3-D animation of some of the things that they've been looking at. But a lot of Americans remember Mogadishu, some other unpleasant experiences.

Is the special operations forces, are these capabilities there for the U.S. military, if they have to go into a huge city with millions of people, like

Baghdad?

GRANGE: A lot of training effort has gone into fighting in cities, especially in the last 10 years. Some units are very good at it. Others are getting better all the time. It's a priority of training for Marine and Army units and aircraft operating in city areas, like helicopters.

So, the military's much better than it used to be. It's difficult. It's something we don't want to get involved in, but you probably have to at times. And I think the military's going to be ready for it.

BLITZER: General Joulwan, why is it so hard for the U.S. military in Afghanistan and along the border, let's say, between Afghanistan and Pakistan, to find Osama bin Laden?

Everyone assumes he is now alive, and everyone seems to assume that he's along that border someplace. Why can't the U.S. military and its coalition partners there find him?

JOULWAN: Well, it's always difficult to find one individual, but -- and I hope we learned the lesson from Afghanistan, if and when we go to Iraq. The point of military operations is to impose your will on the enemy.

I don't think we did that adequately in Afghanistan. We had opportunities at Tora Bora and Anaconda to close with (ph) and destroy the enemy. We didn't do that effectively, in my opinion. And therefore, many of the al Qaeda escaped. We are now making adjustments in Afghanistan. We cannot make that mistake in Iraq. There is never a free operation in terms of casualty-free operations.

But what we should focus on is what is the mission, the clarity of that mission, and get on with it. There will be a price to pay, but we cannot make the mistakes we made in Afghanistan, we made in Lebanon, we made in Bosnia and the Balkans. We have to learn. And we must learn that in Iraq if and when we commit to force.

BLITZER: General Kennedy...

JOULWAN: And I think it's very important.

BLITZER: Go ahead, General Kennedy, I want you to have the last word. A lot of our viewers looking at the seasons changing, the weather factor, if in fact the president gives the order to go to war against Iraq -- December, January, Page 93

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Is the weather an issue that the president and the military command has to consider?

KENNEDY: Absolutely, Wolf. We think about the weather in every single military operation, whether we're in the summer or we're in the winter. And remember that our special operation troops, as well as our light infantry, train, at least half of them, train under severe winter conditions, and we're able to go in and do that.

The other part of this is that when we've been developing weapons in the last

10 or 12 years, one of the considerations has to do not only with night operations but winter, severe cold weather operations.

BLITZER: Now, there's a bigger problem, though -- and let me have the last word, General Grange -- as far as dust is concerned, in that part of the world, desert warfare and the heat if it gets to March, April. Is that a deadline, in effect, for going to war?

GRANGE: There's never a deadline. It's a consideration. It's a factor. There'll be wearing on parts of machinery, combat equipment and helicopters, but it will not be a show-stopper. It's tougher to operate, but I believe the forces are capable of doing that.

BLITZER: Three retired U.S. generals joining us. Thanks to all three of you, General Joulwan, General Kennedy, General Grange. Always a pleasure having you on this program.

When we return, a new round of violence in the Middle East. Is there any chance of renewed efforts for peace? We'll talk with the Palestinian representative to the United Nations, Nasser al-Kidwa, and Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's aide, Raanan Gissin. They'll join me live when LATE EDITION continues.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BUSH: We're going to continue to work toward peace in the Middle East. Two states living side by side in peace is the vision.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: President Bush commenting on the latest cycle of violence in the Middle East. Eleven Israelis were killed and dozens more were injured in a Palestinian suicide bus bombing in Jerusalem on Thursday. And a 13-year-old Palestinian boy and a British United Nations worker were killed and another Palestinian man was injured in a subsequent Israeli crackdown in the West Bank and Gaza.

Joining us now from Jerusalem is the spokesman for the Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, Raanan Gissin, and in New York, the Palestinian representative to the United Nations, Nasser al-Kidwa.

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Gentlemen, welcome back to LATE EDITION.

I want to get to all of those issues in a moment, but Raanan Gissin, we just had a lengthy discussion about Iraq.

What is the position of the Israeli government? If the U.S. goes to war against Iraq and the Iraqis were to attack Israel once again as they did a dozen years ago, what would Israel do?

RAANAN GISSIN, ISRAELI SPOKESMAN: Well, Israel's a peace-seeking nation. We're not looking for any wars with anyone, neither with the Palestinians nor with the Iraqis.

But, of course, if we are attacked -- and I see that as not as the most reasonable scenario, because I believe that certain precautions and certain measures will be taken so that this will not happen. But if it does, I can assure you that Israel will know how to defend its citizens like any other democracy. And that's our prime responsibility.

But I don't believe that we will reach that kind of a scenario. I think the planning of the war, as we learn it from the United States, if there will be a war, and hopefully there won't be, but if there will be one, that issue of attack against Israel will be taken care in advance.

BLITZER: Well, let me press you on that because you obviously are vague, perhaps deliberately so. What does that mean, it would be taken care of in advance, so that the Iraqis, for example, don't launch Scuds at Israeli targets?

GISSIN: Well, I believe that it's become common knowledge, both in your press in the States as well as here, in the cooperation that we have with the United States. And the United States, if it is going to go to a war against Iraq, is going to neutralize in advance the launch capabilities of the Iraqis with regard to weapons that they may have, whether those are weapons of mass destruction or nonconventional weapons.

But at any rate, you can rest assured that we have taken all the defensive measures in order to protect our citizens. We also have offensive capabilities, and I think that the Iraqis will think twice before they decide ever to use these weapons.

I would say that a major threat to the countries of the Middle East and other countries in the world lies more so with the spread of terrorist activity rather than with the launching of these missiles.

BLITZER: All right. Let me bring Ambassador al-Kidwa in.

What do you sense will be the reaction of the Palestinians in the West Bank, Gaza, elsewhere, if the U.S. finds itself at war, militarily speaking, against Iraq?

NASSER AL-KIDWA, PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVE TO THE U.N.: Well, we believe that the region does not need another war. This is -- this would be a very dangerous development. I hope that it's not going to take place. And we believe that Security Council Resolution 1441 provides for a peaceful solution

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Unfortunately, we also believe that Israel is pushing, Israel and its friends, I must say, is pushing for a war. And we fear irresponsible behavior on the part of the Israeli authorities, including, for instance, waging even broader attacks against the Palestinian people and maybe getting into additional illegal schemes against the Palestinian people in the occupied territories.

BLITZER: Raanan Gissin, two accusations Ambassador al-Kidwa just made against your government. Let's handle both of them, if you could respond briefly.



Are you encouraging the United States to go to war against Iraq, your government?

GISSIN: No, we're not, and we're not involved in any conduct of the war. We support the United States and President Bush efforts to eradicate terrorism because it's a threat to all democracies around the world, but we have no intention of going to war, and we're not involved in this war.

All I can say that right now, for the past six weeks, we've been facing a wave of unprecedented terrorist activity from the all the Palestinian terrorist groups, and we had to exercise our right of self-defense. And this would seem that the ones who are trying to instigate an escalation is not Israel but rather the Palestinian terrorist groups, with, I must say regrettably, the support of the Palestinian Authority.

BLITZER: All right. Let's let Ambassador al-Kidwa respond to that charge from Raanan Gissin.

Go ahead, Ambassador.

AL-KIDWA: Well, I believe that the term "self-defense" is very misleading. Let's recall that Israel exists in the occupied territory as an occupying power. It has been there for more than 35 years, waging the most oppressive campaign against the Palestinian people and actually waging even colonialism, trying to expand beyond its border and trying to annex even parts of the occupied territories.

So the legal aspect and the political meaning of the situation has always to be borne in mind. So, the situation is completely different. Again, Israel is an occupying power. And the only issue that it has to do is to end its occupation, as the United States by the way repeatedly called for, and allow the existence of a Palestinian state -- a real one, with full sovereignty over its land and its people.

BLITZER: Raanan Gissin, I'll give you a chance briefly to respond, but we have to take a commercial break. Go ahead and respond briefly, and then we'll come right back. Go ahead, Raanan.

GISSIN: Well, I think this is never been said before here on CNN, but the ones who deny Israel's right for self-defense also deny my birth right. This is not occupied territory, disputed territories, because I have birth rights on that land, is equal and if not more than Mr. Al-Kidwa.

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I recognize his rights to the land. He never recognized my inherent, historical rights to the land which is my ancestral homeland.

BLITZER: And you're referring -- hold on one second. You're referring, Raanan Gissin, specifically to the West Bank, right?

GISSIN: No, I'm saying that the ones who deny my right of self-defense, it derives from denial of my inherent birth rights to the land that I live on. I'm not an occupying power.



**AL-KIDWA:** You are an occupying power.

**GISSIN:** I lived on that land for 4,000 years. My forefathers -- no, I'm not.

This is disputed territory between two people.

**BLITZER:** Ambassador Al-Kidwa, go ahead very quickly, go ahead and respond.

**AL-KIDWA:** There are 37 Security Council resolutions on the situation on occupied territory that is the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Twenty-seven of those resolutions define Israel as occupying power. There is consensus, international consensus on this fact.

For Mr. Gissin to come here and deny that there is occupation actually is negating the possibility of any peaceful solution between the two sides.

**BLITZER:** All right.

**AL-KIDWA:** This is exactly the crux of the problem. They want to annex this land. They want to expand. That is the crux of the problem.

**BLITZER:** All right, we're going to take a quick break. We have much more to talk about.

We're going to continue our conversation with Raanan Gissin and Nasser

**Al-Kidwa.** LATE EDITION will be right back.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

**BLITZER:** Welcome back to LATE EDITION. We're talking about the crisis in the Middle East with Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's spokesman, Raanan Gissin, and Nasser al-Kidwa, the Palestinian representative to the United Nations.

Raanan Gissin, there's been a lot of interest, today, yesterday, this weekend, involving Saudi Arabia and the war on terror, allegations, suggestions that the Saudis may have at least indirectly played some role in funding some of those September 11th hijackers.

As far as your government is concerned, is Saudi Arabia funding terrorist actions against Israel?

**GISSIN:** Look, I don't know if they're funding directly, but there's no doubt that there has been money, Saudi money, involved in supporting families of the terrorist groups, families of suicide and homicide bombers.

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There's an overall atmosphere, today, which is very permissive to this kind of suicide and homicide bombing, which is part and parcel of, I would say, that radical element of Islam that wants to see a solution to the situation by eradicating Israel, by eradicating Western democracies. And that's a very ominous sign.

And the fact that there is money funneled into it and incitement which goes unabated are the main causes for the continuation and the spread of this ominous phenomena of suicide and homicide bombing, which we had, unfortunately, the experience in the past two years of suffering from it more than any other nation in the world.

**BLITZER:** Ambassador al-Kidwa, as far as you know, are Saudi funds going to

groups the U.S. State Department considers to be terrorist groups, Hamas, Islamic Jihad, in particular?

**AL-KIDWA:** Well, I don't think so, actually. Even Mr. Gissin is speaking about Saudi money going to families. And families and charities are one thing; terrorist activities are another thing altogether.

But again, this is the same Israeli pattern, trying to draw some kind of suspicion about Arab positions in general, whether it is Saudi Arabia or any other Arab country, speaking about incitement, while he himself is saying publicly on the CNN that no occupation, thus negating the existence and the national rights of the Palestinian people. This is the utmost instigation that should be condemned and, frankly, should be ended (ph), so that the two sides can indeed reach a solution.

**BLITZER:** Raanan Gissin, as you know, the United Nations representatives in the West Bank are very angry right now that Israeli forces apparently killed a U.N. worker on the West Bank over the past couple of days. Tell us what the position of your government is, what happened in that incident.

**GISSIN:** We regret very much the loss of any innocent civilians, and we are the ones who supported UNRA (ph) and U.N. workers in the territory, as much as we can.

But I think we've got to set the record straight. For the past 30 years, all those refugee camps were used, misused and abused by the Palestinian terrorist groups who used these refugee camps as launching and staging ground for attacks against Israel. They did it in Jordan, they did it in Lebanon, they now do it in the territories, and the world was silent.

You know, talking about U.N. resolutions, I haven't seen one resolution in the 55 years that the U.N. exists that supports the state of Israel. I've seen over 100 resolutions that condemn Israel.

We have a debate now in Israel, because we have elections. And it's a legitimate debate about how to carve a road to peace. And what is the debate in the Palestinian Authority today, among the Palestinian groups? It's whether they should kill Israelis and Jews only in the territories or in the rest of the country.

**BLITZER:** Well, I'm going to move on, but there is a 1947 U.N. partition  
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resolution, which called for the establishment of a Palestinian and a Jewish state, but that was in 1947.

**GISSIN:** That's the one resolution.

**BLITZER:** Ambassador al-Kidwa, we all saw that Jerusalem bus bombing this week. The Israeli government says the Palestinian Authority, led by Yasser Arafat, could control these suicide bombers, Hamas, Islamic Jihad, if he really wanted to.

Is there more he should be doing? Can he be doing more? Because clearly not

only the Israeli government but the U.S. government is obviously condemning the Palestinian Authority for not doing enough.

**AL-KIDWA:** Well, unfortunately we can't do more in the circumstances, thanks to the Israeli policies and Israeli actions, including the destruction of the security capabilities of the Palestinian Authority.

We need different political atmosphere. We need to provide the Palestinian people with hope, with political horizons, so the Palestinian Authority is enabled to take the necessary actions in this regard.

So, we have no doubt in our mind about the appropriate way to proceed, but let me go back about and say something about this U.N. official who was killed by the Israeli army. The Israeli army killed him, prevented the needed saving actions to be taken. And unfortunately, they lied about that, as usual, as happened in the past repeatedly.

That proves, to my mind, the pattern being articulated or being committed by the Israeli forces against the Palestinian people in general. The Israeli soldiers, unfortunately, are trigger happy to say the least, and I'm afraid there is even a culture that was created through the upper echelon of the army that encouraged this kind of completely irresponsible behavior, if not criminal behavior, including the commission of war crimes.

**BLITZER:** All right. What about that, Raanan Gissin?

**GISSIN:** Well, you know, we have to admit when we make mistakes. I haven't heard Mr. al-Kidwa admit that the Palestinians have made any mistakes or, for example, what kind of painful compromises are they willing to make for peace? We show that we're willing to make painful compromises, and we started with a process which was dashed by the Palestinian Authority and their leader.

What kind of painful compromises today are the Arabs and the Palestinians willing to make for peace? Maybe that's the kind of question that Mr. al-Kidwa has to address himself to.

**AL-KIDWA:** Very good point. May I try to answer that?

Actually, we are ready to reiterate our acceptance for Israel within 1967 border and to live in peace side by side. I hope that Mr. Gissin is able to say that we accept the end of Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territory that started in 1967 and accept the existence of a Palestinian state with sovereignty so that we can live side by side.

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This is the solution and there is, again, international consensus in favor of this resolution. What is needed is to have clear Israeli position in favor of this resolution, and then the situation could dramatically change.

**BLITZER:** Go ahead, Raanan Gissin. We're almost out of time.

**GISSIN:** Israel is committed to peace. And the prime minister of Israeli's government can lead to peace, despite all the allegations and all the demonization that spreads today in the Arab world.

But one thing must be understood. First, there has to be an end to that awful incitement which sends young school children to blow themselves up in buses and discotheques and kill other, indiscriminately, other school children, other Israelis.

Without the stoppage of incitement, the two-state solution that we want so much will not materialize. And I think it's the responsibility of Nasser al-Kidwa and the Palestinian leadership to seriously look into this matter of what the incitement does to the next generation.

BLITZER: All right. We gave Raanan Gissin the first word.

AL-KIDWA: I'll accept...

BLITZER: Ambassador al-Kidwa, you'll have the last word. Go ahead, respond to the most recent point that Raanan Gissin just made.

AL-KIDWA: I think we both have to exercise some additional efforts to end this miserable situation, this tragedy which is taking place. We have to try even harder, and the Israeli side has to try. Terrorism or terrorist acts has to end, but also war crimes committed by the Israeli army have to come to an end. So, we desperately need to end this situation, and let's hope that we can still, nevertheless, work together toward that end.

BLITZER: All right. Nasser al-Kidwa and Raanan Gissin, a good debate, a good discussion today. Thanks to both of you for joining us on LATE EDITION.

AL-KIDWA: Thank you.

BLITZER: We'll have both of you back, probably in the not-too- distant future.

And just ahead, as the holiday travel season begins here in the United States, a new U.S. Department of Homeland Security is beginning to take shape. But is it enough to keep Americans safe? We'll ask Boston Mayor Thomas Menino, Orlando Mayor Glenda Hood and Washington, D.C. Mayor Anthony Williams. LATE EDITION will be right back.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

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TOM RIDGE, DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF HOMELAND SECURITY: This is the first time we'll have an agency that can consolidate that information and work with the private sector to protect and harden these targets.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: The U.S. homeland security director, Tom Ridge, speaking to CNN the day after the Senate overwhelmingly approved the creation of a new Department of Homeland Security. President Bush expected in the coming days to sign that bill into law.

Welcome back to LATE EDITION.

We turn now to three mayors who are on the front lines in the war against terrorism: In Boston, Mayor Thomas Menino. He's also the president of the U.S.

Conference of Mayors. In Orlando, the Florida -- Orlando, Florida, that is, Mayor Glenda Hood. She's the chairperson of the Florida Domestic Security Advisory Panel. And in Washington, D.C., Mayor Anthony Williams. He's a member of the Homeland Security Advisory Council.

Mayors, thanks so much for joining us.

Mayor Menino, let me begin with you. Now that there's about to be this formal Department of Homeland Security, do you think the people in Boston are going to be any safer as a result of that?

MAYOR THOMAS MENINO, PRES., U.S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS: I think the Homeland

Security Department was long overdue. The mayors called for it right after 9/11. You know, it's not a partisan issue, it's not Democrat, Republican issue. It's an issue of how we coordinate the services.

But there's one missing ingredient, Wolf, is the funding ingredient, and that's the \$3.8 billion that was promised to the cities over two years ago. I understand Senator Clinton is going to file the bill to give us direct block grants to cities for homeland security, but that's the missing part. They went home, they didn't even deal with the issue of finances for cities.

Cities have spent about \$2.6 billion since last September, and we're asked to be on the front lines every day, but nobody's willing to help us meet those costs.

BLITZER: What about that, Mayor Hood? You feel safer in Orlando as a result of what's going on in Washington?

MAYOR GLENDA HOOD, ORLANDO, FLORIDA: Well, I'm glad that they have passed the bill to put the department in place because now there will be clear lines of authority, that intelligence information will be able to get down to our local law enforcement professionals in a much quicker way and a much more efficient way, and that's what's important. Because we've all been on a heightened state of alert in our cities, and we know that it's important to provide that safe environment for those people who live here and who visit our communities.

BLITZER: But are you getting...

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BLITZER: Mayor Hood...

HOOD: Yes?

BLITZER: ... picking up on what Mayor Menino said, are you getting the funding from the federal government that you need?

HOOD: No, we're not. And we've been able to advance funding, mid-budget year here in Orlando and then in our regular budget, but we can't sustain that over a period of time. So we need to see that funding, and we need to see it soon.

BLITZER: Mayor Williams, I want to read to you from the latest FBI bulletin warning of new terror threats against the United States. Among other things, it

says this. It says, "In selecting its next targets, sources suggest al Qaeda may favor spectacular attacks that meet several criteria: high symbolic value, mass casualties, severe damage to the U.S. economy and maximum psychological trauma."

God knows your city, Washington, D.C., fits that description, especially the notion of high symbolic value. Are they giving you the help you need to deal with that?

MAYOR ANTHONY WILLIAMS, WASHINGTON, D.C.: Well, Washington, D.C., itself has been given help in terms of its emergency preparedness and bioterrorism response.

But I think the mayors are right in that Congress has the duty to see that local government, your first line of response, has the resources to help the federal government execute a homeland security strategy. You can't do that with nothing.

BLITZER: Mayor Menino, they tell you to be on the alert. They tell you of possible spectacular attacks. Boston's got a lot of high visibility, potential targets as well. But what do they do after they tell you that?

MENINO: They do nothing. They just tell us to be on alert. That means we have to alert our police and intelligence units and make sure that these spectacular sites they say -- you have to put additional police. You know, the one thing they're not addressing at all in this homeland security is communications between police departments. That was a major issue in Washington and New York, but nobody's even addressing that issue when we talk about homeland security. How do different police departments and fire departments speak to each other, that's one issue that has to be addressed as we move forward and try and make sure our country is safe.

BLITZER: Do they tell you anything, Mayor Hood, after they tell you that, be on the lookout, be alert, get ready, spectacular threats that are out there? What do they tell you after they say that?

HOOD: Well, I have to tell you, it's gotten a lot better since September 11th of 2001. All our law enforcement folks say that. But we've really almost had to take things into our own hands.

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And we have an organization at the state level here, thanks to our governor, Jeb Bush. We have seven regions, we have coordination among all those different regions with the state, with the feds.

But we still need to make sure that through this new Department of Homeland Security that, again, that information is getting down where it needs to get in an efficient, fast way.

BLITZER: Do you believe, Mayor Hood, that they're giving you the specific information, your law enforcement department in Orlando? You've got Disney World down there. That's certainly a potential target that everyone is very familiar



with.

Are they sharing the kind of intelligence, the specific information that your law enforcement authorities need?

HOOD: All of our folks tell me that they are getting much better information now than they did previously. Do we still have work to do? Absolutely. And I believe that the new Department of Homeland Defense will help us go a long ways toward getting it right.

BLITZER: Mayor Williams, there are these color codes, these alert status levels that the federal government has put out. As you well know, right now the country is at an elevated or yellow level. They were for a brief period of time at a higher level, the orange level.

Do these codes actually have any practical impact on your day-to-day efforts to keep the citizens of Washington, D.C., safe?

WILLIAMS: Wolf, I'd agree with Mayor Hood. We're not where we want to be or where we should be, but we're a lot better off than where we were on September 11th. We're coordinating much better with the federal government in responding to events, coordinating much better with them in sharing specific information as to a specific potential event.

Where I think we have a lot more work to do is sharing intelligence between state and local government and the federal government, between the federal government and the private sector, in terms of potential threats, where you work with a network, work with local government in actually obtaining that information.

We saw with the sniper, for example, where the sniper got through a number of different exchanges with law enforcement without being stopped. To me, that's a failure of sharing intelligence and information.

BLITZER: Well, Mayor Menino, on that issue, and I'm going to take a quick break after you give me your answer, but on that specific issue of sharing intelligence, as everyone knows, the CIA's reluctant to share information with the FBI, and the FBI historically has been reluctant to share some information with the CIA.

Both of these agencies presumably are very reluctant to share information with a local police department, let's say in Boston.

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MENINO: Well, let me just say, Wolf, that the task force we have between state, federal and Boston police works. The sharing of information is there, that they continually exchange intelligence information that they have, working together also with the Port Authority.

I think the issue of sharing is better than it was in the past. But the issue you also mentioned is the color scheme. You know, if you're ever on an orange alert, and the federal government is, but what's the alert in Massachusetts? They haven't coordinated those alerts yet either on the federal and state side.



There are some failures in the system.

But one thing I have to say is that Tom Ridge has been very responsive to Boston in particular, as we have different emergencies arise. His department has been very responsive to us.

BLITZER: All right. Logan Airport, is that safe right now, Mayor?

MENINO: Oh, I believe it is. It's much safer today than it was last year and the year before. I think they've done a great job at Logan Airport.

BLITZER: All right, Mayors, stand by. We have a lot more to talk about.

We're going to continue our conversation and also take your phone calls on homeland security. These mayors are on the front lines right now in protecting three major U.S. cities.

LATE EDITION will continue right after this.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Welcome back to LATE EDITION. We're discussing homeland security with Boston Mayor Thomas Menino, Orlando Mayor Glenda Hood, and Washington, D.C. Mayor Anthony Williams.

We have a caller from California. Go ahead with your question, please.

CALLER: Wolf Blitzer, it's a pleasure. I'd like to ask your panel of mayors, are they surprised they haven't been attacked in the same fashion as the BM (ph) meters on the Don & Mike Show?

BLITZER: Oh, unfortunately, that was a hoax call.

But, Mayor Williams, are you surprised, though, that there hasn't been since 9/11 another major, in the words of the FBI, "spectacular" attack that we've had before?

WILLIAMS: Well, I think we live in a new era of threats, with new challenges, and I think there's risk out there. But having said that, I think that people have gone to extraordinary lengths to protect their cities and their communities. And in that respect, I'm not surprised.

I think that's what Mayor Hood and Mayor Menino were saying, is that people are out there on the front line doing the job, and they need that support. And I believe that support will be forthcoming. That's my own view.

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BLITZER: Mayor Hood, I want you to listen to what your senator, the Florida senator, Bob Graham, the chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, said earlier this week, as far as the transition as this new Department of Homeland Security gets off the ground. Listen to what Senator Graham said.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

SEN. BOB GRAHAM (D), FLORIDA: There will inevitably be a time of learning who your new partners are, what the new rules and expectations are. And during that transition time, we may actually see some degree of lessened domestic security.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: Do you accept what he says as a fact, that there could be a lessened

degree of security in the coming weeks and months?

HOOD: Well, I think certainly, when you put a new department together at the grand scale that this Homeland Security Department will be, you might see some vulnerable areas.

And that's why it's important that we at the local level continue to take the lead, as we have. Mayor Menino has said that, Mayor Williams has said that. Every mayor across America will tell you that we have absolutely done everything we can to make sure that our communities are safe.

And we're engaging our citizens, giving them emergency- preparedness training, making sure they have all the information that they need, because we can't sit around and wait. We're the ones where things are going to happen, if there's going to be a terrorist threat or attack. And our first responders are the first ones there and the last ones to leave. And everybody else is in a supporting role.

So, I would agree that there will probably be some vulnerable areas. It's a difficult reorganization, the largest that we've seen, but I'm confident that we'll all be there, working together.

And I will say, like was said earlier, that Governor Ridge has been outstanding, as far as working with us at the local level.

BLITZER: Mayor Menino, Senator Jeffords, your neighbor from Vermont, also is concerned about the short term. I want you to listen to what he said. Listen to this.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

SEN. JAMES JEFFORDS (I), VERMONT: It is irresponsible to divert precious, limited resources from our fight against terrorism to create a dysfunctional new bureaucracy that will only give the American people a false sense of security.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: Those are strong words, Mayor, a "false sense of security."

MENINO: Well, let me just say, Wolf, I don't want to, since the senator, you

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CNN LATE EDITION WITH WOLF BLITZER 12:00 November 24, 2002 Sunday know, has more knowledge than I do, but I just know in Boston, we coordinate all our services. Yes, you have a few bumpy roads, but it works better. There's better communications between departments when you have an emergency in your city.

So I'm a firm believer in the coordination of all these services. You know, it's about time. We took too long to do it. And, you know, like I said earlier in the program, it's not a Democrat-Republican issue, it's how we get the job done. And I think, by this consolidation, we'll be able to get the job done. You know, we're on a different track in America today. You know, the change in our lives forever. Mayors are in two tracks: one of making sure our cities are safe, and also the other track of making sure our cities work for the people who live there.

So it's a much different world. I think this consolidation will work. Will we have some bumpy roads? Yes, it will. But I think, by having one person in charge, we're much better for it.

BLITZER: Mayor Menino, thanks for joining us, Mayor Hood, Mayor Williams, always good to have all of you on this program.

(CROSSTALK)

WILLIAMS: It's a pleasure.

BLITZER: Thanks so much for joining us.

MENINO: Good to be with you.

HOOD: Thank you, Wolf.

BLITZER: Thank you very much.

It's time now to say goodbye to our international viewers. Thanks very much for watching.

Coming up for our North American audience, the next hour of LATE EDITION.

What do new homeland security measures mean for your rights? We'll get two legal perspectives.

Then, LATE EDITION's "Final Round." There's no shortage of strong opinions from our panel. It's all coming up, when the next hour of LATE EDITION returns.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Welcome back to LATE EDITION. I'm Wolf Blitzer in Los Angeles.

We'll explore the legal implications of new homeland security measures in just a moment. But first, here's CNN's Carol Lin with a CNN news alert.

(NEWSBREAK)

BLITZER: This week, a U.S. appeals court gave the government the approval to  
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implement broad new wiretapping powers. In addition, a new database will be able to monitor the purchase and travel activity of virtually any person in the United States, a step the government says is necessary to fight the war on terror.

Joining us now to help through all the legal aspects of this war are two special guests: In Miami, the famed criminal defense attorney, Roy Black; and in Washington, D.C., the former U.S. attorney, Joseph DiGenova.

Gentlemen, always good to have both of you on the program.

Let's begin with you, Roy.

I don't know if you saw the story in today's "Washington Post," but an important story suggesting of those 44 people detained over these past several months since 9/11 as so-called material witnesses, only -- at least 44 of those people, only half of them, if that, have actually been called to testify before any grand jury. The rest are simply being held.

What does that say to you?

ROY BLACK, CRIMINAL DEFENSE ATTORNEY: Well, unfortunately, the Department of Justice is using a lot of these rules, rules that were created are being used in

the name of national security, to keep people secretly detained.

And if anything, our system of justice has always been one leaning toward openness, to trials, having lawyers, not having secret detention. We've always been -- and our Founders of our Constitution were against these secret kind of proceedings, and that's why we have our Bill of Rights.

BLITZER: Are you concerned about that, Joe DiGenova?

JOSEPH DIGENOVA, FORMER U.S. ATTORNEY: No, Wolf, and I'll you why. A material witness statute was enacted in 1984 in a bipartisanship effort to codify common law in this area. And in order for a material witness to be held, it requires the government to go before a federal judge and have the federal judge rule that this person is a material witness. And not only that, they have be represented by counsel in those proceedings, and if they can't afford counsel, it's provided to them by the government.

So these proceedings, while they are secret from the public, they're not secret from the federal judiciary. And all of the usual procedures for the protection of people are attended.

We are at war. There are cells that exist in this country. You remember that the 19 hijackers who tried to destroy this country on September the 11th, 2001, were part of a cell that was functioning in this country. There are other cells in this country, according to published reports.

And the use of the material witness statute is a perfectly legitimate and constitutional means of helping us protect the republic and American citizens from future attack.

BLITZER: Roy Black, you want to respond to that?

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BLACK: Of course. I have to disagree with that, because a number of judges are now beginning to make objections because they've seen they've been misled in some of the information the government has told them about people that they're holding without bail in solitary confinement, in which there's no evidence they've committed any kind of crime.

And what we're using as a procedure now to hold people secretly in the special housing units and solitary confinement and horrible conditions. And, you know, this is just totally an antithesis of our system of justice.

DIGENOVA: Well, I think it's very important what Roy just said. If federal judges have problems with these material witness situations, they have every responsibility and right to call the government to account.

It will be interesting to see whether or not some of the things we've been hearing are in fact true, but that's why we have federal judges and that's why these material witnesses have been held on the orders of federal judges.

BLITZER: Well, Joe, let me interrupt for a second. If these are material witnesses, why aren't they being asked to testify before a grand jury?

DIGENOVA: Well, Wolf, the answer is very simple. Sometimes material

witnesses don't go before a grand jury. They are interviewed, they give sworn statements, they give hair samples, they give fingerprints, they give information about people that the government is interested in.

Just because you're a material witness doesn't mean you have to go before a grand jury. There's nothing in the statute that requires that.

BLACK: And sometimes you're just a target of federal law enforcement or the United States government, and they want to hold you in isolation to see what they can do to you. And that's unconstitutional.

BLITZER: All right, let's move on. Obviously the two of you are not going to agree on this whole issue of material witnesses.

There's a story that also emerged over the past few days saying that the U.S. has dramatically expanded the number of countries on a list that would require residents living here in the United States from those countries to register with the federal government earlier this month, for example, we'll put up on the screen, residents from Iraq, Iran, Libya, Sudan, Syria. But on Saturday, they added all these other countries to that list.

Roy Black, is the federal government, as some now believe, out of control on this issue, asking people who live in the country who are originally from all of these other countries to have to formally register their whereabouts, their activities with the federal government?

BLACK: Well, Wolf, that doesn't bother me as much as their interference with American citizens. If there are people here from other countries who come into the country under the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the United States government has the ability to require them to make reports and say where they are. I don't think that really interferes with people's civil liberties.

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BLITZER: This is an issue involving, Joe DiGenova, as you well know, men 16 years of age and older. And if you take a look at that list, and let's put that list back up on the screen, you'll notice one thing on those lists. Almost all of them either Middle East, North African, African countries.

You don't see France, for example, on that list. Zacarias Moussauoi is a French citizen. He's accused of being the so-called 20th hijacker. If that regulation had been in existence when he came to the United States, it wouldn't have made any difference at all.

DIGENOVA: Yes, well, Wolf, what we're doing here is we are regularizing for the first time in our history the entrance to our borders. For too long, our borders have been like sieves, and we have not regulated the conduct of aliens coming into this country.

I agree with Roy, we should be doing this. Not only that, what's very, very ironic about this is that, you know, we've been subject to tremendous criticism from the Europeans for many of the things that we've been doing since 9/11.

The Europeans have the most incredibly hard-line, conservative, alien

registration controls than any countries in the world. And they have -- and they're proud of the fact that when you go, even as an American, to a hotel in Paris or Rome, you have to give your passport, and they keep it. And they call the local police and let them know you're there. You get it back when you ask for it. But I'm not concerned about this.

And with regard to Mr. Moussauoi, in some of these countries that are not on the list, there are nonetheless, such as our allies in France, extra visa requirements that are imposed as a matter of reality even though they're not on the list.

BLITZER: All right, let's move to talk about this big win for the Justice Department, Roy Black, this past week, allowing law enforcement in effect to cooperate with the intelligence branches of the U.S. government to share information.

The attorney general spoke out after the appeals court came down on the side of the Justice Department. Not surprisingly, he was very happy. Listen to this.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

JOHN ASCHROFT, ATTORNEY GENERAL: This will greatly enhance our ability to put pieces together that different agencies have. I believe this is a giant step forward.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: What's wrong, Roy Black, if anything, with letting one arm of the U.S. government cooperate with another arm of the U.S. government and, namely, let law enforcement cooperate with intelligence and share information?

BLACK: Well, Wolf, the only problem is the Fourth Amendment of the United States Constitution, which gives American citizens certain rights of privacy and

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rights of illegal search and seizure.

What's happening now is there's a breakdown between intelligence and criminal law enforcement. What happened before under the foreign intelligence surveillance court wiretaps and what have you, if they're seeking wiretaps against intelligence agents from other countries, they can get it under a lesser standard than they could when they were doing it for a criminal investigation. What happened is this review court, which has sat for the first time in history by three judges just appointed by Chief Justice Rehnquist, has taken down that wall and said that they can now say any kind of intelligence warrant they get, they can now use it for a regular criminal investigation. And that impinges upon our Fourth Amendment rights.

BLITZER: Joe DiGenova, when you were the United States attorney in the District of Columbia, you became intimately familiar with all of these restrictions that were imposed on you then. In effect, what's happening now is that some of the looser standards, as far as espionage are concerned, are being



broadened to the whole criminal area as part of this war on terrorism. Are you comfort with that?

DIGENOVA: Well, first of all, Wolf, I disagree with your premise. Let me direct your attention to a wonderful article in the Wall Street Journal this week written by a tremendous lawyer named Victoria Toensing, who also happens to be my wife, which explains what the court did here.

And what she said in that article is this -- and I disagree with Roy on this, obviously respectfully because Roy's a great lawyer and one of America's great advocates.

They did not lower the standard in this case for either intelligence or criminal. What they said was is that the probable cause that is required is the same as it is in any case. The difference is, you have to prove that there's probable cause to believe, for a FISA, that someone is acting as the agent of a foreign power.

What they did that was truly important was they broke down the wall between law enforcement and intelligence so that people who were working on these cases could talk to one another. And indeed, what they said was, was that that was what Congress intended in 1978 when it enacted the statute and, obviously, what Congress did almost unanimously when it passed the Patriot Act last year.

BLITZER: FISA, Roy Black, just to our viewers who may not familiar with it, the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act which had earlier had some of these restrictions.

I assume, you may have read Victoria Toensings's article in the Wall Street Journal. Do you agree with the wife of our distinguished guest, Joe DiGenova? (LAUGHTER)

BLACK: Well, I agree with him that his wife is brilliant as well as he is. However, I disagree with the conclusions that she drew in the editorial, which, of course, I read.

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What I believe is happening is that, remember in the '70s we had the backlash to what J. Edgar Hoover was doing with the FBI, combining intelligence functions against the civil rights movement and using them in criminal investigations. And we always thought this wall would be put up to have intelligence on one side and real criminal investigations on the other.

Now we're backtracking from that and going back to what we were doing 30 years ago. And I think this is a real fear because the FBI committed many abuses during the '50s, '60s and '70s.

DIGENOVA: Right. I couldn't agree more with Roy on the issue of what happened back in the '70s. I was a counsel on the Church Committee which investigated the FBI and CIA, and there were clear abuses.

But at that time, what was going on was the executive branch, basically J. Edgar Hoover, was wiretapping without anybody's approval, including a federal



court. Congress reacted to that, and both liberals and conservatives agreed that if you're going to have intelligence wiretaps, they should be approved by a court.

That was enacted. We now have courts approving this. The FBI and the Justice Department will not be able to go overboard because these warrants are reviewed by federal judges who authorize them. It's entirely different than it was in the 1970s.

BLITZER: But let me ask you...

DIGENOVA: So I think the concerns...

BLITZER: Joe, I just want to interrupt for a second.

DIGENOVA: Yes, sir. Sorry.

BLITZER: Whenever these federal judges are asked to provide -- to authorize these kinds of surveillance wiretapping warrants, don't they always accept what the federal government almost says at face value?

DIGENOVA: There are very few cases, it is true, in which these courts have rejected these warrants. There's a good reason for that. The lawyers responsible for these warrants and the agents do not bring them to the court unless there is sufficient evidence. I can assure you that if there was insufficient evidence, these judges would not grant these warrants.

The truth is, there has been a very responsible use of these warrants. There were 932 last year, according to published reports. There are 280 million Americans in this country...

BLITZER: All right.

DIGENOVA: ... and tens of millions of visitors from foreign countries that are enemies of us.

BLACK: Well, Wolf, how do we...

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BLITZER: Roy Black, I want you to respond, but also respond in this context.

These are extraordinary times after 9/11. There's a war against terrorism under way, and as a result, the federal government needs some additional tools to protect the American public.

BLACK: Yes, but, Wolf, as I recall our Constitution was forged in very troublesome times as well. And the founders recognized that we Americans needed these rights, particularly in times of crisis. You don't need rights when nothing's going on. You need rights when the government is overreaching and what's happening here.

Now, Joe says that all these warrants are being used responsibly. Well, of course, we have no idea of finding out what's being done with these warrants. And what happens practically, if the government goes to one of these judges and says, "We need this to go after a foreign agent, and here's this foreign agent," of course the judge is going to agree to this.

However, if the judge knew this was just a regular criminal investigation,

then he would look at it much more carefully. And that's the problem here, because these judges, you know, particularly after 9/11, are going to give the government a lot of power to go after people.

BLITZER: All right, let me let you respond. Then we're going to move on. Go ahead, Joe.

DIGENOVA: Let me just say, I think it's very important for people to be concerned the way Roy is and for us to be concerned about whether or not these powers are being used wisely.

But as I said, federal judges are reviewing these warrants. Moreover, there is oversight of these functions by both the House and Senate Intelligence Committees and the House and Senate Judiciary Committees. Those are the people who are vested with the oversight responsibility to ensure, along with the federal judiciary, that the executive branch is not abusing its powers.

There is no record of any case whatsoever, involving any judge or any oversight, where there has been an overstepping of these bounds legally.

BLITZER: Roy Black, I want to shift gears for a moment and talk about the sniper case in the greater Washington area, indeed, outside of Washington, in several other states as well.

As you know, John Malvo, the 17-year-old suspect, denied his lawyers' petition to be treated as a juvenile in Virginia, where he's being held. Was that the right thing? Should he be treated as a juvenile or as an adult?

BLACK: Well, Wolf, that's a very difficult question. In most cases, I think that prosecutors abuse the power to charge juveniles as adults. In Florida, we use that quite often by politically elected prosecutors who do it.

However, in the Malvo case, considering he's 17 years old, and considering how outrageous the crimes were, certainly if there was a case in which somebody should be certified as an adult, this would probably fit that category.

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BLITZER: What about that, Joe?

DIGENOVA: Well, Virginia state law is very clear. The prosecutor has the right to petition a court to have someone treated as an adult. They have done that, and the court has ruled that he will be treated as an adult.

There's a state law process, and it has been followed. And I think in this case, it is absolutely appropriate to deal with Mr. Malvo as a mass murderer and as an adult.

BLITZER: Let me throw one other wild card out there, Joe DiGenova. Put on your old hat as a former U.S. attorney in Washington, D.C.

This whole issue of the Saudi money trail perhaps going, indirectly at least, to some of those 9/11 hijackers. There's a lot of political stakes involved in this investigation.

Do you think the FBI, the CIA, federal law enforcement authorities can actually get to the bottom of this story?

DIGENOVA: Well, they can try to. But remember, Saudi Arabia is a sovereign state. Its diplomatic personnel in this country are protected by international law and international treaties. The Saudis are with us and against us, in different ways, every day. They're a strange ally. They are an ally that we needed in the past, and we still need now. Whether or not we will continue to need them in the future is an unanswered question.

But certainly the Saudis have not cooperated in investigations involving evidence on their territory. Former FBI Director Louis Freeh made it very clear, over several years, that he was getting very, very little cooperation, in fact some obstruction, from the Saudis.

On this question, I don't believe for a minute that Prince Bandar's wife knowingly gave money to people who were among the 19 hijackers in 9/11. But I do believe that the prince and others in this country have contributed to charities which they know very well support terrorists and spread the kind of outrageous, extreme Islamic radicalism that is responsible for the kind of terrorism that exists in the world today among Islamic radicals.

It's their responsibility. The Saudis' responsibility may not be for a specific act, but they are responsible for the atmospherics that exist in the Islamic world today, by virtue of sending out from their country an outrageous, extreme form of Islam which is anti-American, anti-Semitic, anti-women and anti-Western.

BLITZER: On that note, Joe DiGenova, I'm going to have to leave it right there. Next time, Joe, you'll tell us how you really feel on this issue.

DIGENOVA: Good enough!

(LAUGHTER)

BLITZER: Roy Black, always good to have you on the program.

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BLACK: I'm willing to vote for Joe in the next election.

(LAUGHTER)

BLITZER: We know how Joe feels about Saudi Arabia and about his wife Victoria Toensing.

(LAUGHTER)

Thanks to both of you gentlemen for joining us.

DIGENOVA: Thank you. Thank you, Wolf.

BLITZER: Thank you.

Up next, Bruce Morton's essay.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BRUCE MORTON, CNN CORRESPONDENT: Big Brother, if you're too young to have read the novel which came out half a century or so ago, was a dictator, and his thought police really did watch everyone just about all the time.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: Is fiction becoming reality when it comes to our privacy? Stay with

us.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: And now Bruce Morton on the government and your privacy.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

MORTON (voice-over): It's taken a little longer than he thought. 1984 was 18 years ago, but novelist George Orwell was right: Big Brother is watching you. Big Brother, if you're too young to have read the novel which came out half a century or so ago, was a dictator, and his thought police really did watch everyone just about all the time. The hero rebels against that, has a secret love affair and so on. He loses. Big Bro finds him out.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: The ayes are 90, the naves are nine, and the bill is declared passed.

MORTON: Today's version is in the new homeland security bill. It sets up something called an Information Awareness Office -- doesn't that have a nice ring -- which will be run by John Poindexter. Yes, the same man who was Ronald Reagan's national security adviser during Iran-Contra, was convicted on five counts of lying to Congress, conviction later overturned.

What the office will do is to gather personal data on all of us from commercial and governmental databases around the world. Poindexter assured The Washington Post the data will not be misused, and we know the government  
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wouldn't mislead us about that. Sure we do.

Former Vice President Al Gore, who enjoys the Internet, told the New York Times this plan, along with expanded authority to spy and wire tap, amounts to, quote, "the most systematic invasion of privacy of every American citizen that has ever been undertaken in this country, the most fateful step in the direction of that Big Brother nightmare that any president has ever allowed to occur."

Columnist Richard Cohen notes that the Internet was always supposed to create a global village, and now maybe it has. The old-fashioned kind of small town where everybody snoops and gossips about what everybody else is doing.

It may not be all bad, of course. It could force us to be virtuous. Can't not pay the grocery bill, it'll be on the Internet and all the neighbors will know. Can't cheat on your spouse, it'll be on the Internet and he or she will know. Can't -- well, you get the idea.

Back when I was covering anti-Vietnam War demonstrations in the 1960s and '70s, government guys would show up and take pictures of demonstrators or reporters. I always told them that they'd get a better shot free from the publicity department, but they never believed me.

Still, that was a couple of people with 35-millimeter cameras, technical lightyears from where we are today.

Now a database here, a database there. We've got the real deal. Big Bro isn't just watching you, he's close enough to smell you and breathe in your face.

I'm Bruce Morton.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

BLITZER: Thanks very much, Bruce.

Up next, our "Final Round." CNN's Jonathan Karl and our panel weigh in on the big stories of the week.

I'll be back next Sunday in Washington, D.C.. Until then, thanks very much for watching. I'm Wolf Blitzer in Los Angeles.

The "Final Round," right after a CNN news alert.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(NEWSBREAK)

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

JONATHAN KARL, CNN CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENT: Hello. I'm CNN congressional correspondent Jonathan Karl.

It's time now for the "Final Round." Joining me, Donna Brazile, the Democratic strategist, Peter Beinart of the "New Republic," Jonah Goldberg of "National Review Online," and Christopher Caldwell of the "Weekly Standard."

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A key Arab ally of the U.S. is on the defensive again. The FBI is investigating whether two of the September 11th hijackers received money from the Saudi government. That is raising some new questions about the U.S.-Saudi relationship. Today, the top Republican on the Senate Intelligence Committee addressed the issue.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

SEN. RICHARD SHELBY (R), ALABAMA: I wouldn't look at Saudi Arabia as an ally like the British or the French or the Canadians or anybody like that. I think our relationship with them is totally transactional.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

KARL: Totally transactional. Peter, is this the really the day of reckoning, the time of reckoning for the U.S.-Saudi relationship?

PETER BEINART, NEW REPUBLIC: No, it's not. America won't be able to have any reckoning with Saudi Arabia until we do something about our dependence on that oil. And there's no constituency that I can see anywhere in Washington, certainly not in the Bush administration, to get serious about America's dependence on Saudi oil.

I don't want to hear any conservatives talking tough against the Saudis unless they have a plan to deal with SUVs. Right now they don't.

KARL: Jonah?

JONAH GOLDBERG, NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE: My plan for SUVs is to buy one.

(LAUGHTER)

BEINART: Exactly my point.

GOLDBERG: Other than that -- well, my plan for SUVs is also to drill in ANWR.

BEINART: That, alone, is not going to do it.

GOLDBERG: I understand, and I would actually be...

CHRISTOPHER CALDWELL, WEEKLY STANDARD: That might handle Jonah's SUV.

(LAUGHTER)

GOLDBERG: I might be in favor of a grand Faustian bargain of raising CAFE standards and opening ANWR, to do both.

Regardless, Saudi Arabia, it's not a reckoning because partly it's the Middle Eastern oil, partly it's because there are a lot of people in Washington who are deeply invested in keeping that relationship going.

And it's a real tragedy because Saudi Arabia fundamentally represents virtually everything America is supposed to be in opposition to: a corrupt and arbitrary monarchy that brutalizes women, that is a religious theocracy that

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brutalizes religious minorities and that exports terror around the world. And they are not our friends.

CALDWELL: That's right.

KARL: And look, the transaction they were talking about was oil. That's what Shelby was talking about. Oil for overlooking all of this.

DONNA BRAZILE, DEMOCRATIC STRATEGIST: Absolutely. But Jonah is right. I mean, we've got to somehow change our relationship with Saudi Arabia. When the administration came out and said you're with us or against us, somehow or another, Saudi Arabia was exempted from that.

And it's time that we forced that regime to stop their huge anti- American propaganda that comes out of that country, including, as we all know, 15 of the 19 terrorists, and they haven't even said I'm sorry for that.

CALDWELL: Donna's right. Saudi Arabia is now, I would say, the most detested regime in a bipartisan sense since the Iranian hostage crisis of 1979. I think what you see in Congress now is the sense that perhaps the Bush administration has been protecting them to an undue degree.

There could be a couple of reasons for this. They may not want it's hand pushed strategically, but it may just be covering up for cronies. And I think there's a pattern since sending the bin Ladens back to Saudi Arabia in the days after September 11th that they want to uncover. KARL: But the reason why we're talking about this is because of the story that the wife of the Saudi ambassador to the United States gave some money that ended up, allegedly, potentially in the hands of two of the hijackers.

I mean, do you really think, Peter, that the wife of the Saudi ambassador would knowingly fund the September 11th attacks?

BEINART: I really don't know. What we know is that there is a very insular Saudi elite, not all officially in the government. But we know that nothing happens in Saudi Arabia, really, that the government doesn't have that much control over.



And there is a tight network of Islamic charities that have been supporting really bad guys around the world that are very close to this government, and that really has not been disentangled yet.

KARL: All right, enough on Saudi Arabia, we've got to move on.

Debate is heating up about a new tool the government says it needs to fight the war on terror. The Total Awareness Information program includes a database that can access every American's credit card transactions, travel activities or gun purchases.

Earlier today New York Democratic Senator Charles Schumer and former House Speaker Newt Gingrich squared off on the issue.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIPS)

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SEN. CHARLES SCHUMER (D), NEW YORK: The administration doesn't give a justification for it. They put in no safeguards. They don't talk to people.

And these things leak out.

NEWT GINGRICH, FORMER SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE: After October 11th -- September 11th, they said "Gee, why didn't we know that the Arab men who were out there getting pilot training were somehow connected?" After the sniper we said, "Gee, why didn't we know that wasn't a white van, it was a blue car?" So Congress will come back and scapegoat later.

(END VIDEO CLIPS)

KARL: All right, Jonah, I mean, on the face here this new program is a little -- has some echoes of "1984." Is this Big Brother?

GOLDBERG: Not only is it Big Brother -- well, the reality is what this is, is this is Big William Safire, who has a rice-paper-thin skin when it comes to civil liberties. And every now and then, he writes these hysterical, factually insupportable, logically inconsistent screeds against some looming threat to civil liberties in the United States. And it shows how powerful he is that the media always falls for this stuff.

This is not an actual program in existence. This is basically a lab-tested computer simulation that is not doing anything right now in terms of probing people's privacy. In order to enact it, it has to go before Congress, it has to get approval. There's oversight. There are all sorts of things. We don't even know if it's works. It's basically a research project. And everyone's going nuts about it, and they shouldn't.

KARL: Donna, I mean, can you defend this former Nixon speechwriter?

BRAZILE: Oh, absolutely.

(LAUGHTER)

Well, I will defend Mr. Safire because I think he's right on the money. The American people take great pride in our civil liberties, and we respect the fact that we have a right to privacy.

And I think if the administration funds this project and if it goes beyond



what Jonah just said, a research project, into something that is truly out there, the American people will rebel against it.

CALDWELL: Well, I think information gathering of a much more aggressive kind is going to be necessary.

My worry about a computer-generated one is that it's going to be biased toward finding people who obey the law. That is, people who have Social Security numbers and college loans and health plans, and not toward people who've walked across the Canadian border, only use cash and have five aliases.

KARL: Peter?

BEINART: I mean, I'm sympathetic to the need to synthesize this information.

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We know that what happened before September 11th is there was too much information that wasn't being communicated. Fine.

But if you're going to give this new power, create an agency with all this new power, which people have a lot of concerns about, why on Earth do you put the guy in charge of it who lied to Congress? I mean, you can talk about...

KARL: Admiral Poindexter.

BEINART: John Poindexter, for goodness' sakes! I mean, there are a lot of smart people in this town who you could give this job to. Why give it to a guy who has a history of lying to Congress?

GOLDBERG: Well, part of the reason he got the job is because he actually brought the idea to the Pentagon as a research project, and he said, "Hey, I have this idea of how to synthesize this stuff." And since it was his idea, they said, "OK, why don't you give it a try and see if this technology even works." So it's much less ominous than the media is making it out to be.

CALDWELL: But it's not a school project. Poindexter is political poison. If you're going to change our attitude toward civil liberties in a way that you need bipartisan support for, you don't want a Harvey Pitt-style dartboard at the head of the agency.

(CROSSTALK)

KARL: So at the very least, it wasn't exactly smart politics, I mean, if you're looking for support for this.

All right, we've got to take a quick break. When we come back, Tom Daschle and Rush Limbaugh mix it up. That and much more when the Final Round returns.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KARL: Welcome back to the "Final Round."

There was an interesting war of words this week between the Senate Democratic leader, Tom Daschle, and conservative radio talk show host Rush Limbaugh.

Daschle said Limbaugh's rhetoric incited some of his listeners to threaten violence against Daschle and his family. Limbaugh dismissed Daschle's claims, saying they amounted to sour grapes.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

RUSH LIMBAUGH, TALK SHOW HOST: ... very small playbook. For 40 years, they had a free run with the mainstream press not challenging them on what they said, but instead challenging us. We've had to hone our response to all the accusations they make against us, and we've gotten good at it.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

KARL: All right, Chris, picking a fight with a guy with 20 million listeners, what is Tom Daschle up to here?

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CALDWELL: Well, he is grasping at straws. And that shows that a lot of this talk we've had in the recent years about how we need to be more civil and that kind of thing is really just a blind for anti- democratic quashing of free speech.

This kind of talk is nothing compared to the stuff you heard in the 1936 election about fascists and slaves of big business, or even in the 19th century. It's so small potatoes.

KARL: Donna, this wasn't a good move for Daschle, was it?

BRAZILE: Well, I think Tom Daschle's a little sensitive. I mean, after all, he received that anthrax letter, his family's been threatened.

On the other hand, as someone who's been a verbal combatant in the partisan war of words, I think Democrats should take Rush Limbaugh on. I go on some of those conservative talk shows, and no, I don't like being called a liberal loony, but look, I give it right back and call them conservative kooks.

(LAUGHTER)

So, look, we have -- there's a thin line there between free speech and going over the line. Some time they go over the line, and I think they need to be a little bit more responsible.

As for what the Democratic Party should do, we should find our own Rush Limbaughs and bring it on.

KARL: A Democratic Rush Limbaugh, there's an idea.

GOLDBERG: It's called Dan Rather.

(LAUGHTER)

BEINART: The reason the Democrats don't have a real Rush Limbaugh is no one knows what a Democratic Rush Limbaugh would say on the central issue of the day, which is Iraq and the war on terrorism.

The Democrats do not know what they believe about this. And until they get a sense of what they do, all of this stuff is window dressing. You can't deal with a messenger if you don't have a message.

GOLDBERG: I have a slightly cynical interpretation of this. Well, either it was just basically a stupid mistake on Daschle's part, or what it was was an attempt to rip out a page from the mid-1990s playbook of demonizing the angry white male. There was all that Rush Limbaugh-bashing. We blamed him -- the media blamed him for the killing of Matthew Shepherd and for Oklahoma City and

all that kind of stuff.

The Democratic base loves it. It makes Daschle a victim of the mean, angry, nasty, fascist white guys and all that kind of stuff.

And so, if it was a mistake, maybe he decided to exploit it along those lines, or it was just dumb all the way around. I can't figure it out.

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KARL: So a mistake or brilliant political move here?

CALDWELL: Oh, it was so confusing that he thought that the thing that really led to the threats was the way Republicans had called him an obstructionist.

And yet the whole press conference he gave was dedicated to calling Republicans obstructionists. It was a terrible mistake.

KARL: In fact, there was a poster right behind Daschle at the time that was talking about Republican obstructionism.

(LAUGHTER)

And the other thing that was interesting is he was actually saying Democrats need to emulate Rush Limbaugh, that's the way to get the message out, but also, you know, make it an attack.

BEINART: The particularly (ph) strange thing is, what Daschle should be saying is, "I actually got my guy elected in South Dakota." In an election where the Democrats did terribly, Daschle should be saying, I'm one of the few guys who has something to be successful...

(CROSSTALK)

KARL: In a Republican state, all right.

BRAZILE: In an election where Democrats lost the Senate by 50,000 votes in New Hampshire and Missouri, the Democrats should find the good and praise it and keep fighting the next battle, which will happen in a couple of months.

KARL: All right, well, find the good.

One Democrat who was everywhere this week was Al Gore. The former vice president is promoting his new book he co-authored with his wife, Tipper. His media blitz is largely viewed as Gore's political re-emergence. He took the opportunity to criticize President Bush on the war on terrorism and express support for a single-payer national health-care system.

Donna, you are our resident Al Gore expert. What's going on?

BRAZILE: Well, first of all, I think you're going to see a lot more of Al Gore leading up not only into the election in 2003, where you're going to have three gubernatorial elections and many mayoral elections, but also 2004.

This is not a different Al Gore. This is the same fighter, the same person who wants to get back out there and cast himself back with the voters in 2004.

KARL: Is he going to run?

BRAZILE: I don't know, but I believe there's something inside of Al Gore that will lean toward him running in 2004.

KARL: Christopher?

CALDWELL: Yes, I think he's running, and he doesn't look too bad. I think  
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his performances have been miserable, he's stumbling, he's a little bit off his stride. But he doesn't have to be the William Jennings Bryan, the repository of Democratic hopes. All he really has to be is the Michael Dukakis, as someone said in 1988, the last guy standing with money.

KARL: But, Peter, there's an emerging conventional wisdom about Al Gore, which is the Democratic elite in this town doesn't like him, but out there the grassroots Democrats want him to run again.

BEINART: I think so, particularly when you look at who his real competition is. I think his real competition is Gephardt. Gephardt's, I think, the only guy who could beat him in Iowa. And I think if Gore wins Iowa, I think he's looking in pretty good shape. And Gephardt was really hurt by these elections. So I actually think Gore is probably not looking in too bad a shape.

The weird thing about this re-emergence is that if there was an authentic Al Gore all these years, you really thought it was -- I always thought it was really as a new Democrat, as a centrist. And here he is moving to the left on both foreign and domestic policy, which makes me wonder, if this is the real Al Gore, then what was the old one all these years?

(LAUGHTER)

KARL: National health care.

GOLDBERG: Well, I think it is the real Al Gore, because the real Al Gore would always say or do anything based upon what the polls or what the political strategy at the time was going to be. For a long time, it made a lot of sense to be a DLC Democrat, centrist Democrat, so that's what Al Gore was. Then it made sense to go left, so now he's going left. That's the real Al Gore. And just everything else, what he says, is all superficial to the essence of the guy.

BRAZILE: I don't think it's left or right in terms of Al Gore. I think it's Al Gore moving forward to try to help redefine the Democratic Party for the 21st century. And I think Gore will have a leadership role in helping to get the party's message back in shape.

KARL: All right. And now, just one more thing. Are you seeing any specific signs that he's getting ready to run? I mean, are you seeing him lining people up, talking to people, getting ready?

BRAZILE: Well, no. But what I do see, and many of us have seen, we see him on TV, we hear him on the radio, he's in the newspaper. And I'm waiting for him to go to Des Moines.

KARL: All right. Here we go, we've got to take one more quick break, and the Lightning Round is next. Stay with us.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KARL: Time now for our "Lightning Round."

Retiring South Carolina Republican Senator Strom Thurmond will celebrate his  
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100th birthday next week.

All right, Christopher Caldwell, what is Strom Thurmond's legacy?

CALDWELL: I'm sorry his place in history is for the 1948 Dixiecrat election.  
He's been a pretty run-of-the-mill Republican ever since, and his legacy in  
Washington is a lot of really interesting virility jokes.

(LAUGHTER)

KARL: The Cal Ripkin of politics?

GOLDBERG: Actually, well, the John Holmes of politics.

(LAUGHTER)

Anyway, his real legacy, I actually think, is he was the harbinger of the  
Republicanization of the South. He was the first guy to go from Dixiecrat or  
Democrat to Republican and he was the harbinger of it all, along with Barry  
Goldwater, of turning the Democrats solid Republican.

BRAZILE: His legacy may be that of a principally conservative segregationist,  
but the South has changed. We now have African- Americans running for statewide  
office, and African-Americans serve in statewide office in the deep South, a  
South that he once opposed having African-Americans the right to vote. And now  
the vice chair of the Democratic Caucus hails from South Carolina, his home  
state, Jim Clyburn.

BEINART: Yes, let's call a spade a spade here. His legacy is white  
supremacism. His legacy is the rise of the Republican Party in the South based  
on the backlash against civil rights on the Republican Party becoming the  
anti-black party. And if Republicans really want to move away from that legacy,  
they should join me in saying good riddance.

KARL: All right, well, don't wait for that to happen.

Retiring House Republican leader Dick Armey is considering becoming a  
consultant of the foe to many conservatives, the American Civil Liberties Union.  
Have liberals gained a new friend?

And, Peter, I'll throw this at you, although I imagine Democrats would much  
rather see Dick Armey on the advisory panel for the ACLU than in Congress.

BEINART: Give Dick Armey credit. You know, I disagree with him on most  
things, but he has been consistent. He was consistent against the expansion of  
government power under Clinton and under Bush. I only wish people like John  
Ashcroft, who was a vehement civil libertarian when Clinton was in power, still  
stuck to some of those principles today.

KARL: You want to say something nice about Dick Armey?

BRAZILE: Well, not only Dick Armey, I also think they should recruit Bob  
Barr. I mean, he's another civil libertarian. You have a lot more in the  
Republican Party, as well the Libertarian Party, and they should go after all of

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them.

GOLDBERG: Yes, I mean, there's bizarre misunderstanding of the history of the conservative movement in America that says that somehow they aren't civil libertarians. A big tradition on the right has always been deep skepticism of government, deep skepticism governmental intrusion, and Dick Arme and Bob Barr just represent it.

KARL: But wait, it was the first George Bush that attacked Michael Dukakis as being a card-carrying member of the ACLU.

CALDWELL: But Jonah is right. Dick Arme has -- Dick Arme's problem is that, while he's always been terrific on economic issues and very consistent, he's always floundered whenever he's got off of them from the "Barney fag" remark, to his confusion about Iraq, to now. He's just looking for a place to perch.

KARL: All right. Next up, the "New York Times" is urging Tiger Woods to boycott next year's Masters tournament because of the Augusta National Golf Club's refusal to admit women members.

In an editorial this week, the "Times" said, quote, "The absence of golf's best player would be a dreaded asterisk to the name of next year's winner. And a tournament without Mr. Woods would send a powerful message that discrimination isn't good for the golfing business."

Does Tiger Woods have a special responsibility on this one to speak out? You wanted a sports question, Donna. What do you think?

BRAZILE: Oh, Lord, here I go. First of all, I don't think he should boycott it, but I do believe that he should speak out. And I think he would be an eloquent speaker on this as someone who, from his history or his parent's history, should know the pain of discrimination.

I also think Jack Nicklaus and many of the other golfing pros, and don't ask me their names, should speak out as well.

(LAUGHTER)

KARL: I'll give you a quiz.  
Jonah?

GOLDBERG: Well, first of all, I have no problem with Augusta staying all-male. It's a free country.

Second of all, it's classic "New York Times," which, first of all, likes to sort of try to force and shame people into becoming the moral leaders that they want them to be.

And they often are confused by the idea that race and sex are not the same thing and they have very different roles in our society. We fought a civil war to make this country generally color blind. We didn't fight a civil war over gender. And, you know, they don't understand that.

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(CROSSTALK)

KARL: ... a male Tiger Woods could join Augusta?

BEINART: That's right. It's not because he's black, it's because he's the best golfer. And the point is that no other golfer would have the same impact. It's true, Augusta has the right to discriminate. "The New York Times" has this very same right to call for a boycott, and I hope Tiger Woods joins.

CALDWELL: Yes, I have to agree with Michael Wilbon of "The Washington Post." He said, "Tiger Woods is being asked to do this because he, as a black, is supposed to represent minority progressivism, and he'd be a fool if he were to listen to these yappers at the New York Times."

KARL: All right, well, we'll leave it at that. The "Final Round" is over. Thank you very much.

BRAZILE: Happy Thanksgiving.

KARL: Yes, Happy Thanksgiving to all of you.

All right. Oh, do we have one more question? We do have one more.

(LAUGHTER)

Do we have one more? Two teenagers are suing McDonald's. They claim the fast food restaurant caused them to become obese, because it failed to provide sufficient information about the health risks associated with those meals.

So, Jonah, what do you say? Suing McDonald's, very quickly.

GOLDBERG: Well, you can read my amicus brief, because I'm blaming them for my obesity, too.

(LAUGHTER)

No, it's absurd. You know, it's a typical trial lawyer thing. It's idiotic.

BEINART: Yes, I agree. Look, everyone should know by now that McDonald's is not exactly health food.

KARL: All right, well, that really is it for LATE EDITION.

(LAUGHTER)

Thank you. Happy Thanksgiving.

(CROSSTALK)

All right. That's it for LATE EDITION for this Sunday, November 24.

Be sure to join us next Sunday and every Sunday. And thank you for watching.

We wish you all a Happy Thanksgiving and a great weekend.

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**October** 8, 2002 Tuesday

Transcript # 100803cb.140

**SECTION:** Business

**LENGTH:** 978 words

**HEADLINE:** Palestinian U.N. Representative Discusses Recent Mideast Violence

**GUESTS:** Nasser Al-Kidwa

**BYLINE:** Neil Cavuto

**BODY:**

NEIL CAVUTO, HOST: Yesterday, Israeli forces descended into the Gaza Strip, 14 dead, 80 wounded, all Palestinians. Israeli prime minister calling the action a "success." But Palestinians calling the raid a "war crime." But Israel officials say they plan to do more of these raids in the future to stamp out terrorism. Joining me now is Palestinian representative to the U.N., Nasser Al-Kidwa, who sent a letter of appeal to the Security Council in an effort to protect the Palestinian people.

Ambassador, good to have you.

NASSER AL-KIDWA, PALESTINIAN REP. TO U.N.: Thank you.

CAVUTO: Can you tell me a little bit about this letter.

AL-KIDWA: Well, actually, it is not the first time that the Israeli occupying force has committed war crimes against the Palestinian people and Palestinian civilians, of course. And it has been a while for us now trying to bring international observers or international troops (ph). There has been lots of international efforts in that direction, and we are just trying to do that, we are pushing in that direction.

CAVUTO: So when you hear the Israelis say they are trying to address

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terrorism and go to the seeds of terrorism, you don't buy that?

AL-KIDWA: I think nobody buys that, all over the world actually. There has been a consensus, condemning what the Israelis have done. I mean, they fired missiles at the crowd, civilian crowd directly. They haven't even pretended to have identified any target, military target or otherwise. They just said that this neighborhood is a stronghold for Hamas, and we went in to apply pressure on

them.

CAVUTO: Well, it turns out that neighborhood was a stronghold for Hamas, right? So people innocents are lost like in the campaign against terrorism on the Israelis, many innocent civilians are lost, so there is blood on both sides senselessly, right?

AL-KIDWA: It's not the same thing. There is blood on both sides.

CAVUTO: What's not the same thing when a discotheque in Israel is hit and 22 people are killed?

AL-KIDWA: And that is why we precisely condemn something like that. I was trying to say that there is blood on both sides and we condemn any attacks on innocent civilians, the difference being one, that what is being done by the Palestinians or done by some groups against the law, against the Palestinian Authority and against the peace process as a whole. What is being done by the Israeli side is done by an army, in implementation of an official policy, and it is a committed by the sanctions of the highest level of the political echelon.

CAVUTO: But, Ambassador, you can understand, right? that when Israelis criticize you or spokesmen for your concern, and you don't more aggressively come out against these homicide, suicide attacks, whatever you want to call them, that it gives them pause that they think also, well, he does not really mean it?

AL-KIDWA: No. I don't think so. I think it is a matter of policy, Prime Minister Sharon from the beginning has made it very clear that he does not want to settle, that he wants some kind of transitional arrangement. He said that repeatedly, he does not want a partner, he does not want Yasser Arafat, he does not want - actually the Palestinian people as a whole, that is the problem. The Palestinian position against the suicide bombings is very clear and it is being repeated every day. What the Israeli side is doing however is weakening our capacity to deal with the problem and not enhancing.

CAVUTO: But let me ask you, it's a good point, but when you hear of the bus attacks, the discotheque attacks and everything else, why doesn't somebody just scream about it? this is senseless, this is immoral, this is murder. Why - the kind of things that you want to hear from Israelis or the global community about the suffering of your people, why don't we hear the same out of your people when it is the Israelis who suffer?

AL-KIDWA: We say the same. The problem.

CAVUTO: Actually Ambassador, I don't hear it.

AL-KIDWA: Probably you did not ask, probably you did not give.

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CAVUTO: Do I have to ask?

AL-KIDWA: . a chance.

CAVUTO: Call a press conference, condemn it.

AL-KIDWA: Even if we do that still you probably won't cover it. And if you do

you won't cover it enough.

CAVUTO: Oh, I don't know about that. Where is the clarion call to say, this stops, whether it's Israelis inflicting harm on the Palestinians, or Palestinians on the Israelis?

AL-KIDWA: It should have stopped a long time ago. And we are looking forward for it to stop immediately. And we are trying our best, what is needed though is different Israeli political position, one that really wants an end to that and really wants a political settlement.

CAVUTO: But could you welcome the Israeli proposal? We will talk as soon as the attacks end? It seems like a very simple start to something, why don't you endorse that?

AL-KIDWA: First, Mr. Shamir (sic) said I won't talk unless there is a quiet for seven days, that was a condition impossible at the time. Nevertheless, it did happen, not only seven days, it did happen for about maybe a month or over a month. And still he did not want to talk. So the issue again is his political position, he does not want a settlement.

CAVUTO: When you see Sharon here in the United States tomorrow, anything you want to hear out of him?

AL-KIDWA: You see, the timing of what happened, yesterday, is very familiar. It happened yesterday, provoking a Palestinian reaction to it, just in time for him to be at the White House. And it is time to question the timing and the methods and the content of the Israeli actions against Palestinians.

CAVUTO: Ambassador, thank you very much, we want to be fair to both sides, Ambassador Nasser Al-Kidwa. We will see what happens, Ariel Sharon is due in this country tomorrow, as the ambassador said, to lay out his case. We shall see.

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**SHOW:** The Early Edition of Eyewitness News

**August 6, 2002, Tuesday AM**

**NETWORK:** WWL-TV

**MEDIUM:** Television

**TYPE:** Television

**LENGTH:** 112 words

**BODY:**

START: 39.10

Teased Segment - Massacre. The UN report about the alleged massacre of Palestinian refugee camp.

Interview - Abuzed Doorda, Libyan Ambassador, commenting on the UN report.

Visual - UN Report, refugee camp.

Interview - Unidentified UN official commenting on the massacre.

Interview - Faisal Abdullah Al Athba, Qtar, commenting on the massacre.

Interview - Aaron Jaboc, Israeli Diplomat, commenting on the UN report.

Interview - John Megroponte, US Ambassador, commenting on the UN report.

Visual - UN Meetings.

Interview - Nasser Al-Kidwa, Palestinian Representative, commenting on the massacre. Richard Roth reporting.

END: 41.24.

**SEGMENT-ID:** 33

**PROGRAM-ID:** ww105000806

**LOAD-DATE:** September 10, 2002

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Copyright 2002 Video Monitoring Services of America, L.P.

Video Monitoring Services of America

**SHOW:** World News

**July 27, 2002, Saturday AM ET**

**NETWORK:** CNN International Cable Programming

**MEDIUM:** Cable

**LENGTH:** 98 words

**BODY:**

START: 00.31

Teased Segment - Israel. The US threatens to veto a UN mideast resolution.

Visual - UN.

Interview - Nasser Al-Kidwa, Palestinian UN observer, says palestinians groups should not be condemned for recent violence.

Interview - Jeremy Greenstock, UN security council, says opportunities are being maximized. Violence has resumed in Israel.

Visual - Hebron.

Interview - Lt Col Olivier Rafowicz, Israeli army spokesman, describes today's shootings.

Visual - Jenin.

Interview - Israeli soldiers describe the fighting. Chris Burns reporting.

END: 05.36

**SEGMENT-ID:** 3

**PROGRAM-ID:** cnni06000727

**LOAD-DATE:** August 29, 2002

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**SHOW:** Up To The Minute

**July 1, 2002, Monday AM ET**

**NETWORK:** CBS Network Programming

**MEDIUM:** Television

**TYPE:** Network

**LENGTH:** 70 words

**BODY:**

START: 35.47

Mideast Crisis. Recap From Above.

Interview - Colin Powell, Secretary Of State, From Face The Nation.

Visual - Israeli Tanks/ Forces, From File Tape.

Visual - Yasser Arafat.

Interview - Nasser Al-Kidwa, Palestinian Representative To US, says he thinks this will be the decision of the Palestinian people to make and not anyone else, Courtesy Of NBC.

Graphic - Mideast Crisis.

END: 37.01

**SEGMENT-ID:** 22

**PROGRAM-ID:** cbs02000701

**LOAD-DATE:** August 15, 2002

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NBC News Transcripts

**SHOW:** Meet the Press (10:00 AM ET) - NBC

**June 30, 2002 Sunday**

**LENGTH:** 1880 words

**HEADLINE:** Nasser Al-Kidwa discusses the Middle East

**BODY:**

MR. RUSSERT: And we are back. Mr. Al-Kidwa, welcome back to MEET THE PRESS.

MR. NASSER AL-KIDWA: Thank you.

MR. RUSSERT: Is Yasser Arafat finished as leader of the Palestinian people?

MR. AL-KIDWA: I don't think so. I think this will be the decision of the Palestinian people to make and not anyone else. And more importantly, I think it's a matter of policies and positions, rather than the individual himself. The underlying position, I guess, on the other side is one which calls for different kind of policies and positions. And I think Yasser Arafat is as moderate as anyone else can go without being considered as a traitor by the Palestinian people. And I think this will be the decisive element.

MR. RUSSERT: Will he seek re-election as president of the Palestinian Authority?

MR. AL-KIDWA: You know, for him and I think for many Palestinians as well, it's a matter of a mission rather than a post. His mission is to lead the Palestinian people until the establishment of an independent Palestine. After that, by the way, the question will be very legitimate because many Palestinians

also think that he might not be the man to build the modern institutions of the state, but we are still in the phase of national liberation. And I think he symbolizes the ambitions of the Palestinian people during this stage, and as such, I think they will stand by him.

MR. RUSSERT: And he will run for re-election?

MR. AL-KIDWA: Again, it is not a matter of post. I think...

MR. RUSSERT: But it's your expectation...

MR. AL-KIDWA: ...it's a matter of...

MR. RUSSERT: ...in the January elections, he will be on the ballot?

MR. AL-KIDWA: Well, barring any surprises, one can see continuation of this stage, again, until the actual establishment of the state.

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MR. RUSSERT: Do you believe that President Bush's denunciation of Yasser Arafat would be a political asset for him in such a campaign?

MR. AL-KIDWA: Well, I think the Palestinian people have a broader problem with the speech of the president. It's not only his negative position, vis-a-vis President Arafat, but I think the president's attempt to put the burden on the Palestinian people, ask them to do huge things under Israeli occupation and while the Israeli side is actually engaged in systematic destruction of the Palestinian Authority and the Palestinian infrastructure, allowing basically Mr. Sharon and his government to continue with their military campaign against the Palestinian people and then putting the blame on the Palestinian people themselves--that is the problem.

Let me also be clear, nevertheless, that at the level of vision, the president's speech does have very positive elements. You named them earlier--the need to end Israeli settlements, the need to end Israeli occupation, the establishment of a Palestinian state at the beginning with a provisional border, but then as part of final settlement within three years and so on. So we see those positive elements, and we would want to work with the administration. However, there is no mechanism, there is no road map, there is no--there is no explanation how we get from here to there while the operational part--the only operational part is just putting the burden on the Palestinian people and let Mr. Sharon continue with what he is doing now.

MR. RUSSERT: Is there anyone who could be elected leader of the Palestinian Authority, who would be acceptable to the United States, who would not be viewed as, in your words, a traitor to the Palestinian cause?

MR. AL-KIDWA: Again, if it is a matter of an election, a Palestinian election within an independent Palestine, I think there will be many Palestinians. But, at this stage, it is not that; it is the leadership of the national liberation movement, the Palestinian movement towards independence, and, as such, I think, he is the historic leader of the Palestinian people.

MR. RUSSERT: He being Yasser Arafat?

MR. AL-KIDWA: Yeah.

MR. RUSSERT: The leader of Hamas--let me show you on the screen: "Ismail Abu Shanab, a leader of the military group Hamas...expressed a different hope...'I hope the Palestinian Authority will now understand that it should support resistance and not chase after the West'...observing that Mr. Arafat had now 'lost the support of the American administration' along with that of average Palestinians."

Do you agree?

MR. AL-KIDWA: No, I don't agree, because the Palestinian leadership and the overwhelming majority of the Palestinian people made up their mind. We want to remain engaged in the peace process. We want to have a peaceful negotiated settlement with the Israeli side. We have to defend ourselves, nevertheless, when Israeli tanks and Israeli soldiers attack Palestinian cities and reoccupy those cities. This is legitimate under international law, although this is not our choice. Our choice, strategic one, remains the same.

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MR. RUSSERT: But the Israelis, as you well know, deal day after day after day with suicide bombings--women, children, grandparents, all being destroyed. This was the photograph I showed Dr. Rice, there's a young Palestinian baby with the famous red Hamas headband, and strapped to them a suicide bombing outfit or gear. What is that about?

MR. AL-KIDWA: It's about serious problems endured by the Palestinian society as a whole, that, at least, parts of this society lost all hope and is really suffering of serious despair and hopelessness. But this comes as the direct result of 35 years of military occupation, 35 years of colonization, Israeli colonization, of our land and 35 years of oppressive measures, especially during the last two years and more so since 29th of March. War crimes were committed. Destruction--destruction is taking place in unimaginable, unimaginable way. Millions of Palestinians, two-plus millions, are put under curfew, almost continuously.

MR. RUSSERT: But does any of that justify suicide bombings or dressing a baby like that?

MR. AL-KIDWA: No, it doesn't. Of course, it doesn't, but it's easy for me here while in the comfort of Washington to say that we don't want that, and we really don't want that. But for this to change we need to give this people hope. We need to tell them, not only theoretically that we are going to have a state, but we need to tell them that today things will start changing. Today we are going to have one, two, three, and that was not there in the speech made by the president.

MR. RUSSERT: As to suicide bombings, Yasser Arafat said this in an interview with an Israeli paper: "that 'foreign forces' were exploiting young hopeless Palestinians, encouraging them to commit attacks in exchange for money, adding



that two families of suicide attackers from Jenin received \$30,000 each from these foreigners."

These foreigners being Iraq?

MR. AL-KIDWA: Being many, many, many countries, not only that.

MR. RUSSERT: Why not tell these foreigners stop giving our people money, stop encouraging suicide bombings?

MR. AL-KIDWA: We did, and many people tend to forget that there has been lots of problems, actually contradiction between the Palestinian Authority on one hand and those extremists--those extreme Palestinian groups, on the other hand. Some of them see themselves as the substitute for the Palestinian Authority and not as an ally of the Palestinian Authority, and this is another reason why the overwhelming majority of the Palestinian people, frankly, do not understand what the president is trying to do. And I am saying that from a position that would want to see some positiveness in this speech because, after all, this is the superpower of the world and we want to work with this superpower so that we can change the situation of the Palestinian people.

MR. RUSSERT: Many Israelis and their allies here in the United States question whether the Palestinians really want peace or whether they want to destroy Israel. William Bennett, in his book "Why We Fight," wrote this: "The Page 135

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official emblem and stationery the Palestinian Liberation Organization, headed by Arafat, feature a map of the entirety of what is to be liberated, not just the disputed territories but all present-day Israel." And he goes on: "The Fatah wing of the PLO, its so-called moderate faction, has as its insignia a shield bearing, again, the entirety of what is Israel surmounted by two fists holding rifles with a hand grenade beneath."

And you take that and couple it with a statement that Mort Zuckerman, the editor in chief of U.S. News & World Report writes today, that "Yasser Arafat told the former president of Indonesia when asked, 'Why didn't you accept President Clinton's peace plan?' He said, 'Look, we've got 150 years, and we'll throw them into the sea.'"

MR. AL-KIDWA: Mr. Bennett, unfortunately, did not tell us what is the Israeli map. Israel, for more than 50 years now, does not tell the world what is the borders of Israel. So it's not just to say that the Palestinian side does not show borders. It's the Israeli side also that does not show borders. Now, with regard to Mr. Wahid, think his credibility is something which does not deserve a lot of comment.

MR. RUSSERT: You don't think Mr. Arafat said that?

MR. AL-KIDWA: Of course, he didn't. And let me tell you, more--I mean, more importantly, publicly, Yasser Arafat is directly responsible for moving the whole Palestinian society from a position demanding absolute justice, that is going back to our homes and having all Palestine to opposition, demanding

relative justice to establish Palestinian state on less than one-fourth of mandated Palestine. The West Bank and Gaza constitute 22 percent of mandated Palestine, and this man is responsible for moving the position, the Palestinian position, from this to that. Now, if he does that publicly through a historic process, how comes that anyone would question that he might make this kind of comments?

MR. RUSSERT: Because he has not stopped the suicide bombings. He has not stopped the terrorism. He has not arrested the people he has promised to arrest.

MR. AL-KIDWA: He was not able to do that simply because there was total absence of the needed political context for the Palestinian Authority to be able to resist this phenomenon. To take the necessary actions, there must be some political hope. There must be some political context. There is no military or security solution of the situation. We need to have clear-cut road map leading us to a final goal in a context of clear vision for peace in the region.

MR. RUSSERT: Do you believe you'll see a Palestinian state in your lifetime?

MR. AL-KIDWA: Absolutely. I have no doubt whatsoever that this will be the case.

MR. RUSSERT: And how long?

MR. AL-KIDWA: Hopefully very soon.

MR. RUSSERT: Three years, five years, 10 years?

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MR. AL-KIDWA: Well, if we are to believe what President Bush has said, it should be before three years.

MR. RUSSERT: Mr. Al-Kidwa, we thank you very much for sharing your views.

MR. AL-KIDWA: Thank you.

MR. RUSSERT: Coming next: Our MEET THE PRESS Minute with the postmaster general from 1969. Stamps were 6 cents back then. They are now going up to 37 cents for a first-class letter, starting today.

(Announcements)

**LOAD-DATE:** December 4, 2002

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CNN

**SHOW:** CNN PEOPLE IN THE NEWS 11:00

**June 29, 2002 Saturday**

Transcript # 062900CN.V78

**SECTION:** News; International

**LENGTH:** 6194 words

**HEADLINE:** Profiles of Yasser Arafat, Ariel Sharon

**BYLINE:** Fredricka Whitfield, Sharon Collins

**HIGHLIGHT:**

Profiles of the key players in the Middle East crisis, the Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat.

**BODY:**

THIS IS A RUSH TRANSCRIPT. THIS COPY MAY NOT BE IN ITS FINAL FORM AND MAY BE UPDATED.

FREDRICKA WHITFIELD, CNN ANCHOR: Coming up next on "PEOPLE IN THE NEWS," more

on the Middle East crisis, the key players, the Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat. Two very different leaders at a crossroads. We'll begin with Yasser Arafat. Here's Sharon Collins.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

SHARON COLLINS, CNN CORRESPONDENT (voice-over): This week, President Bush announced conditional support for the creation of a Palestinian state.

GEORGE W. BUSH, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: My vision is two states living side-by-side in peace and security.

COLLINS: His vision for a peaceful resolution to the Mid East conflict included an important proviso.

BUSH: Peace requires a new and different Palestinian leadership so that a Palestinian state can be born.

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COLLINS: His name was never uttered by the intention was clear -- remove Yasser Arafat from the Mid East peace process.

BUSH: I call on the Palestinian people to elect new leaders, leaders not compromised by terror.

COLLINS: Two weeks ago, back-to-back suicide bombings in Jerusalem elicited a strong response from Israeli forces and shattered confidence in Arafat's ability to control the situation.

DAVID SHIPLER, AUTHOR, "ARAB AND JEW": It's a Catch 22 situation for him. The more moderate he becomes with the Israelis, the less credibility he has with the Palestinians. The more militant he is, the more credibility with the Palestinians and the less conciliatory the Israelis will be.

Now, how you work your way out of that, I'm not sure. Arafat doesn't seem clever enough to do it. He's a good survivor. He's not so good as a leader who

can move a situation into a different era.

COLLINS: It's clear the United States doesn't think Yasser Arafat is the Palestinian leader who can bring peace, but it's not clear even with his popularity waning whether he will ever give up his struggle for statehood.

COLLINS: Yasser Arafat's life story is a reflection of the Palestinian movement. He was born in 1929, one of seven children. His birthplace, like other details of his life, is a source of some speculation. He claims to have been born in Jerusalem but his birth certificate says Cairo. His mother died when he was four and his father sent him to Jerusalem to live with his uncle for several years.

JOHN WALLACH, ARAFAT BIOGRAPHER: His childhood was painful for him. He was shunted back and forth from one relative to another. He never really had a mother and father that he knew very well. He likes to say today that that homelessness, that sense of not having a parent, not having a mother and father is parallel to the homelessness of the Palestinian people themselves.

COLLINS: In 1937, Arafat rejoined his father, three sisters and three brothers in Cairo. They lived in a mixed neighborhood, Arab and Jewish.

WALLACH: He had Jewish friends. He even played basketball on a Jewish team. So this is someone who has been familiar with the struggle, the Zionist struggle for independence from his early years or at least from his teenage years and I think that that had a deep influence on him.

LARRY KING, CNN HOST: Do you think we will see Jewish children and Palestinian children playing together, growing together, being friends?

YASSER ARAFAT, PRESIDENT OF PALESTINIAN NATIONAL AUTHORITY: It my boyhood, we were doing the same.

KING: Your cousins?

Y. ARAFAT: Yes, not to forget that we never said the other Jews. We used to condemn our cousins. This is the history. Abraham is our -- is mine.

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KING: You never hated the Jews?

Y. ARAFAT: Never, otherwise I will not be a real Muslim.

COLLINS: The creation of Israel in 1948 drew Arafat to the ranks of Palestinian nationalists who wanted to destroy the Jewish state. While studying engineering at Cairo University, he arranged the smuggling of weapons from Egypt into Palestine.

WALLACH: He promoted himself as the leader of the Palestinian Student Union, that he was going into the desert to seize weapons that had -- old weapons that the British had left behind from the days when Egypt had won its independence.

COLLINS: When Egypt went to war with Israel in 1956, 27-year-old Yasser Arafat fought for the Egyptians. After the war, another Arab defeat, Arafat began to focus on displacing the Jewish state to secure a homeland for

Palestinians. He co-founded Alpha Tau, which would later become the militant wing of the PLO and an instrument of guerrilla tactics and deadly terror.

WALLACH: Terrorist activities began against Israel in 1966 and 1967 when attacks took place in Israel itself, blowing up railroad stations and water facilities, dams.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

COLLINS: When PEOPLE IN THE NEWS returns, from militant warrior to national hero. Yasser Arafat engages a struggling people.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

COLLINS (voice-over): June 1967, a dramatic and sudden shift in the Arab-Israeli conflict and a turning point for Yasser Arafat. Israel facing attack from Arab neighbors intent on destroying the Jewish state launches a pre-emptive military strike.

In six days, Israel triples in size, having captured territory from Jordan, Syria and Egypt and raises the Star of David over east Jerusalem.

SHIPLER: Israel was the underdog before the '67 War and was celebrated triumphantly. It was seen as the David that had slain the Goliath.

WALLACH: This was such a devastating defeat for the Arabs that the Palestinians said to themselves, they're never going to be able to deliver independence for us.

COLLINS: Frustrated with the lack of strong leadership in the Arab world, the Palestinians turned to Yasser Arafat. He was elected chairman of the PLO with hopes of putting Palestine on the map and wound up on the cover of "TIME" magazine.

WALLACH: Arafat was now emerging as a figure who not only confronted Israel, but confronted established Arab regimes. This was the beginning of kind of  
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Arafatism nuisance to the Arab leaders, which to some extent, he still is today.

COLLINS: Arafat's obsession with a Palestinian state has been on display ever since, even in the way he dresses. The traditional headdress Arafat wears, the Kuffieh, has symbolic meaning.

HANAN ASHRAWI, PALESTINIAN LEGISLATOR: He always wears it to look like the map of historical Palestine. So he combines many things, a political message of culture, the message of personal matters and a sign of continuity and commitment.

The Palestinians feel the kuffieh is a sign of plight, of dignity, of national identity, of a homeland.

COLLINS: A homeland that has so far eluded them. After the Six Day War, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians fled the West Bank in Gaza into refugee camps in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. The fate of these refugees, their yearning for their own state and Israel's need to guarantee the security of its own

people, is at the heart of the conflict that has played out over the last 30 years, a struggle for land and peace with little common ground.

Y. ARAFAT (through translator): The establishment of a Palestinian state with holy Jerusalem as its capital is the only guarantee for security, peace and stability in the region and the world.

BENJAMIN NETANYAHU, FORMER ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER: Arafat is out to destroy the state of Israel. So what did Arafat send out the PLO to liberate? What was the Palestine? And the answer is Israel, any part of Israel and any border.

COLLINS: Under Arafat's leadership in the early '70s, the PLO and its various factions turned terrorism into a household word. One of these factions carried out a series of hijackings in Europe and the Middle East, including five in one week in September 1970, which ended with three emptied planes being blown up in the Jordanian Desert.

Arafat never personally claimed responsibility for these acts, but he never condemned them either.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: The taking of civilian lives, the hijacking of airplanes, these are deemed to be terrorist attacks.

Y. ARAFAT: You are -- you are -- you are mentioning the hijacking. You are neglecting the crux of the whole issue. We are under occupation and according to the United Nations Charter and the resolution and decisions, we have the right to resist against occupation by all means.

NETANYAHU: He's an arch terrorist, he's a master terrorist, he's the one who brought to the world, the -- you know, the terrorist start-up of producing airline hijackings, of taking people hostage, of kidnapping and murdering diplomats, including American diplomats in Khartoum. You name a terrorist technique; he's either thought about it or perfected it.

COLLINS: Despite the terror attacks, Arafat was invited to speak to the U.N. General Assembly in New York in 1974.

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Y. ARAFAT (through translator): Today, I have come bearing an olive branch and a freedom fighter's gun. Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand. Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand.

COLLINS: Israel boycotted, but for Arafat and the PLO, the implications were clear.

NASSER AL-KIDWA, PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVE TO U.N.: What was significant, of course, was the symbol of the world buddy, recognizing the Palestinian National Liberation Movement and its leader, thus, recognizing the legitimacy of the Palestinians' struggle.

COLLINS: Recognition by the U.N. did not change the ways of Arafat and the PLO. In 1982, the PLO now based in Lebanon launched a series of deadly attacks against Israeli forces.

Israel invaded Lebanon and troops led by then Defense Minister Ariel Sharon

pushed all the way to the gates of Beirut, literally driving Arafat and the PLO out to sea.

Y. ARAFAT: I was under siege one year ago. And I am in another siege this year. What is different? It is contradicting. It is a revolution.

SHARON: We came here only for one purpose and that is to destroy, to destroy and to take this world -- to destroy the terrorists' PLO Palestinian organizations.

COLLINS: Arafat was on the run again. He went to Tunis. Then several years later, as Palestinians in Israeli occupied territories staged a violent uprising, Arafat finally indicated that the PLO might be willing to compromise. At a special assembly of the U.N. in Geneva, Arafat not only recognized Israel's right to exist, he uttered the words many had been waiting years to hear.

Y. ARAFAT: I repeat for the record that we totally and absolutely renounce all forms of terrorists.

COLLINS: With a single speech, came hope that years of fighting just might come to an end. But the time for terror was over.

ASHRAWI: He moved to peacemaker because he made the historical decision. He did that and that had to be recognized and he did change the course of history.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

COLLINS: But more than 10 years later, Arafat's words are being used against him. That story when PEOPLE IN THE NEWS continues.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

COLLINS (voice-over): Having opened the door to peace with his historic  
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speech to the U.N., Yasser Arafat was still a man without a homeland.

Y. ARAFAT: You know it is not an easy life to live every night in different place and on different beds.

COLLINS: He had so many enemies; he practically lived on an airplane and rarely slept in the same place.

Y. ARAFAT: In this airplane, even my colleagues don't know where we are going to.

COLLINS: But Arafat would prove himself the consummate survivor. In 1992, his plane crashed in a sand storm in the Libyan Desert and he escaped with his life. He developed a blood clot on his brain afterwards but beat that too.

Shortly after his brush with death, Arafat went public with surprising personal news. A year earlier, he had secretly married a Christian-Palestinian woman who was half his age, a woman some had mistaken for his mistress.

SUHA ARAFAT, WIFE: It was terrible for me because when I'm married to a man and the entourage would say, "It's his mistress." It's too much this political entourage of the peers, all which is gossiping all the time.



ASHRAWI: I really think it's a very, very simple case of falling in love with a younger woman, who was working in his office, and they wanted to have a more permanent relationship.

COLLINS: Newly married and in declining health, Arafat seemed more reflective, more intent than ever on finding peace, according to people close to him. And in September 1993, the life-long warrior for Palestine sealed an important agreement by shaking hands with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. The Oslo Accords put in writing that the Jewish people were entitled to a state of their own and Arafat was vilified by many Palestinians for signing the deal.

Y. ARAFAT: Making the peace is more difficult than to make war. Any -- and so any -- any officer, any general can make a peace -- they can make war, but to make peace, it means the courageous man to implement peace.

COLLINS: Israeli hard-liners didn't like the Oslo deal either. Among other things, it allowed Arafat to move to Gaza and establish the Palestinian Authority there. Now, the Israeli's mortal enemy would be living in her midst.

MORTIMER ZUCKERMAN, CONF. OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICA JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS: They thought for a moment that he was going to become like Mandela in South Africa or Gandhi in India or indeed even David Ben-Gurion in Israel, but was it willing to make the necessary compromises to bring about a peaceful resolution? It turned out that this was a false hope.

COLLINS: Despite anger on both sides, Yasser Arafat, Yitzhak Rabin and Israeli foreign minister Shimon Peres were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts though the award itself was controversial.

NETANYAHU: Does anyone take seriously Arafat's Nobel Prize? I think it was one of the low points of the Nobel Prize.

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COLLINS: By this time, the pursuit of peace and the Palestinian state was all consuming for Arafat. He and his wife, Suha, had a baby girl in July of 1995, but their family life was somewhat unusual. Suha had her own apartment upstairs where Arafat seldom ventured. He claims that he didn't have time for his own daughter because he was father to all Palestinian children.

S. ARAFAT: It's a strange relation. She sees this man 10 minutes in the morning and he goes, surrounded by bodyguards. And she sees his pictures on the TV. She sees his pictures on -- in the pipes, in the lunar pipes, in the little gardens around. I say "papa," but she doesn't understand what is this man.

ASHRAWI: I told him once, "Don't you miss her?" And he said, "Yes, but I can't afford to think about it." So his life has been taken up with the struggle. It doesn't mean he's not a father and he's not -- he doesn't have these human or paternal feelings, but I think reality has deprived him of the chance to express them, to exercise them and to be with his family.

COLLINS: The personal and political spears so often separate converged for Arafat in September of 1995 when an Israeli right-wing extremist assassinated

Prime Minister Rabin. It does a blow to the peace process and a personal blow to Arafat.

S. ARAFAT: I got this phone call and he was -- he stayed all night without saying one word. No, but it was -- it was that his partner at peace was killed.

AL-KIDWA: I remember seeing him once in his office after the assassination of Rabin, a few days after and he was really in distress.

COLLINS: Whatever Arafat's personal distress, Rabin's killing put the peace process on life support where it remained until 1998 when the two sides held peace talks again.

At Camp David, in the fall of 2000, the Israelis offered the Palestinians much of the land Israel had occupied after the 1967 Six Day War. One sticking point was that the deal did not include total Palestinian control of Arab East Jerusalem. Arafat rejected it and the two sides haven't been back to the peace table since.

COLLINS: Long before the current crisis, pressures were mounting on Arafat from all sides, pressure to once and for all denounce terror and to put a stop to the attacks.

Y. ARAFAT: Did President Bush succeed to stop the attack of bin Laden? You have the biggest power all over the world. I am doing a 100 percent of my effort, but no one all over the world can give 100 percent of that.

ZUCKERMAN: He puts a lot of tigers into a cage. He organizes these tigers in different cages and then, he says to the people who control the gates to the cages, "Why don't you open those gates?" And then he says, "Oh, my goodness, the tigers are killing people. I'm really shocked."

COLLINS: A one-two punch of suicide bombings two weeks ago that left 26 Israelis dead is the last straw for President Bush. He held Yasser Arafat ultimately responsible.

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BUSH: Today, Palestinian authorities are encouraging not opposing terrorism. This is not acceptable. And the United States will not support the establishment of a Palestinian state until its leaders engage in a sustained fight against the terrorists and dismantle their infrastructure.

COLLINS: He called for the Palestinians to elect new leaders, demands that the de facto leader of the Palestinians leave office.

Y. ARAFAT (through translator): He spoke about a Palestinian state and elections, that we consider our state will be democratic with the coming elections. The last elections that took place on this land were under the auspices of the international community.

COLLINS: The Palestinian Authority has promised new elections in January. And in a move that seems to gloss over Bush's vote of "no confidence," Yasser Arafat has vowed to be a candidate.

In the meantime, Israel troops have moved into Palestinian controlled

territories and strict curfews have been imposed. Tensions are still high. Arafat's goal, a sovereign Palestinian state, may become a reality. It is his role in that reality, however, that remains uncertain.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

COLLINS: Up next, on PEOPLE IN THE NEWS, while the Palestinians are battling to forge a nation, he's fighting to protect one.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

SHARON: Peace might be discussed only when the full cessation of terror...

(END VIDEO CLIP)

COLLINS: An in-depth look at Israel's Prime Minister Ariel Sharon.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

WHITFIELD: Now back to "PEOPLE IN THE NEWS" and our look at the key players in the Middle East crisis.

For nearly six decades, Ariel Sharon has been a presence and a force in Israel, first as a soldier, then a politician and now, prime minister. Here again is Sharon Collins.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

SHARON: Peace might be discussed only when the full cessation of terror activities is in sight.

COLLINS: It's a stance Israeli Prime Minister Sharon has held for many years.

And this week, President Bush President Bush echoed his sentiments.

BUSH: And United States will not support the establishment of a Palestinian

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state until its leaders engage in a sustained fight against the terrorists who dismantle their infrastructure.

COLLINS: One week earlier, Sharon had appeared at the site of a suicide bombing that killed 19 Israelis. It was a strong gesture from the Israeli head of state.

There he promised Israel would take control of Palestinian territories until the terror stopped. As the tanks rolled in, it was clear that the situation in the Middle East had reached another boiling point and that, again, Ariel Sharon was at the center of a vicious cycle of violence in retribution.

ASHRAWI: To the Palestinians, Sharon is a black fisted murderer, ruthless, cruel, no regard for human life.

ZUCKERMAN: I think they feel strongly about Sharon, because they know what a formidable enemy that he has been. He has fought them for 50 years, and he has fought them effectively and beaten them at that game.

COLLINS: A soldier with roots in the Holy Land; Ariel Sharon was born in 1928 on a farm outside Tel Aviv, where he grew up with his parents and an older sister. The family had come to Israel from Russia seven years earlier to farm the Promised Land. They were part of a huge wave of Zionist immigrants, who worked to turn desert and swamp into fertile ground.

SHIPLER: Sharon loves the land as a farmer does, and has always regarded the land as integral to Jewish identity in that place, that Biblical place. I think it's a very secular, but still rather mystical view of land, and its importance.

COLLINS: Despite his love for the land, Sharon admits in his autobiography that he never felt the warmth of a family until he joined the army as a teenager.

DAVID CHANOFF, CO-AUTHOR "WARRIOR, THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ARIEL SHARON: The

military really became his family, and I think all of that kind of warmth, all of those kinds of relationships that you have with the people who suffered through things with you, affected him profoundly.

COLLINS: In Israel's 1948 war for independence, Sharon was shot in the abdomen, but that didn't deter him from a lifetime of military service.

DORE GOLD, SHARON ADVISER: I think Ariel Sharon feels a historical responsibility to save the Jewish State. He's a man, who for his entire life, has been called to duty in critical moments.

COLLINS: After the war, he took time out from the military. In 1953, he married Margalit, a young Romanian woman he had met years earlier on a neighboring farm.

CHANOFF: I think he looked back on that as being a moment that was just extraordinary for its peacefulness, for its joy. He felt as if he has spent his childhood at hard labor and then his youth at war, and that he had missed so much.

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COLLINS: But his hiatus from war was cut short. In response to a wave of terror attacks, the army asked him to come back for a special mission.

SHIPLER: When Arab terrorists infiltrated into Israel from Jordan, Sharon who headed an army unit, called Unit 101, went into a Jordanian border town called Qibya and blew up 45 houses in retaliation. Sixty-nine Arab villagers died. Sharon said that he didn't know the houses were occupied.

ASHRAWI: He personally was in charge. When he heard the women and children yelling and screaming in the homes as they demolished them, blew up, and he's carried that legacy throughout. It's a pattern consistently.

COLLINS: The U.N. Security Council condemned the Israel action. Sharon called the civilian deaths a tragedy, but he says Qibya was meant to teach a lesson. For every act of Arab terrorism, there would be a heavy price to pay, a lesson he would return to again and again in the years ahead, as he moved from the battlefield into the political arena.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

COLLINS: That story, when PEOPLE IN THE NEWS continues.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

COLLINS (voice-over): In June 1967, Ariel Sharon, now general, was back at war. This time Israel faced a massive attack from Arab neighbors bent on destroying the Jewish State. Israeli forces launched a preemptive strike to devastating effect. In six days, Israeli-controlled territory tripled in size.

For Sharon, the victory would soon be tempered by crushing personal news. In October, during the Jewish New Year, Sharon's 11-year-old son Gur died of a gunshot wound. He had been playing with one of his father's antique guns.

CHANOFF: Sharon heard a gunshot. Gur was lying there with a terrible facial wound, and he stood there yelling for someone to bring a car. It went to the clinic. The doctor at the clinic said you must get him to the hospital immediately. They got back into the car, and the boy died in Sharon's lap.

COLLINS: It was Sharon's second personal tragedy in five years. His wife, Margalit, had died in a car accident in 1962.

In 1973, Sharon decided to retire from the military and purchased a ranch that would become his sanctuary in the years ahead. By now, he was remarried to Margalit's sister, Lily.

But later that year, he was again called to fight when Egypt and Syria launched a surprise attack on Israel's holiest day. Sharon led the reversal of Israeli fortunes in the Yom Kippur War with the capture of the Egyptian third army, leading 200 tanks and 5,000 men across the Suez Canal, a feat many consider his greatest military triumph.

GOLD: And it was Sharon's bold generalship that led to the crossing of the  
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Suez Canal, the encirclement of the Egyptian Army, and basically bringing about Israel's victory in that war.

COLLINS: Hailed by many as a war hero, and by now disillusioned with the liberal Labor Party that controlled the Israeli government, Sharon decided to pursue politics. He was convinced that his experience in battle would help forge peace and security for Israel.

SHARON: And I saw all the -- the whole Holy War. I lost my best friend. I was very badly injured in -- twice in battles. Therefore, I believe that I understand the importance of peace.

ZUCKERMAN: One of the things about generals that you learn is that essentially they're pragmatists. I mean their military theories and strategies better work. If they don't work, they lose the battles. Well, he's won a lot of battles because, in fact, he has had brilliant strategic and tactical instincts, and I think a lot of those are now being applied from a political point of view.

COLLINS: Sharon helped form a right wing coalition of opposition parties called the Likud for unity, and he was elected to the Israeli Parliament or Knesset in 1973.

Later in the Israel Cabinet, Sharon's focus was on security. As Minister of

Agriculture, he was the prime mover behind the settlement of Israelis in the occupied territories.

SHIPLER: The first time I ever met him was on a settlement in 1979 in the West Bank, where he came roaring up the hill in a Jeep, pulled out his maps, he loves maps, and started talking about security. And he said, "if you raise a child so that he knows every valley and every hill and every spring and every stone, he will consider the land his, and he'll fight to defend it." That's Sharon's view.

COLLINS: To build the Jewish settlements, Sharon deployed bulldozers, and when Israelis came under attack, bulldozers and explosives were used to flatten the homes of Palestinian terror suspects, and homes built outside designated areas. Some nicknamed Sharon "the bulldozer."

ASHRAWI: "The bulldozer" is very appropriate. And sometimes we call him "the Raging Bull" but I don't want to insult Native Americans. I think of him as being obsessive and driven and in many ways quite evil.

GOLD: The "bulldozer" term really refers to a minister who gets things done and doesn't throw up his hands and say, "The bureaucracy has made it impossible." Some may try and use it (UNINTELLIGIBLE), but that's what it really meant. It means someone who gets things done.

COLLINS: To Palestinians, the settlements amount to an illegal land grab and a permanent occupation of their territory.

UNIDENTIFIED CROWD: We want peace! We want peace!

COLLINS: For some Israelis, they are an impediment to peace.

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Even more controversial than the settlements, Sharon's military campaign in Lebanon. In 1982, Yasser Arafat and the PLO were using war-torn Lebanon as a base for deadly attacks on Israel. Sharon, now Minister of Defense, led Israeli forces through South Lebanon, all the way to Beirut.

SHARON: We came here only for one purpose, and that is to destroy, to destroy and take this world, to destroy the terrorist PLO, Palestinian organizations.

COLLINS: Sharon later told CNN he ordered Arafat's assassination 13 times during the Lebanon campaign, though more recently he sidestepped the question.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Are you sorry you didn't kill him then?

SHARON: Look, I don't think that we have to deal with everything in the past. I think we have to look forward, how we can reach an agreement, cease-fire, peace.

COLLINS: Israeli forces were able to drive Arafat and the PLO out of Lebanon, but Sharon's triumph was short lived.

SHIPLER: After Arafat and the PLO left West Beirut under a kind of safe passage guarantee from the Israelis, the Israelis permitted Lebanese Christian Phalangist militia to go into two Palestinian refugee camps, Sabra and Chatila, where they massacred 700 to 800 people.



Sharon was forced to resign as defense minister after that. He was investigated by an Israel commission, which found that he should have known, as defense minister, that this massacre would take place, if he allowed the Phalangists to go in there. And they found indirect responsibility, as they put it, by Israel for the massacre, not direct, but indirect.

COLLINS: After the massacres, Sharon was by his own account isolated within the government, consigned to a series of lower level posts, and he was vilified by Arabs and Jews alike. Sharon retreated to his ranch to refocus on family and his roots.

ROBERT MORGENTHAU, FRIEND OF ARIEL SHARON: He really loves the land and he loves growing things, whether it's watermelons or citrus or sheep. The strain of sheep that he has go back to the Biblical days. The thing he wants most, I think, is to go back to his farm and live there in peace, you know, beat the swords into plowshares.

COLLINS: But peace down on the farm would not last. The occupation continued. The settlements grew. Israel faced more terror, and the lifetime warrior was embroiled in another fight.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

COLLINS: That story, when PEOPLE IN THE NEWS continues.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

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COLLINS (voice-over): September 1993 brought hope of peace between Israel and the Palestinians. With President Bill Clinton looking on, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Yasser Arafat shook hands, sealing a landmark agreement.

In the Oslo Accords, as they were called, the Palestinians recognized the right of Israel to exist, and the Israelis acknowledged Palestinians could have a state of their own. They also allowed Arafat and the Palestinian Authority to move to Gaza and Jericho on the West Bank. Ariel Sharon and Israeli hard-liners hated the Oslo deal.

Sharon, who was again serving in the Israeli Parliament, referred to it as "a moral error of the first order."

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: The Jewish people are against the agreement with the murderer Arafat, and we will not leave. We will stay here in all Israel.

COLLINS: Two years after Arafat and Rabin shook hands, the peace process was dealt a shocking setback. An Israeli right-wing extremist assassinated Prime Minister Rabin. Rabin's killing brought a surge of support for the doves in Israel, who wanted to build on the Oslo Accords, but Palestinian terror attacks several months later gave a boost to Sharon and the Likud hard-liners as national elections approached.

SHARON: We live in a -- the old belief. There are many, many problems in the



Middle East that have not changed. My grandfather faces terror. My parents, myself, my children, and all families here that have been facing this Palestinian terror now for five, six generations.

COLLINS: Benjamin Netanyahu was elected prime minister and the old warrior, Ariel Sharon, returns to the fold as a member of the cabinet. Two years later, in the fall of 1998, Sharon was at Netanyahu's side when Israel and the Palestinians resumed peace talks at the Wye River in Maryland. With little fanfare, a limited agreement was signed, but Sharon refused to shake Yasser Arafat's hand.

GOLD: He certainly shared responsibility for the signing of the Wye Agreement, along with the rest of the Netanyahu government at the time. But I think at the same time, he had a reading over who Yasser Arafat. He read the intelligence reports about how Arafat had failed to fight terrorism, and perhaps was affecting the green light to terrorism, and therefore I think he felt the handshake was symbolic, that the handshake would have been inappropriate, given what we knew about Yasser Arafat already in 1998.

COLLINS: Sharon's doubts about his lifelong adversary, Arafat, only grew the next time peace talks were held. When Israel made what it considered its most generous offer to date at Camp David in 2000, Arafat didn't counter and President Clinton blamed him for the breakdown in talks.

SHIPLER: There may have been reasons that would make you understand why he did, but the fact that he did has convinced most Israelis that he doesn't want peace. So most Israelis would be willing to get out of the territories and would be willing to have the settlements dismantled, but they're afraid to because they think that without their army in there, their security would be at  
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risk. And I think Sharon is absolutely convinced of that.

COLLINS: After Camp David, Sharon and other hard liners feared that Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak might still be prepared to surrender control of East Jerusalem to the Palestinians, and in September, Sharon visited one of the holiest sights there, one claimed by both sides.

SHIPLER: When Sharon went to the Temple Mount, he exercised his right as an Israeli citizen to go there. So he didn't do anything illegal, but he certainly did something nonsensical, and he, by surrounding himself with lots of security people, he basically committed what many Muslims regarded as a sacrilege.

COLLINS: A sacrilege to Palestinians, compounded because Sharon was already so hated by so many.

**AL-KIDWA:** This was the powder keg, which then exploded and caused explosion of the whole occupied Palestinian territory.

COLLINS: Crowds of Palestinians attacked Israeli security forces. The uprising or intifada returned with a vengeance.

ASHRAWI: He knew that the situation was explosive. It was volatile, and he

wanted to ignite the spark that would blow up the whole place and he did it. He wanted to create a situation of insecurity, instability, and fear in order to exploit that to get into office.

GOLD: The visit of Israeli members of Knesset on the Temple Mount is something that had been done in the past, and something that was completely normal and acceptable for an Israeli leader. The intifada had already broken out before Ariel Sharon visited the Temple Mount.

COLLINS: Intentional or not, Sharon's visit paid political dividends and he decided to run for Prime Minister. He campaigned on a message of peace through security. His key opponent, the prime minister, portrayed him in campaign ads as a ruthless warmonger. And yet, he was elected in February 2001 in the largest landslide in Israeli history.

Sharon's moment of triumph was tempered by personal loss. His wife Lily had died 11 months earlier. The day of election, Sharon visited her grave.

MORGENTHAU: I think he was lost for quite a while. I mean you could just see that a very important aspect of his life was missing. I mean he was -- they were very close.

COLLINS: In office, Sharon's son, Omri, has served as a trusted adviser, acting among other things as a go-between with Arafat.

GOLD: He's been a very important conduit for sending messages directly to Yasser Arafat in a back channel where a highly trusted person could be used for passing the most sensitive messages.

COLLINS: A year-and-a-half after his election, Sharon is in uncharted territory. The role of his rival has been called into question.

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As Colin Powell prepares for another round of diplomacy, Israel's battle-hardened prime minister must prepare to navigate the tricky waters of Palestinian politics.

GOLD: In the military, generals give orders and they're immediately implemented. In political life, you have to persuade people of your position. He understands you have to build consensus around ideas that you want to get implemented.

SHIPLER: He fancies himself as a strategist, but I think he has some blind spots. One of those blind spots is his lack of understanding of Palestinian politics, of what life is like for Palestinians under Israeli occupation. I don't think he's ever grasped how difficult and how enraging daily experience can be for the Palestinians.

ASHRAWI: I think Sharon, as always, will keep going. As they say, he never stops if there's light, so he will keep going until somebody stops him.

COLLINS: Sharon's supporters hope he won't stop until Israelis feel safe on their own soil.

GOLD: Security means your children can go to school and you don't have to

worry about whether there's a security guard in the nursery or the Kindergarten. It means your teenagers can go to a discotheque at night on Saturday night and you don't have to fear they may not come back. Security means what it says, the people of Israel staying alive.

COLLINS: For now, it seems Ariel Sharon is still applying the lesson he first learned 50 years ago -- for every act of terror, there is a price to pay.

(END VIDEOTAPE) TO ORDER A VIDEO OF THIS TRANSCRIPT, PLEASE CALL 800-CNN-NEWS

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**LOAD-DATE:** July 11, 2003

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**SHOW:** Diplomatic License

**May** 4, 2002, Saturday AM

**NETWORK:** CNN Cable Programming

**MEDIUM:** Cable

**LENGTH:** 183 words

**BODY:**

START: 00.33

MidEast Crisis Twenty person UN committee disbanded Friday, unable to get to Jenin.

Interview - Kofi Annan says we've now gained access to Jenin.

Interview - Terje Roed-Larsen, UN envoy, says we are shocked and horrified just seeing this area.

Interview - John Negroponte, US Amb to UN, says we certainly don't oppose getting to the bottom of the situation.

Interview - Nasser Al-Kidwa, Palestinian rep to UN, says we believe a serious war crime was committed.

Interview - Aaron Jacob, Dep Israeli Amb to UN, says Israel is willing to fully cooperate.

Interview - Martti Ahtisaari, UN Jenin Team Leader, says he has been asked to look into the situation.

Interview - Fred Eckhard, UN spokesman, says the Israelis telephones calls indicate that they will cooperate fully with the team.

Interview - Yehuda Lancry, Israeli Amb to UN, says he asks for a delay for the team to go. On May 1 an announcement was made that with out the cooperation of Israel a full investigation is impossible. Israel denies there was any massacre in Jenin.

END: 04.54

**SEGMENT-ID:** 2

**PROGRAM-ID:** cnn04300504

**LOAD-DATE:** June 6, 2002

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**SHOW:** Newschannel 12 This Morning

**May** 2, 2002, Thursday 5:00

AM

**NETWORK:** WJRT-TV

**MEDIUM:** Television

**TYPE:** Television

**LENGTH:** 208 words

**BODY:**

START: 46.01

Teased Segment - Middle East. Israel formally lifted siege of Yasser Arafat's compound. Ends standoff. More fighting at Church of Nativity between Palestinians, Israelis. Rodney Palmer, ABC Correspondent, reports. US, British security convoy pulled out of Arafat's compound.

Visual - Convoy. Convoy took six prisoners to prison in Jerico. Convoy of tanks, removal of barricades near compound.

Visual - Celebrating Palestinians.

Visual - Yasser Arafat talks about fighting at Church of the Nativity.

Visual - Gunfire. Israeli Army fired flares, fire at the compound. Arafat outraged at the incident. Israeli Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon, told Nightline's Ted Koppel he wants Palestinian prisoners tried in Israeli courts.

Visual - Ariel Sharon, Israeli Prime Minister on Nightline, says he's not giving guarantees. Sharon refuses to cooperate with UN Fact Finding team over Jenin Refugee Camp.

Visual - Jenin Refugee camp.

Visual - Security Council, Counselate Securite. Palestinian spokesman says Israeli position is a ploy.

Interview - Nasser Al-Kidwa, Palestinian Observer, says Secretary General letter says Israel refused cooperation. Arafat toured West Bank hospital today.

END: 48.33

**SEGMENT-ID:** 45

**PROGRAM-ID:** wjrt05000502

**LOAD-DATE:** June 6, 2002

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**SHOW:** News 2 At

**May** 1, 2002, Wednesday PM

**NETWORK:** WKRN-TV

**MEDIUM:** Television

**TYPE:** Television

**LENGTH:** 62 words

**BODY:**

START: 11.01

Middle East Peace. Israeli's pull out of Israel. Palestinians cheer after they pull out of the area.

Visual - Gunfire of flares.

Press Conference - Yasser Arafat expresses anger.

Interview - Sharone comments to Tom Brokaw about the terror.

Interview - Nasser Al **Kidwa**, comments on refusing to cooperate. Rodney Palmer Reporting.

END: 13.18

**SEGMENT-ID:** 10

**PROGRAM-ID:** wkrm22000501

**LOAD-DATE:** June 6, 2002

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**SHOW:** CNN Live Today

**April** 25, 2002, Thursday PM ET

**NETWORK:** CNN Cable Programming

**MEDIUM:** Cable

**LENGTH:** 108 words

**BODY:**

START: 16.38

Fact Finding. The U.N. yesterday delayed a fact finding teams departure to Israel to investigate the Jenin refugee camp.

Press Conference - Fred Eckhard, U.N. Spokesman, say that they are confident that the team is going to go to Israel.

Interview - Malcolm Hoenlein, Jewish Organization, says that this is all up to the United Nations.

Visual - Scenes from Jenin.

Press Conference - Colin Powell, Secretary of State, says that there isn't any evidence of a massacre.

Interview - Nasser Al-**Kidwa**, Palestinian Observer, says that this is going to be the case of going to investigate. Richard Roth reporting.

END: 19.23

**SEGMENT-ID:** 9

**PROGRAM-ID:** cnn13000425

**LOAD-DATE:** May 30, 2002

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**SHOW:** CNN Daybreak

**April 24, 2002, Wednesday AM ET**

**NETWORK:** CNN Cable Programming

**MEDIUM:** Cable

**LENGTH:** 156 words

**BODY:**

START: 31.21

Teased Segment - Mideast Crisis. The UN Team was set to leave to visit Jenin.

Interview - Marti Ahtisaari, UN Jenin Panel Chairman, says they will continue later. Israel told the UN the panel was not welcomed.

Interview - Yehuda Lancry, Israeli Ambassador to UN, says the panel will be more balanced.

Visual - UN Sec. Gen. Kofi Annan.

Interview - Sergey Lavrov, UN Security Council President, says they expect fast implementation of the Israel resolution.

Visual - Ariel Sharon, Israel Prime Minister.

Interview - Nasser Al **Kidwa**, Palestinian Observer to UN, says its blackmail.

Visual - Jenin damage. Richard Roth reporting. Palestinian and Israeli negotiators will meet in Bethlehem to try and end the standoff at the Church of the Nativity.

Graphic - Map.

Visual - Church of Nativity.

Interview - Priest says they need to have the standoff ended. Jerrold Kessel reporting.

END: 36.52

**SEGMENT-ID:** 20

**PROGRAM-ID:** cnn05000424

**LOAD-DATE:** May 30, 2002

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**SHOW:** Eyewitness News Morning

**April 24, 2002, Wednesday AM**

**NETWORK:** WWL-TV

**MEDIUM:** Television

**TYPE:** Television

**LENGTH:** 105 words

**BODY:**

START: 08.42

Reader - Meeting. U.N.'s fact finding people are scheduled to arrive in the middle east by Saturday to investigate the assault of Palestinians in the Jenin refugee camp.

Interview - Martti Ahtisaari, panel chairman, talks about the investigation of the camp.

Interview - Yehuda Lancry, Israeli Ambassador, says that the panel is not welcome to investigate.

Interview - Sergey Lavrov, security council team, talks about the finding team and the investigation.

Interview - Nasser Al-Kidwa, Palestinian observer, discusses his views on the fact finding team. Richard Roth reporting.

END: 10.50.

**SEGMENT-ID:** 8

**PROGRAM-ID:** ww105000424

**LOAD-DATE:** May 30, 2002

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**SHOW:** 11 News Today

**April** 24, 2002, Wednesday AM

**NETWORK:** WBAL-TV

**MEDIUM:** Television

**TYPE:** Television

**LENGTH:** 165 words

**BODY:**

START: 03.07

Mideast Crisis. The UN Security Council held an emergency meeting to discuss the standoffs in the West Bank, and the delay of the fact finding mission to Jenin.

Visual - unidentified man walking in building, Security Council sign. Israel snubbed world efforts to get to the bottom of Palestinian allegations of an Israeli massacre at the Jenin refugee camp. They are withholding its agreement to cooperate with the UN fact finding mission. Israeli leaders are unhappy with the composition of the UN team being sent to the region.

Interview - Nasser Al-Kidwa, UN Palestinian Representative, says they thought the Israeli side didn't have anything to hide. He says obviously they do. Mr. Al-Kidwa says this is another flagrant violation of relevance according to council resolutions. Also, a violation of international law. Palestinians continue to plead with the international community to investigate allegations of a massacre in Jenin.

END: 04.07

**SEGMENT-ID:** 3



**PROGRAM-ID:** wbal05000424

**LOAD-DATE:** May 30, 2002

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Video Monitoring Services of America

**SHOW:** 11 News At Four

**April** 24, 2002, Wednesday 4:00

PM

**NETWORK:** KTVT-TV

**MEDIUM:** Television

**TYPE:** Television

**LENGTH:** 110 words

**BODY:**

START: 27.46

Teased Segment - Middle East. Kimberly Dozier reporting from Jerusalem. Two Palestinians gave themselves up after being holed up in the Church of the Nativity. Talks about Janin Refugee Camp. A UN Fact Finding mission is on the way.

Interview - Dore Gold, Israeli Prime Minister Advisor.

Interview - Nasser Al **Kidwa**, Palestinian Representative. Israeli newspapers carried a story about a Texas car parts dealer who got an order from an Israeli company and answered that they did not do business with Israeli citizens. Most Americans are behind Israel's fight. Israel's military success failed to provide peace.

END: 29.52

**SEGMENT-ID:** 21

**PROGRAM-ID:** ktvt16000424

**LOAD-DATE:** May 30, 2002

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**SHOW:** Eyewitness News Morning

**April** 23, 2002, Tuesday AM

**NETWORK:** WWL-TV

**MEDIUM:** Television

**TYPE:** Television

**LENGTH:** 100 words

**BODY:**

START: 39.03

Teased Segment - U.N. A U.N. panel is beginning to investigate of the Israeli incursion in Jenin, Palestinians are saying it was a massacre.

Interview - Kofi Anan, attorney general, talks about their investigation.

Interview - Martti Ahtisarri, U.N. panel, says don't expect him to speak to the press before he does his boss.

Interview - Sergey Lavrov, Russian Ambassador, says they are looking into this thoroughly.

Interview - Nassar Al-Kidwa, Palestinian rep., talks about the experts who are helping investigate this. Richard Roth reporting.

END: 41.15.

**SEGMENT-ID:** 28

**PROGRAM-ID:** ww105000423

**LOAD-DATE:** May 23, 2002

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Video Monitoring Services of America

**SHOW:** CNN Live Today

**April 22, 2002, Monday PM ET**

**NETWORK:** CNN Cable Programming

**MEDIUM:** Cable

**LENGTH:** 100 words

**BODY:**

START: 25.16

United Nations. Last hour Secretary General Kofi Annan announced who he is sending to Middle East to investigate Palestinian claims of a massacre during the Israeli incursion into the Jenin refugee camp. A leader of the Intl. Red Cross is among those going to Jenin.

Visual - Refugees.

Press Conference - Kofi Annan, UN Secretary General, says the team isn't prosecutors or criminal investigators and they won't deal with a legal issue.

Interview - Nasser Al-Kidwa, Palestinian UN Observer, says the Pres. Arafat welcomes the UN team. Richard Roth reporting.

END: 26.57

**SEGMENT-ID:** 12

**PROGRAM-ID:** cnn14000422

**LOAD-DATE:** May 24, 2002

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31 of 31 DOCUMENTS

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**SHOW:** Action News Midday

**April 21, 2002, Sunday PM**

**NETWORK:** WXYZ-TV

**MEDIUM:** Television

**TYPE:** Television

**LENGTH:** 109 words

**BODY:**

START: 04:11

Mid East Sec. of State Colin Powell has announced the US will send humanitarian aid to the W. Bank to help out Palestinians there. The Israeli gov. will cooperate with the US. Richard Engle reports.

Visual - scenes in Jenin. Bodies may be still trapped.

Visual - UN agrees to send a fact finding team there.

Interview - William Burns, Asst Sec of State for Near East, on trying to find out what happened.

Interview - Nasser Al **Kidwa**, UN Observer, on how a war crime was committed.

Interview - Aaron Jacob. Israeli Rep. says Palestinian Liberty provided terrorism.

Visual - violence in the Gaza Strip.

END: 06:30

**SEGMENT-ID:** 6

**PROGRAM-ID:** wxyz12000421

**LOAD-DATE:** May 23, 2002

AL KIDWA Articles

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CNN INTERNATIONAL

**SHOW:** Q&A WITH JIM CLANCY 11:30 AM Eastern Standard Time

**September** 19, 2003 Friday

Transcript # 091901cb.k18

**SECTION:** NEWS; INTERNATIONAL

**LENGTH:** 2276 words

**HEADLINE:** Q&A 11:30

**GUESTS:** **Nasser al-Kidwa**, Dan Gillerman

**BYLINE:** Zain Verjee

**HIGHLIGHT:**

Is compromise possible in the Middle East?

**BODY:**

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

ZAIN VERJEE, CNN INTERNATIONAL ANCHOR (voice-over): At the United Nations, attention once more on Israel's threat to remove Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat. The U.N. (UNINTELLIGIBLE) debate and vote on a resolution calling on Israel to back down from its threat, a threat that appears to have received a boost from U.S. President George W. Bush.

GEORGE W. BUSH, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: Mr. Arafat has failed as a leader.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Mr. Arafat is a democratically elected and as such a legitimate leader of the Palestinians.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: (UNINTELLIGIBLE) positive response by the people of the region toward these policies.

SHIMON PERES, FORMER ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER: I believe it will push many Palestinians to take a more extreme position, totally unnecessary.

VERJEE: On this addition of Q&A, is any compromise possible?

(END VIDEOTAPE)

VERJEE: Welcome to Q&A. Will the United States veto of a U.N. Security Council resolution demanding that Israel rescind its threat to remove Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, the debate now goes to the United Nations General Assembly. Is any compromise possible? From the United Nations, I spoke with Israeli ambassador to the U.N., Dan Gillerman, and the Palestinian representative to the U.N., Nasser al-Kidwa.

Mr. Gillerman, to you first. Is there any proposal, any measure, any action the Palestinian Authority can take that will lead Israel to rescind its decision to remove Yasser Arafat?

DAN GILLERMAN, ISRAELI AMBASSADOR TO THE U.N.: Well, the first decision the Palestinian leadership should take, and should have taken a long time ago is to dismantle the infrastructure of terrorism, and eradicate terrorism. We're facing the worst, most brutal and evil terror this century has seen. It is lead by Mr. Arafat, engineered by Mr. Arafat. In fact, invented by Mr. Arafat.

He is the one who brought the world suicide bombings and airplane hijackings. And we've seen the devastating results all over the world today. So the first condition is to act against terror. And it is very clear.

VERJEE: Specifically how?

GILLERMAN: Specifically by arresting the leaders of the Hamas, the Islamic Jihad, the Al-Aqsa Brigades and the Tanzim. The Palestinian leadership knows very well who these people are, where their weapons are stashed. They can arrest them within 48 hours. Let me make it very clear. This is not a matter of capability. This is a matter of willingness. And unfortunately, as long as Mr. Arafat is there, there is no willingness, and he has prevented any Palestinian leader, even those who wanted to do it, from taking even the first step in that direction.

VERJEE: You are saying, Mr. Ambassador, that if they were all arrested, you would rescind?

GILLERMAN: If the Palestinian leadership acted against terrorism, Israel has stated repeatedly it would be willing to proceed along road of peace and negotiation, reach a settlement with the Palestinians, and provide for them the very bright future they deserve, rather than the very bleak past Mr. Arafat has brought them.

VERJEE: Nasser al-Kidwa, with that for starters, would the Palestinian Authority explicitly condemn Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, those organizations responsible for terror? Would it dismantle the so-called terrorists organizations if Israel rescinds its decision to remove Arafat?

NASSER AL-KIDWA, PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVE TO THE U.N.: Let me first say that the statements made by the Israeli ambassador is very unfortunate, especially coming from the representative of a government headed by Mr. Sharon, a hero (ph) of repeated massacres against the Palestinian people and head of a government that has been committing horrific war crimes, inhuman (ph) war crimes against our people, killing thousands of people and injuring tens of thousands, destroying the lives of the Palestinian people collectively.

In any way fighting terrorism is essential, of course, but you have always to remember that the essence of the whole thing is the existence of the Israeli occupation, the colonization of our land and the rejection by Israel of the existence of the Palestinian state, and its rejection of the two-state solution.

For this peace to be achieved, we need to have a different Israeli position, one that says, yes, we want to end this occupation, that says yes, we want to end the colonization of the Palestinian land. Only this could bring hope, and will then open the door for any practical steps on the ground.

VERJEE: The issue at stake, you want Israel to rescind the decision to remove Yasser Arafat. That's what's before the General Assembly today. As a first step, will you arrest known Palestinian militants, known Palestinian terrorists? Will you condemn the groups you know are responsible for it?

AL-KIDWA: As the first step, we are ready absolutely to take the first step as agreed upon in the road map, along with the implementation by Israel of the first step also agreed in the road map. That means a declaration on the Palestinian side to end all violence and terror, and on the Israeli side as well, to end all attacks against Palestinians everywhere.

Unfortunately, the public doesn't know these facts. Doesn't know that there is already an agreement that was violated by the Israeli side. The implementation of the agreed upon first step

by the two sides is the way forward, and that also will then lead to a different situation on the ground.

VERJEE: Specifically though, Ambassador Gillerman, can there be any compromise on this issue that faces the General Assembly today? Can there be any compromise between the Israelis and the Palestinians on the security cabinet's decision to remove Arafat?

GILLERMAN: There can and I believe there will be compromise and peace between Israelis and Palestinians. But there will not be peace until the Palestinians learn to love their children more than they hate us. Let me quote to you Mr. Arafat, Mr. Al-Kidwa's patron only yesterday, when he spoke to the western media, and said that there wasn't one single person in Palestine who doesn't want and wouldn't want to die as a martyr.

I believe no baby is born wanting to be a suicide bomber. But with a kind of incitement and hatred and corrupt leadership, which Mr. Arafat has brought his own people, there can be no compromise. If there is a new leadership.

VERJEE: But the Palestinians would argue, what about the violence under the Israeli occupation?

GILLERMAN: First of all, for those listeners and those viewers were born less than 30 years ago, let me make history very, very clear. For the first 20 years of Israel's existence, between 1948 and 1967, there wasn't one single inch of Arab land occupied by Israelis. Occupation is an excuse, because for those first 20 years, we were still the subject of horrible suicide attacks and bombings by the Palestinians who never, ever recognized our right to exist.

So occupation is a great mantra, but it is an excuse. The real problem is terror. The real problem is incitement. The real problem is raising babies to don explosive belts and explode themselves in cafes and in restaurants and in bars. This is the real problem.

VERJEE: And you had said earlier, excuse me, Ambassador Gillerman, but the first step the Palestinian Authority should do is to arrest people that they know are responsible for suicide bombings, for organizing them, for terror attacks. Let me ask Nasser al-Kidwa, then, could you arrest Palestinian militants that you know are out there within 48 hours, as Ambassador Gillerman suggested that that ought to be the first step?

AL-KIDWA: First, let me underline the outrageous statement just made by the ambassador accusing the Palestinian people of not loving their children. This is the kind of mentality that we are faced with. Furthermore, the ambassador did not tell us what the Israeli occupation did between the inception of the occupation, and until the first suicide bombings occurred 27 years later.

He didn't tell us that Israel actually during this period transferred more than 350,000 settlers to colonize our land. He didn't say that there has been always organized and systematic oppression against the Palestinian people. He didn't say that during this period, thousands of Palestinians were killed, and again the lives of the Palestinian people were destroyed. He didn't say all these things.

This is the crux of the issue. Do they want to split the land? Do they want the existence of

the Palestinian state living in peace with Israel or not? Or do they want the whole thing? Do they want greater Israel? This is the issue. Because our national existence is at stake. When they take the right positions, then this will be the necessary atmosphere for the Palestinian Authority to take action, including against anyone who would commit illegal actions.

(CROSSTALK)

VERJEE: I'm asking you one more time, will the Palestinian Authority arrest militants that it knows are out there?

AL-KIDWA: In time. The first step agreed upon in the road map we are ready to do. That should be reciprocated with -- by a first step on the Israeli side. And then the second step by the Palestinian side, including possibly the arrest of anyone who doesn't comply with the overall agreement.

VERJEE: Ambassador Gillerman, we spoke to the former Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres a few days ago about Israel's decision to remove Yasser Arafat. Just listen to what he had to say.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

PERES: I think it is totally unnecessary. First of all, if you want to do something, do. But if you are just declaring, you have all the negatives without really gaining anything of importance. Then I don't think they thought out the whole story up to the end. Because if Arafat will be expelled, outside he will have more opportunity, and a higher voice than he does today. So what are we going to gain?

(END VIDEO CLIP)

VERJEE: Dan Gillerman, your response?

GILLERMAN: Well, I have very great respect, tremendous respect, and admiration for Mr. Peres. I think he's this century's -- one of the century's greatest leaders. I fully agree with him that if you want to do something, do it. And the Israeli government has taken a decision in principle to do what it thinks is right and to do what it feels is right to protect its citizens.

As you know that only two days ago the Security Council rejected a proposition, a resolution which was there to block the expulsion of Arafat. And that rejection was actually supported both by the United States and by two of the greatest countries in Europe, and Bulgaria. So there seems to be a consensus about around the world that Arafat is the problem, rather than the solution.

And I truly believe that Arafat -- and I hope Mr. Al-Kidwa realizes that deep down, as do so many other Palestinians, it's not just our greatest tragedy, or the region's greatest tragedy. He is first and foremost his own people's greatest tragedy. They do deserve better.

VERJEE: So by doing this, by making the announcement as Shimon Peres said, by eliciting all this negativity, nothing is really gained. So what is the strategy here on Israel's part?

GILLERMAN: The Israeli strategy is very clear. It is to protect its citizens, its babies, its children and its mothers from the horrible phenomena of terrorism which we are facing. And



seeing as Arafat is the main engine of terror, the main generator of terror, he must go. And that is in fact what the Israeli cabinet has decided.

VERJEE: Nasser al-Kidwa, with the debate, the emergency debate, in the U.N. General Assembly today, do you believe that there will be a compromise?

AL-KIDWA: First, let me say that we listened to another example of misinformation. The Security Council did not reject the resolution. The Security Council failed to adapt the resolution because of the U.S. veto, and only with abstention of the states mentioned by Mr. Gillerman. Unfortunately, that U.S. veto, by the way, was the 26th U.S. veto against Palestinian resolutions alone. So you can imagine what kind of a role played by the United States in the Security Council.

With regard to the position of the international community, I'm sure that Mr. Gillerman will see this position very clearly today during the vote by the emergency special session, emergency special session, not a normal session on the draft resolution before it. You will see the overwhelming majority of the international community again condemning the Israeli action, and taking clear position in support of the legitimate choices of the Palestinian people, including their choice of their leadership. It is not up to the Israeli side, or any other foreign side to tell the Palestinian people who they should elect, or who should be their leader. That is again very racist, condescending attitude that is absolutely unacceptable.

VERJEE: Nasser al-Kidwa, the Palestinian representative to the United Nations, Dan Gillerman, the Israeli ambassador to the United Nations. Thanks to you both for joining us on Q&A.

GILLERMAN: Thank you very much.

AL-KIDWA: Thank you.

VERJEE: That's this addition of Q&A. Just before we go, we always want to hear from you. You can e-mail your comments to [Q&A@CNN.COM](mailto:Q&A@CNN.COM). We'll have more news in just a moment. This is CNN.

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**LOAD-DATE:** September 20, 2003

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NEWS FORUM

**SHOW:** News Forum (6:30 AM ET) - LOCAL

**June** 8, 2003 Sunday

**LENGTH:** 3781 words

**HEADLINE:** Ambassadors **Nasser al-Kidwa** and Dan Gillerman discuss the recent progress in Middle East peace and Hamas' rejection

**ANCHORS:** GABE PRESSMAN; JAY DeDAPPER

**BODY:**

GABE PRESSMAN, co-host:

A few days ago I reported on the summit meeting in Aqaba, Jordan, of President Bush, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and the new Palestinian prime minister, Mahmoud Abbas. In separate statements, Sharon recognized the Palestinian right to a viable state and agreed to remove certain settlements; Abbas strongly condemned terrorism against Israel and promised to work vigorously against violence and hatred. Has the world taken a major step toward peace in the Middle East? Or is this latest effort doomed to failure? My colleague, Jay DeDapper, moderates NEWS FORUM in New York.

Announcer: From Studio 6B in Rockefeller Center, this is a presentation from NewsChannel 4, Gabe Pressman's NEWS FORUM. Now your host, senior correspondent Gabe Pressman.

JAY DeDAPPER, co-host:

And good morning, everyone. I'm political reporter Jay DeDapper in for Gabe Pressman this morning.

Our guests are the two representatives to the United Nations from the two parties affected here: the Palestinian Authority, or Palestine, as it officially is in the United Nations' charter, the way that it's written; and the ambassador to the United Nations from Israel, Dan Gillerman.

Thank you, gentlemen, for both being here this morning.

Ambassador **NASSER AL-KIDWA** (Ambassador to the United Nations from Palestine): Thank you.

Ambassador DAN GILLERMAN (Ambassador to the United Nations From Israel): Thank you.

DeDAPPER: I want to start out kind of the most basic question, which is: Why should we expect this to be any different than the previous roads to peace that we've been down that have not ended in peace? Either of you.

Amb. GILLERMAN: Oh, I--I think that--I mean, there is the danger after seeing those very scenic and serene scenes on the Red Sea to think back on similar scenes in the past, whether on the Red Sea or on the White House lawn, and to get the feeling of what Yogi Berra used to call *deja vu* all over again, and to be skeptical and cynical and to say, 'Ah, those pictures don't mean anything.' But I think the reason we can be more optimistic and must be more optimistic today is because we live in a changed world; we live in a different world to the one we lived in before.

The world has changed dramatically after 9/11, and it's changed even more profoundly after the war in Iraq. And the world we live in today is a world which I think is far more conducive to making peace, to doing away with the violence and the hostility, eradicating terror. I think there's an international commitment on the part of all freedom-loving countries that terror must be eradicated. And I think the resolve is there.

I think we also have a very unique combination, and that is that we have a very determined and brave American president. We have a very courageous and totally committed Israeli prime minister. And hopefully, we also have a very determined, changed and empowered new Palestinian prime minister. That combination, together with the different world we live in, I think allows us the very cautious optimism, which I feel today.

DeDAPPER: Do you share that, Ambassador al-Kidwa, because we--we have been--certainly President Clinton, for instance, was very committed to this and there have been committed people on other sides before and it--it hasn't happened.

Amb. AL-KIDWA: It could be a different--a different thing this time for a variety of reasons. I share some of the reasons that were indicated by the ambassador. It's--it's a new situation in the Middle East, and you have direct American presence in the neighborhood.

DeDAPPER: Meaning in Iraq.

Amb. AL-KIDWA: In Iraq. Somebody said something like the United States is becoming the 26th country of the region, so I guess the United States cannot afford to ignore such huge problem in the same neighborhood. There is, then, this important regional dimension.

There are also the fact that oth--other ...(unintelligible) such as--I think that the--the two parties have--have got tired of the conflict of the last 20, 28 months or so. You have very bad economic situation on the Israeli side; you--you have serious problem of security on the Palestinian side. The suffering, I think, was--was more substantial; there is huge amount of destruction. And thus, you have this kind of--of--of the feeling of being tired on both sides that might be conducive to the possibility of striking--striking a deal.

And then you have the fact that four parties came together--the Americans, the EU, the Russians and the United Nations--to produce that road map. Unfortunately, now we see a departure from that road map on the part of the Israeli side with these 14 reservations put by the Israeli government, and the departure even in terms of the implementation. Nevertheless, this

document remains very important, and--and--and the--the--the participation of the four, of course, adds to--to--to its weight.

And finally, you have, yes, what appears to be an increased determination on the part of--of the US president, President Bush, that he really wants to--to do that; he wants to make a difference, and he--he wants to--to create the real peace in the region based on his vision of two states.

DeDAPPER: But already on Friday Hamas said that they would not--they would pull out of any kind of talks of disarmament, which is obviously a precursor to any of this from the Israeli perspective, and already settlers in Israel have been the biggest protesters. What is different this time when the--the two extreme sides, if you'll allow me to use, you know, that phrase, the--the two extremes of--of both camps are already saying, 'This isn't going to work'? Don't they hold the power in this?

Amb. AL-KIDWA: Well, I don't know. I'll--I'll just try to do this very quickly. The two extreme sides are no--are no different, that's--that's true, and that is precisely the reasons why the Palestinian side at least wanted to see more talking about the--about the final settlement, about the final shape, the outcome, the final outcome of all this process, because talking more...

DeDAPPER: We--we're talking more about Hamas. I mean, I...

Amb. AL-KIDWA: Yes, I'm...

DeDAPPER: All right.

Amb. AL-KIDWA: In reaction to that, talking about this will then create the necessary atmosphere and will lead to different position on the part of the overwhelming majority of the Palestinian people, as well as the Israeli people, thus isolating those extreme groups even more than they are isolated now. And that will then enable the leadership on both sides to proceed in the appropriate time.

DeDAPPER: Do--do you see it that way, Ambassador Gillerman? I mean, Hamas has said they're not going to be--they're not going to be a part of this.

Amb. GILLERMAN: Well, first of all, I think it's--it would be wrong to make a very direct correlation between the so-called two extreme sides, because what you have in Israel is settlers who are very, very--very extreme about wanting to stay where they are and--and keep their homes. On the other side, you have the Hamas, which is determined to continue to murder and slaughter and kill ...(unintelligible).

DeDAPPER: But politically they are. Politically they represent the two extremes is what I was getting at. I wasn't necessarily equating...

Amb. GILLERMAN: No. No. No. But--but...

DeDAPPER: ...what they...

Amb. GILLERMAN: Yeah, but I think--I think what--what--talking of Hamas and whether it's Hamas or Islamic Jihad or Hezbollah or other extreme groups, their declared objective is to destroy Israel, but it is also to destroy the peace process. And that is exactly where the

determination and the resolution and the resolve of Mahmoud Abbas as the newly appointed, elected president--prime minister of the Palestinian Authority will be tested, his and Muhammad Dahlan and others, because they know who these people are, they know where they are, they know where their weapons are stashed, and they can, if they want to, and once they decide they can, arrest these people and they can deal with them. These are elements which, I think, are still the minority of the Palestinian people.

I truly believe, honestly, that most of the Palestinian people want to live in peace, want to make a living, want to have their own state in which they can determine their own destiny. So it is up to the new Palestinian leadership to show the kind of resolve which is part of the international resolve of eradicating this terror.

In Israel, on the other hand, and this is maybe part of the equation, as the prime minister stated, Israel is a state where the rule of law is supreme. Israel has proved it time and time and time again. And when the Israeli government decides and goes ahead and does whatever it feels is necessary, however painful it may be--and the prime minister's already stated that he will remove any unauthorized outposts. This will be done. It may be done with pain, it may be done with some violence, but it will be done. And the same resolve, I hope, will be shown also on the Palestinian side and eradicate terror.

If both countries, if both parties, exercise their rule of law, at the end of the day it will be the moderates and the people who really want peace...

Amb. AL-KIDWA: I...

DeDAPPER: All right.

Amb. GILLERMAN: ...who will prevail.

DeDAPPER: There's a lot you want to respond to, I think.

Amb. AL-KIDWA: I categorically disagree, at least with the first part, and the issue of settlers and settlements might prove to be the reasons why, God forbid, we might not be able to reach final settlement. Those settlers are there colonizing our land. They want a greater Israel. They want to prevent the existence of Palestinian state. Settlements are illegal under international law. They represent war crime, and they should be stopped and reversed. We are not talking here about unauthorized outpost. We are talking about all kind of settlement that, again, are prohibited under the full Geneva Convention and other instruments of international ... (unintelligible).

DeDAPPER: Do--do you believe Prime Minister Sharon when he says they're going to be removed?

Amb. AL-KIDWA: That--that wa--that is one of the big problems. First, Prime Minister Sharon did not make it clear that he intends to remove even all the unauthorized settlements. But more importantly, he didn't--he didn't accept one of the basic requirements in the road map itself--that is, a complete cessation of settlement activities. Because of those--if--if those settlement activities go--go--go on, that--that will mean for the Palestinian people that--more confiscation of Palestinian land, more Israeli settlers brought illegally to the Palestinian land,

ultimately preventing the realization of the national rights of the Palestinian people and the establishment of the Palestinian state. So th--this is a--a basic--a basic matter. Without the Palestinian people clearly hear from the Israeli side that settlements will be stopped, that this process will be reversed, thus allowing the existence of Palestinian state, without that, no progress is possible in the peace process.

DeDAPPER: All right. We have to take a break, and we'll come right back and pick this up where we've left off.

(Announcements)

DeDAPPER: And we're back with Ambassador Dan Gillerman from Israel, the ambassador to the United Nations, and the ambassador to the United Nations essentially for Palestine, Nasser al-Kidwa.

Let me turn to you, Ambassador. What do you think is the biggest potential sticking point, the thing that could stop this process? I don't--I don't want to turn to the negative and be cynical, but there--we have to be realistic.

Amb. GILLERMAN: We must all realize that over the last three years--and it is nearly three years of what was called an Intifadah, but in a way was a real war waged in our region--the ugliest, most brutal, most evil war ever waged, where civilians, children and grandchildren and grandmothers were specifically targeted and slaughtered in schools and cafes and restaurants and buses. The most precious commodity that has been destroyed beyond the precious lives that were lost was trust, trust between us and our neighbors, the Palestinian, which was, at its highest, three years ago. When we were nearly there, when at Camp David and then Taba, President Clinton and Prime Minister Barak offered what was a very far-reaching compromise agreement and were based on trust following all the agreements we've done in the past, we felt that we were nearly there. We were thrown into this horrible destruction and poverty and bloodshed, which is the result of last three years.

Now trust is very difficult to build; it is even more difficult to rebuild. So I think that the greatest obstacle today is trust. We have to feel that there is a real change in the Palestinian Authority, that it is not just semantics, it is not just language, it is not just talking the talk, but walking the walk. We have to feel that there is a real determination there to fight terrorism because it must be understood that until terrorism is eradicated there will be no negotiation and there will be no peace. Israeli...

DeDAPPER: So--so--so a single--a single suicide bombing would be the--would start this path...

Amb. GILLERMAN: Israelis--Israelis will not negotiate by day and be murdered by night. The Palestinian Authority cannot vote in a new prime minister with its right hand and continue to kill Israelis with its left hand.

Now I think this must be demonstrated in a very resolute way with a new Palestinian Authority, and then, if trust is rebuilt, if Prime Minister Sharon and the Israeli people truly feel that they have a viable, trustworthy, empowered, changed Palestinian Authority, I believe we will

go very long way.

Let me just remind you very quickly, in the past, whenever Israel was confronted or provided with a Palest--with an Arab leader it could trust, it went a very long way with them and made peace. That's what happened when Anwar Sadat came to Jerusalem and found in Menachem Begin a partner who gave back every inch and made peace. That's what happened with the late King Hussein, who made peace with Yitzhak Rabin. These were leaders we could trust. If we feel that we have on the Palestinian side, hopefully--hopefully for us and hopefully for the Palestinians--a leader we can trust, I promise you that you will find in Prime Minister Sharon a partner who will go with them a very long way.

DeDAPPER: But--but you're saying--and--and then I'm going to let you respond to this. I--I just want to clarify, you're essentially saying in--in holding the--the new prime minister to task for controlling the--the terrorist groups, as you label them, in then Palestinian territories, then you would say that--that there is no control over that by the--by the Palestinian Authority. Is that right?

Amb. AL-KIDWA: First, let me say that generally I--I agree that trust and confidence is very--is very important, and it might be hard to build. That's why it--it requires efforts from both--both sides. I have the feeling that ambassador is--is trying to suggest that it is up to the Palestinian side to do the work first in a way that will then lead to--to building trust with the--with the Israeli side. This is not in line with the letter end spirit of the road map. The road map require that both sides take certain steps simultaneously--simultaneously in parallel--in parallel. And, of course, each phase will then be subject to some kind of evaluation at the end of the phase to determine moving forward to the--to the next phase.

DeDAPPER: But that first step is--is the control of Hamas or the other--Hezbollah or whatever.

Amb. AL-KIDWA: Not only that...

DeDAPPER: I mean, can that be done? Can the Palestinian Authority do that, as the Israelis suggest that it can be done if you have the will to do it?

Amb. AL-KIDWA: It can--it can be done--it can be done provided that the Israeli side lives up to its own obligations, thus creating the necessary correct political atmosphere needed for the Palestinian action to be taken. And by that, I mean precisely a clear commitment to cessation of settlement activities, one of the basic requirements in the road map.

And again, we are talking about trust. There is a fact--simple fact that during the--the Oslo peace process the number of Israeli settlers was doubled; in 10 years was doubled. That is to say big chunk--big additional chunk of our land was colonized. That was undermining--real undermining of--of confidence in the peace process itself and confidence in the--in the other side.

And about destruction, by the way, it's true that what happened against the--the Israeli civilians was--was really awful, but it's also true that what the Israeli army committed against the Palestinian people as a whole was as awful, and there is a complete destruction of the life of the



Palestinian people.

The first three months of the Intifadah more than 300 Palestinians were killed before one single bullet was shot against the Israelis.

DeDAPPER: But I have...

Amb. AL-KIDWA: Nobody seems to remember these facts.

DeDAPPER: We have less than a minute. I want to give you each 15 seconds. I know it's not much time. What's the single thing that gives you hope?

Amb. GILLERMAN: The most important thing that gives me hope is my complete confidence that Israel wants peace, yearns for peace. It will make every effort to achieve peace, not at the cost of its security, but it will make every effort to go along with the Palestinian leader to make peace. And I hope that the new world we live in and the results shown by the American president and by the Israeli prime minister will be matched by that of the Palestinian prime minister, and then at long last, after a very long time of despair, we may be able to hope.

Amb. AL-KIDWA: Well, the--the beginning by the--Mr. Sharon, frankly, was not--was not very promising. Nevertheless, we still--we still have confidence in--in some--we still have some hope, at least, in this process out of what we see as an increased and--and clear commitment of--of the--of the US president to this process.

DeDAPPER: All right. We'll be right back.

(Announcements)

DeDAPPER: And we're back.

Ambassador Gillerman, I want to start with a question to you in this final segment. The final settlement, the final lay of the land, how this all works out has always been the thing that has been put off in previous plans. It has been put off in this case, too. Isn't that the--kind of the--the landmine that awaits you down this road?

Amb. GILLERMAN: There are landmines along the--along the road. There are obstacles. I don't know whether you're aware of it, but the name Aqaba means obstacle in Arabic, so that in itself is...

DeDAPPER: It's an ironic choice really.

Amb. GILLERMAN: It is an ironic choice. But obstacles are there to be met with courage, with resolve, with leadership and with vision. I think that both parties, both the Palestinians and the Israelis, at the end of the day want to live side by side in peace and hopefully even cooperate, and I believe even act as a model for the rest of the Arab world, the rest of the region and maybe the rest of the world of how two people who have seen such hostility and such bloodshed can at the end of the day live together, work together and prevail together.

So I know there are obstacles along the way, and some of the major issues are not dealt in the road map, but that is why this is called a road map and not a peace plan. This is a mechanism. This is something to get both sides talking again, negotiating again and wisely allowing the two

parties and not some foreign power to decide their fate and their dast--and their destiny. So--but I believe very much that if we do the right thing and if the atmosphere prevailing in the world today will prevail also in this process and there will be confidence in--confidence-building measures along the way and both parties will learn to trust each other and with time will realize that they can do it, then I believe all the other issues, which are very major and they've been issues which have been dealt with not over the last 28 months but over the last hundred years, and it will be difficult, but if there is trust--and I repeat, the main element is trust--if there is trust, I believe all other issues can be overcome.

DeDAPPER: Ambassador al-Kidwa, Jerusalem, for instance, the end of this road map established a Jerusalem, what happens there? That seems to be the biggest hurdle of all.

Amb. AL-KIDWA: Well, not only Jerusalem, but you have Jerusalem, you have the Palestinian refugees, the rights of the Palestinian refugees, you have, of course, the exact border to be drawn on the basis of the line of 1967.

DeDAPPER: Jerusalem's very emotional. It has--you know, because of the religious implications and all that, it seems to be the thing that stirs up the most emotions. When you try and figure out that, that's left to some future date.

Amb. AL-KIDWA: That's left to some future date, but I have to indicate, nevertheless, that the road map itself gave clear harbingers with regard to those elements. And what worries us most as Palestinian, frankly, is what was he coming from the Israeli side and as--as ignoring those harbingers by taking decisions contradicting what is in the road map itself. That clearly suggests to us that the Israeli side is not serious about reaching the necessary final outcome. The words of--of--of the ambassador are positive, but nevertheless, let's--let's remember that we are the people under occupation. We are the deprived people from our state. We are the stateless. We are the--the--the suffering--the suffering party. And it's not good enough to be told that, 'Well, down the road things will be OK.' We need to see clear political decis--positions that indicate where exactly are we heading.

In accord--in accordance with the road map, we--we need to--to see cessation of settlement activities, we need to see acceptance of the line of 1967 as a basis for further negotiations, we need to see reasonable position with regard to the refugees, and we, of course, will be--will be very absolutely ready to reciprocate and to--to begin a new experience and a new life...

DeDAPPER: I--I hate to interrupt, but that's going to have to be the last word. Thanks for coming in today. Appreciate it.

Gabe Pressman will be back next weekend. Have a nice weekend.

Amb. AL-KIDWA: Thank you.

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**BYLINE:** Richard Roth

**HIGHLIGHT:**

A look at current events worldwide concerning the United Nations.

**BODY:**

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: It's going to be difficult. We expect to have bumps in the road.

GEORGE W. BUSH, U.S. PRESIDENT: We're on the roof (ph). We'll reveal the truth.

HANS BLIX, U.N. CHIEF WEAPONS INSPECTOR: (UNINTELLIGIBLE), that means be prepared. That's what the Boy Scouts used to say.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

RICHARD ROTH, HOST: If you are like me, you have a problem reading maps or even using them. Maybe it's a guy thing. But wait, I don't drive.

Welcome to DIPLOMATIC LICENSE. I'm Richard Roth.

Everybody's talking about a map this week, the roadmap for the Middle East.

Here's President Bush driving in the Middle East, escorting leaders of the summit conference this past week in Egypt without a map visible, but the U.S. president has now promised to ride

herd on all sides to keep the elusive peace process moving.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BUSH: No leader of conscience can accept more months and years of humiliation, killing and mourning. And these leaders of conscience have made their declarations today in the cause of peace.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ROTH: At a separate meeting with President Bush in Aqaba, the leaders of the Israeli people and the Palestinian people offered verbal gestures to ease on down the roadmap.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

MAHMOUD ABBAS, PALESTINIAN PRIME MIN. (through translator): And we are ready to do our part. Let me be very clear. There will be no military solution to this conflict, we repeat our renunciation and renunciation of terrorism against the Israelis, wherever they might be.

ARIEL SHARON, ISRAELI PRIME MIN.: We can also reassure our Palestinian partners that we understand the importance of territorial contiguity in the West Bank for a viable Palestinian state.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ROTH: Today on DIPLOMATIC LICENSE, we have two separate guests, Israeli and Palestinians breathing side by side. Sounds like the roadmap.

We welcome Palestinian Ambassador to the U.N. Nasser Al-Kidwa and Israel's United Nations Ambassador Dan Gillerman. This makes the third different ambassador our Palestinian guest has sat down with on our program, and I'm still the host.

What's different, if anything, this time, Dr. Al Kidwa, about this roadmap? Do you have any cause to think that something is going to be achieved eventually down the road?

NASSER AL-KIDWA, PALESTINIAN AMB. TO THE U.N.: Well, we certainly do hope so.

The difference, I think, comes from the regional dimension and comes from the fact that the two sides probably got tired a little bit and they are looking sincerely for a way out.

In addition to that, the roadmap itself and the existence of the Quartet, the four parties that came together to put the text.

ROTH: The United Nations, the United States, Russia.

AL-KIDWA: Yes, the United States, European Union, Russia and United Nations.

The fact that they came together and, I think.

ROTH: But they've been working at it for a long time, and a few weeks ago you said you're not really in love with this roadmap. Can you grow to love this? Can this relationship blossom?

AL-KIDWA: We are still not that in love with the roadmap, but we did agree to it without

reservations, and we think that the yardstick should remain compliance with the text.

Unfortunately, on the Israeli side there isn't such compliance. There are reservations. 14 of them. And in Aqaba, again, Mr. Sharon, I think, did not comply with the requirements in the roadmap with regard to the text of the statement that should be made by the two sides.

ROTH: You have reservations about his reservations about Sharon's reservations?

DAN GILLERMAN, ISRAELI AMB. TO THE U.N.: I have a lot of reservations and a lot of anxiety, but I also have a lot of hope.

And to answer your first question, I think what has profoundly changed is that the world has changed.

We live in a different world. It became a dramatically different world after 9-11. It became an even more profoundly different world after the war in Iraq, and I think the world we live in today is a world which makes this roadmap possible and makes peace in our region possible.

ROTH: And the Israelis were waiting for that move into Iraq. You were waiting for years. You think it is the breakthrough towards establishing a holding, lasting peace with Israel's neighbors?

GILLERMAN: No. I think the breakthrough is the fact that most of the freedom-loving world has realized that this will -- we have to rid this world of terrorism. We must make it a world where children and grandchildren and mothers and grandmothers can live in peace.

ROTH: But people were saying these words in the mid-70's as terrorism was raging.

GILLERMAN: Well, that's why we are cautiously optimistic.

Everybody who witnesses that very serene and scenic picture by the Red Sea only a few days ago was obviously reminded by similar pictures by the Red Sea and the Araba (ph) and on the lawn of the White House, and could maybe very well say what Yogi Berra said, that this could be *deja vu* all over again.

But there is one very big difference, and that is that what we have today is a unique combination. We have a very courageous and determined American president. We have a very brave and committed Israeli prime minister. And hopefully we have a very committed and changed Palestinian leader.

If that is the combination, hopefully we can do it.

ROTH: We have a global audience here. Yogi Berra was a senior U.N. undersecretary general at one point, like baseball. Do you trust Mr. Sharon?

AL-KIDWA: Until now, we don't have enough reason to trust him, frankly. And what happened recently in Aqaba again shows that our worries are justified.

ROTH: Why? What did he -- the guy comes out and says he's going to start dismantling outposts, not settlements, outposts -- starting.

AL-KIDWA: Well, the roadmap has clear requirements. First of those requirements is the

complete cessation of settlement activities. He didn't utter those words. He spoke in vague terms about the outposts, that is absolutely not enough.

He couldn't utter the word Palestine yet alone a sovereign independent state of Palestinian, as required in the roadmap. Even when he spoke about the contiguity of the Palestinian land, he added a sentence in the last minute that said something to the effect that only with regard to the territory that will come subject to direct negotiation between the two sides, meaning that he is negating the first sentence about the contiguity. It's not -- it's very troubling.

ROTH: Do you trust your colleague, here?

GILLERMAN: You mentioned a very important word, and that word is trust.

Trust is probably one of the most precious commodities which we lost over the last three years in that conflict with the Palestinians. Trust is very difficult to build. It's even more difficult to rebuild.

I trust Prime Minister Sharon. I believe that he has made the strategic decision to go for peace.

The big question is, can we trust the Palestinian leader? I hope we can, because history has shown that whenever Israeli was provided with an Arab leader it would trust, it made peace with him, and it went all the way.

We did that with Sadat, who found in Menachem Begin a person who went all the way with him. We did it with the late King Hussein, who found in Yitzhak Rabin a leader who made peace with him.

I assure you that if Mahmoud Abbas proves to be a truly empowered, changed Palestinian prime minister, will act against terrorism, eradicate it, create democracy and rid this society of corruption, but especially be truthful in wanting to make peace and recognize Israel, he will find in Prime Minister Sharon a very willing and courageous partner to go with him all the way.

AL-KIDWA: I'm afraid that all these ifs will provide the reasons for not succeeding, because it is not like the Palestinian side has to do a list of things while the Israelis are watching and then making their own determination whether to proceed or not.

The roadmap provides for steps to be taken by both sides simultaneously and in parallel and it should be understood and implemented this way.

Now, let me add another point, frankly. This interference, continuous interference in the internal affairs of the Palestinian people is not also something positive. It's not going to work. The Palestinian leadership is something to be decided by the Palestinian people and.

ROTH: Well, who is leading the Palestinian people? Chairman Arafat, you're very close to, comes out strongly against what Prime Minister Sharon said, and the Israelis are looking to Mahmoud Abbas. So who should they be listening to? Is there going to be a civil war first on the Palestinian side?

AL-KIDWA: Let me assure you that there will not be a civil war. Some unfortunately on the Israeli side and some even in America, including a columnist in "The New York Times," publicly

called for a civil war.

ROTH: I hope that wasn't Jayson Blair.

AL-KIDWA: No, it wasn't. Maybe a worse one.

But there is this kind of thinking, and this is not going to happen.

With regard to who is leading the Palestinian people, it's well known. There is a legitimate leader, an elected president, and there is also an empowered prime minister that was appointed and that was got confidence by the legislative council.

I mean, the two men have their jobs to do, and they have to do it together.

ROTH: All right, what about in Israel? Settlers protesting. Civil war there? What kind of front are you going to show the Palestinians?

GILLERMAN: There isn't going to be civil war in Israel. Israel is a society of law and order. Whatever the Israeli government will decide will be done.

It may not be easy. There will be obstacles along the way.

ROTH: What's Israel going to do if there's a bombing, a string of suicide bombings? Is the whole thing going to collapse again?

GILLERMAN: I hope very much there won't be another suicide bombing. If there is one, we'll have to deal with it, because our first responsibility is to make our people safe, is to our children and to our grandchildren.

Israel is the only democracy in the world where cafs and restaurants and schools and universities are still guarded by armed guards. We have to put an end to it.

ROTH: Hamas Friday said they don't want to talk about stopping terrorism. What concrete steps can the Palestinians do to make progress on that key part in the roadmap?

AL-KIDWA: The reaction of Hamas was unfortunate. Partly, however, it came in response to what was said by Prime Minister Sharon, which didn't go to any extent in assuring the Palestinian people and the Palestinian side that there will be something tangible for them.

But nevertheless, we have to keep trying and we have to reach some kind of agreement with them.

ROTH: All right, gentlemen, we have to leave it there. For once, we're having a discussion after the Middle East after a peace conference of sorts, not some horrible act of violence or military incursion.

**Nasser Al-Kidwa**, Palestinian representative at the United Nations, thank you very much. Dan Gillerman -- he's only been there five months at the United Nations, and we hope to see more of you. Thank you very much.

GILLERMAN: Thank you very much.

ROTH: A couple of meetings in the Middle East this week doesn't mean a lasting peace is at hand. While President Bush added some weight to the quest, the U.S. leader usually delegates



the details of major issues to his staff.

It was Secretary of State Powell who was up until 4 a.m. with sessions with Arab leaders, and the woman who held the job before him as secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, says expect more to come.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

MADELEINE ALBRIGHT, FMR. U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE: I think that he needs to tell Secretary Powell that this is his daily work. There is not any secretary of state who has ever wanted to do the Middle East on a daily basis, and every secretary of state has done it, and the only reason that it happens is because ultimately it is the single most divisive and important issue.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BLIX: Betrayal is not the right word for it. I felt some disappointment, yes, because I thought that it was conceivable that in some more months we could have come further, but I could never guarantee that we would be able to really to fully explore the dossier.

But it was for my part a business that was not finished, and it would have been nice to be there to finish.

Thank you very much -- I have a finish now, though.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ROTH: Next stop, Stockholm for the U.N.'s chief weapons inspector for Iraq, Hans Blix, a final briefing for the United Nations Security Council and the press.

Remember when the world hung on every word Blix said in the run up to the war? His conclusion still carry some weight, especially outside the United States.

In Blix's last report before he retires this month, the Swedish inspector says he's teams couldn't prove for sure that Iraq did not possess any weapons of mass destruction. However.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BLIX: It is not justified to jump to the conclusion that something exists just because it is unaccounted for.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ROTH: Was Blix slipping in signals for the Bush administration?

Well, who better to comb the details of this week's Iraq United Nations weapons story than a couple of United Nations news detectives.

From the CNN U.N. office, Colum Lynch of "The Washington Post," and also at our United Nations office, Philippe Boloignon of Radio France International.

Colum, what stood out for you in this final report from Hans Blix?

COLUM LYNCH, "THE WASHINGTON POST": Well, basically, I mean, the thing that's most interesting is that he's sort of telling the Americans that -- he's signaling to them that he is very much willing to work with them.

He has a team of inspectors. He wants to try and preserve that core of experts, to persuade the Americans that they've got to go to these guys, that they have more credibility than the U.S. and British, to certify Iraq's final disarmament.

Also said to the Americans essentially, these allegations that Iraq has used these recently discovered mobile biological weapons production plants, that he cannot certify whether these are really used for those purposes unless he gets in there on the ground and sees it.

ROTH: But they don't want him there. Why doesn't the United States want Blix or the U.N. weapons inspectors on the ground there?

LYNCH: Well, essentially, they don't want them on the ground because they've caused them so much political difficulty in the run up to the war.

The United States wanted the Council to sort of recognize that Iraq was in violation of its disarmament obligations, wanted to use Blix as a so-called trigger for military action, and Blix would have none of it.

He took a very sort of balanced, evenhanded approach to this that wasn't useful for the Americans.

PHILIPPE BOLOPION, RADIO FRANCE INTERNATIONAL: . another very simple reason is that for now they have absolutely nothing to show him and to show the inspectors.

Perhaps they will feel more comfortable asking the inspectors to come back to Iraq if they find something, but with two suspicious trucks for now, they have nothing to show. So for them, having the inspectors coming back would be just more embarrassment and even more pressure to find some weapons that perhaps are not there.

ROTH: One diplomat from France said the Americans didn't like them. When I asked why, this diplomat said he looked too French -- Colum.

LYNCH: Well, I don't know if that's the problem, but in any event, there is, despite all the problems that they had with Blix, there's sort of mounting pressure in the Council to keep UNMOVIC around, to get them to play some nominal role in certifying disarmament.

There was an interesting debate in the Council this week. One interesting thing is, though, that Pakistan and Syria didn't want the inspectors to stay around too long. They objected to a proposal by Blix to sort of preserve this agency as perhaps a sort of permanent enforcement agency of the Security Council. Perhaps Pakistan and Syria a little bit concerned that maybe they might use that expertise to look into charges of biological and chemical weapons in their own countries.

So, in any event, I thought that was kind of amusing.

ROTH: I mean, a very different scene outside the U.N. Security Council when Blix briefed during January and February. Every country was available it seemed on microphone and with gaggles of press around to comment on what they thought about Blix, the inspectors should be there.

This time, everyone kind of scattered afterward -- Philippe.

BOLOPION: Yes, absolutely. It was a very, very different conference.

What I found funny is that Hans Blix was exactly still the same. You know, even though he is going to leave the United Nations and retire, he was exactly himself. He was very balanced. He was not speaking too much.

You would have expected that after such a stressful mission, now that he was giving his last report, he could feel a bit more comfortable and speak out a little more, speak his mind, say a bit how he felt under the U.S. pressure all these months, and he didn't do that. He just stayed the very Swedish diplomat that we know, very balanced, very cautious.

ROTH: He'd like to see the UNMOVIC agency, as you mentioned, still stay in place there. Speaking of inspectors on the ground, I mean, the United States is really controlling the International Atomic Energy Agency team that went back in to look at one plant -- Colum.

LYNCH: Yes, I mean, that was sort of interesting. The Americans have left the door open to the possibility.

Well, first of all, they allowed the IEA inspectors into the country. This is on a separate mandate than the one that UNMOVIC operates under. This is sort of an old agreement that sort of was put together many, many years ago to try to limit the spread of nuclear weapons.

So they gave them a very limited mandate to go back there to look at one facility, to see whether the stockpiles of sort of uranium was still in place. They knew that a lot of it had been looted in the last couple of weeks, but it's nothing along the lines of.

BOLOPION: It's quite amazing that the United States is going to war with Iraq to try to avoid the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, wouldn't secure such an important site.

They knew about its existence. They knew there were radioactive materials there. And they didn't do anything to try to secure it, even though the IAEA warned them several times. I find that very, very surprising.

ROTH: Very quickly, three words -- Colum Lynch, what's Hans Blix's legacy, in three words.

LYNCH: I think he's rapidly being vindicated every day the Americans don't find anything.

ROTH: Philippe.

BOLOPION: I think he is a very good U.N. diplomat and he stayed until the end very balanced, very independent.

ROTH: OK. Maybe a different view, though, in Washington. They kind of lost faith in him.

Let's thank Colum Lynch on the left, of "The Washington Post," Philippe Bolopion, of Radio

France International. Thank you for your second consecutive week together again.

What's next for the man who once said you can't make mustard gas from marmalade? Well, after a Florida vacation, where Disney seems like the perfect place Hans Blix should go considering the last few months and years, Blix will instead at the end of June enjoy quality time at home in Sweden with his wife and his garden.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BLIX: For my immediate plans, I want to go home. I came here -- I hoped to be here for a year, year-and-a-half, and it's now over three years. So I do long for picking my mushrooms and I may extend them to blueberries. But I also said to the Council that, yes, I'm not abandoning my interest in the question of how do we prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction or indeed the elimination -- not just the spread of them, but the elimination of the weapons of mass destruction in the word.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Are you sad that the era of the Concorde is ending? And how does this impact your diplomacy, that the planes will take longer to get you around the world?

KOFI ANNAN, U.N. SECY.-GEN.: Well, it will probably give me a bit more time to think in the air. Thank you very much.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ROTH: One of the many famous people who rode the supersonic speed Concorde aircraft, Kofi Annan moved faster than some U.N. departments, jetting across the Atlantic Ocean.

Well, the Concorde is being phased out of service. Air France stopped May 31. British Air will halt in October. Some of the planes will eventually be housed in museums. I think the plane would make a fine exhibit for the United Nations' lobby.

I don't know about you, but talking about the Concorde reminds me of children. Boy do they move fast.

Well, if you think you're about to see a warm, heart-rending close of the show feature about the next generation, you've just won a ticket on a Concorde flight, but it's for next January, and the planes will be grounded by then.

So take a seat at Mach speed, and after the misery you watch all day on global news channels around the world, observe what happened at an international children's congress in New York City two weeks ago.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: My name is Catherine (ph). I come from China. I'm 10 years old.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: My name is Denzel (ph). I'm from (UNINTELLIGIBLE). I'm from the U.S.A.

UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: I'm Nina (ph) and I'm from Georgia. I'm 12 years old.

MARY SOCHET, U.N. CHILDREN'S CONGRESS: They come together today to talk together and think about the problems kids are having in the world and what they can do to help change things.

Quite a few kids here from Cuba and China, and there are kids from Georgia, from the Russian Federation. There are kids from Liberia, St. Lucia, kids from Ecuador.

UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: How do you think the United States knew about Iraq's supposed weapons of mass destruction that they have, which they did not find anything?

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: I doubt the efficacy of the United Nations because if the United States was able to go over there decision and not listen to the United Nations, that makes me wonder, how credible is actually the United Nations.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: I didn't like the war, because, you know, other kids like us that don't have the opportunity to (UNINTELLIGIBLE). They don't have the opportunity to go to school like we do.

UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: (UNINTELLIGIBLE).

UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: I think the government should help set up more funds for girl's education.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Us kids, we need the right to have a voice over the problems that effect our futures.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: In my country, when there is war, you know, we stop going to school. You know, school -- and then also, children, more and more kids get into child soldiers. That's bad. Kids end up doing labor work which they're not supposed to be doing.

UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: And this means that everybody should have love for other peoples so we can help each other.

UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: I learned the rights of the children; they're peace (UNINTELLIGIBLE).

SOCHET: There's certainly a hope for peace on a lot of kid's parts, and I think that they're hoping that the United Nations will be a way that they can make peace in this world.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

ROTH: Children's rights was the focus of the Congress. We had a sharp young man here on DIPLOMATIC LICENSE last year from Liberia. We hope he is protected in the latest fighting in that African nation this weekend.

That's DIPLOMATIC LICENSE. I'm Richard Roth, in New York. The latest CNN news is coming up next.

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**HEADLINE:** Q&A 11:30

**GUESTS:** Nasser Al-Kidwa, Daniel Ayalon, George Mitchell

**BYLINE:** Zain Verjee

**HIGHLIGHT:**

A look at the aftermath of the Aqaba summit.

**BODY:**

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

ZAIN VERJEE, CNN INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENT (voice-over): The aftermath of the Aqaba summit.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: We hope that there will be a just and lasting peace.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: We're hopeful.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: We are ready to stop murderous operations inside Israel.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: This is not free process. This is surrender in process.

UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: Who has the right to give killers a state?

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Our biggest disaster as a democracy.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Unfortunately, he still hasn't offered anything tangible.

(END VIDEO CLIP)



VERJEE: On this edition of "Q&A," the road map to peace, new agreements, old differences.  
(END VIDEOTAPE)

VERJEE: Welcome to "Q&A."

The day after the summit on Middle East peace, announcements by the Israeli and Palestinian prime ministers that they're taking action. Palestinian Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas meets with militants this weekend in an effort to stop attacks on Israelis. And Israel's defense ministers met with army commanders to prepare for the dismantling of settler outposts. But there's already been opposition. What lies ahead?

With their insight, we're joined now from New York by George Mitchell, a former U.S. senator and former Middle East negotiator, one of the architects behind plans for Middle East peace. Also in New York, Nasser Al-Kidwa, Palestinian representative to the United Nations.

We're hoping to get an Israeli representative on our program, and we'll establish contact when we can.

But first to you, Mr. Al-Kidwa. The meeting that's anticipated this weekend between Mr. Abbas and Palestinian militants. Can he make a deal? Can he get them to cease fire.

NASSER AL-KIDWA, PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS: Well, we do hope so. Of course, we had hoped for a better and more complete and positive results from the meeting of yesterday in terms of Israeli position that then could create the necessary overall positive atmosphere among the Palestinian people, something which would then constitute additional pressure on those groups.

Unfortunately, the position of Mr. Sharon was not as forthcoming as we had hoped for. However, we have, nevertheless, underlined the positive position taken by President Bush. And let's hope that that administration will proceed with this kind of line until the point that being facts and positive -- being positive fact on the ground are created.

VERJEE: Daniel Ayalon, the Israeli ambassador to the U.S. and the former policy adviser to Ariel Sharon joins us now.

Mr. Ayalon, Mr. Al-Kidwa is saying that the Israelis were not as forthcoming as they would have liked. Does Israel feel the Palestinians were forthcoming enough?

DANIEL AYALON, ISRAELI REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED STATES: Well, this is very unfortunate. We are on -- forward looking, and I would say that we were very satisfied with the statements that came from the new Palestinian leader, from Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas. I think, for the first time, he took responsibility for the terrorism and a commitment to fight the terror as a precondition to move ahead on to the political realm.

As far as Israel is concerned, we have been ready for peace all the time. We are ready to do it now, and we are taking concrete steps about it. We are going to remove unauthorized outposts starting two or three days from now. We have been transferring funds to the Palestinian Authority. We are increasing the work permits. We are opening closures.

And not without risks because terror is still rampant and there has not been any action against

the terror.

VERJEE: How many...

AYALON: So...

VERJEE: How many posts are going to be dismantled, those unauthorized outposts, in the West Bank, Mr. Ayalon? The road map says all of them should be dismantled. Is Israel going to dismantle them all?

AYALON: Israel is going to dismantle them all. It is going to do it in a phased-out manner. It's going to start very quickly. We are very sincere about it.

For us, peace is not just a strategic option, it's a moral obligation, but we would like to do it without killing ourselves, and this is what we would like to see here, that there is one track of political negotiation which is done in an atmosphere of peace without violence, without incitements.

We know that there might be some -- some difficulties on the Palestinian side right now to fight the terrorism in massive scale, but pleading ineptitude or incapability cannot be a substitute for a long-term policy.

And we would like to see some action, some concrete actions on their side -- for instance, stopping an incitement -- that could be done right away -- and then, on a gradual basis, as they build more and more capabilities, to really fight the terror, outlaw them, dismantle the infrastructure, not merely a cease-fire with al Qaeda-type organizations, like the Al-Aqsa Brigades, which are answerable directly to Arafat, or the Hamas or Jihad.

If this happens, if we will see concrete steps on their side as we are taking concrete steps, I think we have a -- we're looking optimistically into the future...

VERJEE: OK.

AYALON: ... and I do believe that peace can come and prevail.

VERJEE: We'll pursue that with Mr. Al-Kidwa in just a moment. But let me bring in George Mitchell here.

Mr. Mitchell, clearly, both sides are taking some baby steps toward some degree of progress. You've seen peace efforts come and go. You've been involved in negotiations in the Middle East between both sides. Is this time different?

GEORGE MITCHELL, FORMER UNITED STATES SENATOR: Well, only time will tell, of course, but I think there's reason for cautious optimism and for some hope.

But, in any event, there is no alternative. The alternative of continued conflict, I think, is simply not acceptable to anyone. Life has become unbearable for ordinary Israeli citizens who live in a constant state of fear and anxiety. Life is unbearable for ordinary Palestinians whose economy has been destroyed, whose freedom of movement is limited.

I think there's a growing realization in both societies that the current course of action simply promises more of the same, which is an unbearable life, and, therefore, the better option is to

resume negotiations.

Inevitably, there's going to be disagreement, and you described these as baby steps. In a sense, you are correct, and they are small steps. But I think since attitude is also important. It's -- it's critical that the process begin and that the attitudes toward negotiation be positive.

So I'm hopeful, and I commend all concerned for the effort and for what's under way. Much, much remains to be done, and there are, no doubt, going to be setbacks along the way. The real test will be patience and perseverance when things are not going well, but I believe that this is a worthwhile effort.

VERJEE: Nasser Al-Kidwa, a worthwhile effort. Certainly, both sides seem to be giving positive indications, some that we've not heard in a long time. The intentions are there, but how will the Palestinians turn their intentions into deeds that will make a difference on the ground and not be hijacked by extremists?

AL-KIDWA: Well, again, we expressed our readiness to proceed with our obligations and to take complete measures on the ground. There is no doubt about that, but we also said that, unfortunately, the Israeli side didn't destroy...

VERJEE: But what concrete -- what concrete measures will the Palestinians take?

AL-KIDWA: The first step will be an attempt to achieve a cease-fire, a complete cease-fire, which will also require, of course, that Israel cease its military attacks, something that is also required under the -- under the road map.

So we will try to do that, given -- given the fact that the Israeli side had destroyed the security capability of the Palestinian side, but, nevertheless, we'll do our best and we are determined to proceed in that direction.

But, again, when it comes to the political overall context -- and I'm happy that Mr. Ayalon was saying that Israel would remove all the unauthorized outposts. Unfortunately, the prime minister didn't say exactly that yesterday.

Furthermore, he didn't state at all that there will be a cessation of certain activities, a very important point that -- a very important requirement in the road map.

The prime minister also did not repeat his position on ending the occupation, did not utter the word the state of Palestine. When he spoke about continuity, he added a sentence that undermined completely the meaning of the continuity and so on and so forth.

You know, we want to be optimistic. We are, indeed, in need to a different situation. We are committed to this process, but...

VERJEE: Well, let's...

AL-KIDWA: ... we need...

VERJEE: Let's put that...

AL-KIDWA: ... a pure political position on the Israeli side.

VERJEE: Let's put that to Mr. Ayalon, if he will.

Those larger settlements -- the road map does call for them to be frozen. There was no mention made about the largest settlements yesterday in Aqaba. Will they be frozen?

AYALON: Well, we are talking about unauthorized settlements, and there was a point there, and the American understand very much. The larger issue of the settlement is a political issue, which will be dealt with according to all agreements and understandings, according to the common sense when we reach the final status agreements.

AL-KIDWA: No, no. That is...

AYALON: The issue itself cuts down in to the core issue of the problems and the conflict that we have with the Palestinians.

What I would advise my friend, Nasser Al-Kidwa, to concentrate on the positives and not try to tear apart what Mr. Sharon said. I'm not going to tear apart what Mr. Abbas said. Concentrate on the positive. And to the extent that we can get some direction on the ground -- and we're very willing to move forward -- we would like to move forward. We are moving forward. Israel...

VERJEE: Mr. Al-Kidwa...

AYALON: ... is taking concrete steps.

VERJEE: ... why don't you get in here?

AL-KIDWA: Without cessation...

AYALON: We'd like to see the Palestinians take concrete steps.

AL-KIDWA: Without cessation of settlement activities, there is no hope because continuation of settlement activities means continuation of colonization, means that the Palestinians will lose more and more and more land and finally lose the ability to realize their national rights.

Now Mr. Ayalon says that this is the final settlement. This is not true. The road map is very clear, and the first phase -- in the first phase, there should be a complete cessation of settlement activities, and this is just another example of the Israeli position that makes us very worried about immediately after Aqaba.

The ambassador says now that this is not going to be dealt with until the final negotiations, while the requirement in the road map itself is very clear in this regard.

VERJEE: OK. George Mitchell, do you see this issue, the one that's being debated here on "Q&A," as one of the first roadblocks to implementing the first phase of the road map, or do you think that there is another, perhaps more serious one?

MITCHELL: Oh, I think every issue is likely to be contested in this manner, but I think we ought not to lose sight of the importance of what has happened and the necessity of keeping the process going.

And this means there will be an important role for the monitoring team, which was announced yesterday by the United States, headed by an American State Department official that

will work with the two sides to deal with just this type of disagreement and many others.

No one should underestimate the difficulties ahead. They'll be contested. They'll be negotiated. There are differences that have to be bridged, but I think the important factor is that the sentiment of the people on both sides, I think, supports both the desired goal of two states living side by side in peace and the political process needed to bring it about.

If I could just say that, in my experience in Northern Ireland, much the same thing happened. After many failed attempts, after 30 years of war, after many people killed and many more horribly maimed and disfigured, the public gradually came to accept the view that the course of never ending conflict was not likely to achieve their objective -- that's on both sides -- and that they're better off making the political compromises necessary to bring it about.

The negotiations, which I chaired, lasted for two years, and, throughout that period, there were disputes on almost every issue. There were many deaths, and there was continuing conflict, but the political leaders kept their eye on the fundamental objective, which was to ultimately reach an agreement to end the conflicts and to begin to resolve their differences through peaceful means.

And I think the same thing can -- and I hope and pray will -- happen in the Middle East.

VERJEE: One important political leader, Yasser Arafat, stating that nothing tangible was gotten out of Aqaba, for the Palestinians at least. He said they got nothing. He said that unauthorized outposts were -- were meaningless. Just moving one caravan from one place to another meant nothing really.

Mr. Al-Kidwa, if I can ask you, when we hear comments like this, it could be interpreted as Yasser Arafat really trying to undermine the process here, trying to undermine his own prime minister, Mahmoud Abbas. How real is the power struggle between Mr. Abbas and Yasser Arafat?

AL-KIDWA: Let me first say that I don't think that the -- President Arafat said exactly what you have just quoted. I think he said that Mr. Sharon did not offer a lot of tangible things to the Palestinian people, and there is a difference. I would think that this is true.

We also think that the American position, as articulated by President Bush, offered some kind of serious hope for the future. Now, with regard to the -- what's -- the so-called power struggle, I think there is nothing -- not like that at all. We have an elected president, (UNINTELLIGIBLE) leader, and we have an appointed prime minister that...

VERJEE: OK.

AL-KIDWA: ... got the confidence vote of the (UNINTELLIGIBLE) council. Both men will do their job and -- to the best of their abilities, and we hope that this will continue in an appropriate way on the basis of the Palestinian law and the...

VERJEE: OK.

AL-KIDWA: ... Palestinian desires.

VERJEE: Nasser Al-Kidwa, the Palestinian representative to the United Nations. Daniel

Ayalon, the Israeli ambassador to the United States. And George Mitchell, a former U.S. senator and former Middle East negotiator.

Thank you all so much for speaking to us on "Q&A." Thank you.

That's this edition of "Q&A."

We're going to have more news in just a moment.

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**SHOW:** CNBC Special Report with Maria Bartiromo (9:00 PM ET) - CNBC

**June 2, 2003 Monday**

**LENGTH:** 2161 words

**HEADLINE:** **Nasser Al-Kidwa**, permanent Palestinian observer to the United Nations, discusses what the Palestinians and Israelis will have to do to achieve peace in the Middle East

**ANCHORS:** MARIA BARTIROMO

**BODY:**

Dr. CONDOLEEZZA RICE (National Security Advisor): Prime Minister Sharon and his partners in the Palestinian Authority, we believe now are going to be on a path that will lead to peace. That's why the president is going. The president would not go if he did not believe that there was a new opportunity for peace.

MARIA BARTIROMO, host:

So will Wednesday's three-way summit truly be a new opportunity for peace after years of hatred and 32 straight months of intense violence between the Israelis and Palestinians? We just heard from a senior advisor to Ariel s--Sharon. Joining me now here in the studio is **Nasser Al-Kidwa**, the permanent Palestinian observer to the United Nations.

Mr. Al-Kidwa, good to have you with us. Thank you.

Mr. **NASSER AL-KIDWA** (Palestinian Observer To The UN): Thank you.

BARTIROMO: Well, you heard the interview...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Yes.

BARTIROMO: ...with Dr. Gissin.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Mm-hmm.

BARTIROMO: He emphasized the need to end the terror. He said, and I quote, "If we do not eradicate terrorism, dismantle the terror groups, it will be difficult to achieve peace." Do you think Abbas comes to this meeting with, in fact, a real cease-fire?

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Well, let me first say before that, it is not only about ending terror. It's about ending terror and ending occupation as well. I think the 'road map' has in itself, the--the obligations that have to be carried out by both sides. There is three phases there. And it is true that the movement from one phase to another requires some kind of evaluation by--by the



quartet--the United States and--and its allies--about the results of--of each phase. But within the phase, both parties have to implement their obligations, in respect of the implementation by the other side. And in this regard, one has to stress the need for the removal of the unauthorized outpost, that is the settlements, and also the complete cessation of settlement activities. You have yet to hear something like that by the Israeli side. So it's both. As I said, it's--it's an attempt to ending violence and terrorism but also ending Israeli attacks, ending Israeli assassinations, Israeli destructions as well as ending settlement activities in the occupied territories.

BARTIROMO: Let--let's focus first on the obligation on the Palestinian side.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: OK.

BARTIROMO: And--and one of those obligations is to dismantle these relationships with militant groups. Israel has argued that a truce with Hamas is insufficient, that a truce will only give the militant group more power, more time to rebuild, in effect. Sharon is demanding that Abbas take--fol--take certain steps. We have the steps on screen. I'd like you to take--take a look at these steps which have been outlined in the 'road map': the arresting of terrorists, confiscating of weapons, dismantling of the militant organizations, taking preventative measures to, in fact, end the indictment to violence. Do you believe Abbas is ready to do this in conjunction with the obligations on the Israeli side having been met?

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Ultimately, I think the Palestinian Authority will have to do these things, yes. First, we are talking about--about a cease-fire that's--that's, by the way, include both--both aspects. One, the n--the need to s--to--to stop all military attacks against Israeli civilians. This is a must, because this violate international law. The other part, the cessation of all kind of violence, including violence in the occupied territories. And, frankly, you need the other side as well to stop--to stop military attacks so tha--that you can have this kind of a comprehensive cessation of violence and all kind of attacks by either--either sides. After that, you will create, then, the necessary environment for further actions to be taken. At that time, the overwhelming majority of the Palestinian people will start believing in this process again, will lend their support for the Palestinian Authority for the Palestinian government, so on and so forth.

But, again, for this to happen, you'll need to see some real steps being taken by the Israeli side as well, foremost of which a clear indication that settlement activities will have to stop. Settlements are illegal under international law. They constitute war crimes. They represent colonization of the Palestinian land. You can't assume--you can't expect any movement forward without first the Palestinian people are being told that this process is stopped, and now we are heading into the other direction, the direction of reconciliation and the path for the two states.

BARTIROMO: It does appear that each side basically has the same message, that we will fulfill our obligations once we see evidence that they are fulfilling their obligations. As you sit here tonight, would your people be prepared to take the first step?

Mr. AL-KIDWA: I'm not saying we will do our part only when--when Israel does its part. I am saying both of us have to do that at the same time. This is what Mr. Gissin did not say, and this is precisely what the 'road map' is saying, and it--it--it indicates steps one, two, three, four. Finally, for instance, we got the acceptance of the 'road map' by the Israeli government. At some

point the Israeli government said no, we will not give our acceptance. Luckily, it did happen, and now we need to see the statements because this is another requirement of the 'road map' itself, the statements by the two sides. We hope this will happen in Aqaba. And thirdly, specific steps has to be taken by both sides; the Palestinian side towards ending violence, the Israeli side towards ending ending military attacks and removing the outpost as well as cessation of all settlement activities. So together, simultaneously at the same time.

BARTIROMO: What is your feeling as far as what you've heard so far from the prime minister of Israel? For example, Mr. Sharon has--has--just last week, he used the word 'occupation' in an interview, which we were just talking about with Dr. Gissin. He said, 'We will be ready to carry out very painful steps. I have decided to make every effort to reach the settlements.' Have you not been encouraged by his comments so far? What are your expectations specifically for the summit?

Mr. AL-KIDWA: One cannot deny that you are hearing things coming from the Israeli side, most importantly from Prime Minister Sharon, that were not uttered before. There's no way to deny that. Things like...

BARTIROMO: So there's been a strategic change?

Mr. AL-KIDWA: That I cannot say. I cannot say that it went that much. I hope so, but you hear now about the need to end occupation. You hear terms such as 'the Palestinian people.' You hear that we want to live together in--in dignity and--and--and--and real co-existence. These are good, positive, encouraging results. Now whether they will really materialize and--and get into some concrete new facts on the ground, I hope so. And we definitely need to give it our best and--and--and to proceed together in that--in that road, hopefully, with full help by the US administration.

BARTIROMO: W--we will slip in a quick break, Mr. Al-Kidwa. When we come back, I'd like to discuss the role of Arafat and what you're seeing there. We will be right back with Nasser Al-Kidwa, the Palestinian observer to the United Nations. Do stay with us on SPECIAL REPORT tonight.

(Announcements)

President GEORGE W. BUSH: And--and--and I will put in as much time as necessary to achieve the vision of two states living side by side in peace.

BARTIROMO: Welcome back to SPECIAL REPORT. We are discussing the upcoming Middle Eastern summit, and I am here in the studio speaking to Nasser Al-Kidwa, the permanent Palestinian observer to the United Nations.

Let's talk a little about the relationship between Abbas and Arafat. They are said to speak daily, meet weekly. Is that correct?

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Oh, probably more. I think they are--they have very close relationship. They have been together for maybe--What?--30, 40 years, part of the Palestinian historic leadership, so...

BARTIROMO: It is widely seen that Arafat is working behind the scenes before the summit, and e--exerts a lot of control. In your view, how much influence does Arafat continue to have over these negotiations?

Mr. AL-KIDWA: A lot. President Arafat is the leader of the Palestinian people--legitimate leader and the elected president. He went along and the--the Palestinian institutions--political institutions went along with--with the establishment of the post of the prime minister and with the nomination of Mr. Abbas, basically, frankly because we want to cooperate with the United States. This was one of--of the--the main--the main conditions, if you wish, for the United States to proceed with--with--with things. So as such, we are hopeful, but let me tell you something. Mr. Abbas will never accept things less than what the Palestinian people might accept.

BARTIROMO: Of course, but...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Or any other leader at that same time, so I don't think that this is the--the main issue. Mr. Abbas is doing a good job. However, the issue of choosing a leader of the Palestinian people will remain the business of the Palestinian people.

BARTIROMO: But the issue is Arafat possibly undermining Abbas and undermining the peace proposals. Time magazine reports just today, and I quote, "Arafat is working behind the scenes with some success to undermine the new prime minister."

Mr. AL-KIDWA: I think this is utter nonsense. If--if--if Time magazine means that Arafat still control a lot of the decision-making process, probably the magazine is correct, but not to undermine the prime minister; actually to implement the work of the prime minister and hopefully together to proceed toward the--the establishment of real peace. At the end, the Israeli side needs an authentic leader--authentic leader to sign a solid agreement with them, and that is Mr. Arafat. Until then, I think Prime Minister Abu Mazen will do a very good job as he is doing just now.

BARTIROMO: Let me talk to you about the--the draft statement that Palestinian leaders are working on right now. This draft is expected to be released sometime during the summit.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Yes.

BARTIROMO: Early word is that this, the draft, so far, does not include an important element which has been sought very severely by Israel--a recognition of Israel's right to exist as a Jewish state. Is that in the draft?

Mr. AL-KIDWA: No, it is not in the draft, and it cannot be, and let me tell you why. First, a few years ago we accepted the--the concept of mutual recognition, that Palestine would recognize Israel and vice versa. And then at that time, we were told, no, you have to accept something which is very strange under international law, the formula of Israel's rights to exist. We accepted that, although it doesn't exist in international law, to indicate that we are sincere about the future relationship between the two sides. Now we are being told that we have to accept Israel's right to exist as a Jewish state, meaning to accept dropping the right of return for Palestinian refugees in advance. This is a code word for dropping this right, and it has nothing to do with reconciliation or co-existence between Israel and Palestine.

BARTIROMO: But--but, Mr. Al-Kidwa, the bottom line is, are you and the Israelis ready to split this piece of land? That's the--what...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Absolutely.

BARTIROMO: ...in the draft, what in the statement will be seen as a concession to the other side?

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Absolutely. The time we say we accept Israel and we accept its rights to exist within its 1967 borders. Israel has never said we accept Palestine on the whole West Bank and Gaza. And Mr. Sharon actually, publicly is speaking about Palestine on half of the West Bank, something that will never be accepted by the Palestinian side, and that is the dilemma. Now we are being asked to drop the right of refugees in advance, while it is something that should be negotiated during the final settlement between the two sides. So there's a lot of tricks there. I hope that viewers look carefully at these things and not just at the face value.

BARTIROMO: Mr. Al-Kidwa, good to have you with us. Thanks so much.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Thank you very much.

BARTIROMO: We appreciate it. Nasser Al-Kidwa joining us tonight.

Well, coming up in the next half-hour of SPECIAL REPORT, the business of baseball, basketball, and bureaucracies. We'll start with Christie Todd Whitman, former governor of New Jersey and soon to be former head of the Environmental Protection Agency. After two and a half years at the agency, we will hear about her victories, frustrations and what's next for her after she leaves Washington. This is SPECIAL REPORT. We'll be right back.

(Announcements)

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CNN

**SHOW:** CNN LATE EDITION WITH WOLF BLITZER 12:00

**November** 24, 2002 Sunday

Transcript # 112400CN.V47

**SECTION:** News; Domestic

**LENGTH:** 21101 words

**HEADLINE:** Biden, Hagel Discuss War on Terror; Gissin, al-Kidwa Talk About Mideast Peace; Black, DiGenova Debate New Wiretapping Powers

**GUESTS:** Joseph Biden, Chuck Hagel, Claudia Kennedy, George Joulwan, Raanan Gissin, **Nasser al-Kidwa**, Thomas Menino, Glenda Hood, Anthony Williams, Joseph DiGenova, Roy Black, Christopher Caldwell, Peter Beinart, Jonah Goldberg, Donna Brazile

**BYLINE:** Wolf Blitzer, David Grange, Bruce Morton, Jonathan Karl

**HIGHLIGHT:**

Senators Joseph Biden and Chuck Hagel discuss the effort to disarm Iraq and Saudi Arabia's role in the war on terror. Then, Israeli spokesman Raanan Gissin and Palestinian representative at the U.N., **Nasser al-Kidwa**, talk about the prospects of peace in the Middle East. Finally, criminal defense attorney Roy Black and former U.S. attorney Joseph DiGenova debate FBI's new wiretapping powers.

**BODY:**

WOLF BLITZER, HOST: It's noon in Washington, 9:00 a.m. here in Los Angeles, 7:00 p.m. in Jerusalem and 8:00 p.m. in Baghdad. Wherever you're watching from around the world, thanks for joining us for this special LATE EDITION, Showdown: Iraq.

We'll talk with two leading members of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee about the effort to disarm Iraq and Saudi Arabia's role in the war on terror in just a few minutes. But first, a CNN news alert.

(NEWSBREAK)

BLITZER: And joining us now to discuss a little bit more about this entire Saudi potential connection, the overall war on terror, and Iraq are two key members of the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in his home state of Delaware, the committee's outgoing chairman, Democrat Joseph Biden, and in Washington, D.C., the Republican Senator Chuck Hagel of Nebraska.

Senators, welcome back to LATE EDITION.

Senator Biden, I'll begin with you. As you read all these stories about the Saudi role, potential Saudi role, the connection, what's going on, as far as you can tell?

SEN. JOSEPH BIDEN (D), DELAWARE: What's going on is the Saudis are trying to catch up with 10, 12 years of very bad policy.

I am doubtful that there was an intentional transfer of money from the ambassador's wife to the hijackers, but it's clear, Wolf, there's a long pattern of the Saudis essentially buying off extremism in their country. They've built thousands of madrassas. They have charities that they know were not doing good things.

They've basically kept the wolf from their door, no pun intended, by sending money to these organizations as long as they stay outside of the country, and they've been incredibly lax. They're tightening up.

And so I think what this is, this is a continuing part of a saga where the Saudis don't know, have not checked, are not nearly conscientious enough in determining whether or not, quote, a "charity" is genuinely a charity or a front for, or a back door for, terrorists or terrorist-sympathizing organizations or individuals.

BLITZER: Senator Hagel, I want you to weigh in, as well. But, specifically, moving it forward a little bit, do you get the sense the Saudis right now are doing everything they can to cooperate with U.S. law enforcement, U.S. intelligence in dealing with these allegations and dealing with the overall war on terror?

SEN. CHUCK HAGEL (R), NEBRASKA: Wolf, I think they are getting there. I think as Joe has described it, he's given a good framework for what has been going on, and I do believe the Saudi government is in the process of catching up.

Now, let's remember a couple of things. One is there is no final report yet. Two, our CIA and FBI have taken issue with some of these preliminary findings. And I suspect there will be some very intriguing and exhilarating differences made here, and we will not get to that until that final report's done, as far as the conclusions.

But the bigger picture is this. Our government has been looking at the funding of these foundations over the last year, where that money goes. And I think just as Senator Biden said, it's probably doubtful that the Saudi government was intentionally allowing money to be funneled to terrorists.

But nonetheless, the Saudi government is going to have to define this in a much more critical and exact way than what we have seen in the past, and I do think that they'll get there. But they

have probably not done in the last 12 months as much as they need to do to deal with this issue.

BIDEN: Wolf, can I...

BLITZER: Senator Biden, I want you to weigh in and express, are you frustrated about the lack of, or the cooperation that the United States is getting from Saudi Arabia?

BIDEN: I think we're getting increasingly better cooperation, but if I can make an analogy for you. Right after 9/11, when we pointed out there were over 7,000 madrassas these guys funded, that is the Saudi government funded in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and they're just hate-holes, they're just places to fill with venom against America and the West, they said, "Well, OK, we're going to crack down." And they began to help us. They began to help us, they followed the money supply, et cetera.

But then they had a second stage. It's a little harder for them to tell very wealthy billionaires who aren't members of the family, who really are in fact independent of them, to tell them to stop funding these charities which are questionable. They started to do that.

In other words, they're getting gradually tighter and tighter, but they're not doing what we do in the United States of America. If we find out that you, Wolf Blazer (sic), is contributing to a charity that we think is a charity that supports terror, we will come down on you, Wolf Blazer (sic).

This government would not -- they, the government, stopped the direct funding, but they then were very hesitant to move on to Wolf Blazer (sic) and stop him from doing the funding.

We first got the answer that, "Well, you know, these are individual decisions made by wealthy individuals in our country and we're not going to control that." Well, they've gotten better and better and better. It's a little bit like they've had a bit of an epiphany here. They're beginning to see that this really does implicate them in ways that are very startling.

I would wait until the CIA report and FBI report to see whether the wife of the ambassador is directly implicated, but she may have indirectly been implicated without her own knowledge.

And this is just, they're just not nearly as tight as they should be relative to these funding mechanisms.

BLITZER: Senator Hagel, it was interesting this week at the meeting that President Bush had with the Russian president, Vladimir Putin, Putin specifically himself railed out against Saudi Arabia and its role in the whole war on terrorism. Listen to what President Putin said.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

VLADIMIR PUTIN, PRESIDENT OF RUSSIA (through translator): We should not forget about those who finance terrorism. Of the 19 terrorists who committed the main attacks on September 11 against the United States, 16 are citizens of Saudi Arabia. We should not forget about that.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: I think the actual number, Senator Hagel, was 15 as opposed to 16, but certainly



the leader of al Qaeda, Osama bin Laden, is a Saudi himself.

Does the United States need lecturing about Saudi Arabia from the Russian president?

HAGEL: Well, President Putin also included Pakistan in that critique, if you recall.

But I think, again, let's look at the bigger picture here. What we have cracked into here over the last year since September 11th is a universe that we've never had to explore.

We, the United States, Russians, all nations, live in an imperfect foreign relations world. There's rarely an easy choice in relationships. It's usually a choice somewhere in the middle. And we have deferred addressing the tough decisions, just like we are talking about here this morning, these issues regarding Saudi Arabia. Pakistan is another good example. Putin locked into that, as well.

Do we, the United States, consider Saudi Arabia and Pakistan allies? Yes, we do. Have they been important to us? Yes, they have. Are they especially important to us right now in our war on terrorism? Yes, they are. But do they have down sides that they bring with them to this relationship? Yes, they do.

So we are going to have to work through this in a steady way, challenge every area that needs to be challenged and probed, but keep in mind what the big picture and our long-term interests are. And that is that we win this war on terrorism. That means enhancements of our relationships, not necessarily looking the wrong way or other way when we have these tough issues to confront, which we've never confronted until the last 12 months. That's the game we're in right now, Wolf.

BLITZER: All right. And, Senator Biden, before we take a break, I want you to just wrap up this whole Saudi involvement, the Saudi aspect of this by talking a little about what the U.S. should be getting from Saudi Arabia right now as the U.S. prepares for the possibility of launching a war against Iraq.

The United States is getting cooperation militarily from the Kuwaitis, from the Qataris, from the Turks, but the Saudis right now are taking a very different stance. Is that a source of concern to you?

BIDEN: No, because they will do what we ultimately ask them to do.

The real problem here, Wolf, in my view, is a cultural one. Here you have a government that is essentially a dictatorship, essentially an oligarchy, one that is not a democracy. And the way in which all of their social programs are taking place is through personal philanthropy, in effect. And so what you have is we're trying to get them to change the way in which they culturally provide for those people in their country that are in need.

And so what happens is you have all these individual charities set up in effect -- I'm vastly exaggerating in the interest of time -- but these individual charities instead of a Department of Human Resources, for example, and you have no democratic input here.

And so we're asking them to curtail the way in which they've kept themselves in power by doling out all these little bit of, you know, dole to everyone out there. And they're finding out

now that a significant portion of those people to whom they dole these things out are not good people. They're bad people. They mean them harm, and they mean us harm.

And so this is a very serious cultural change they're trying to undertake while they continue to resist anything remotely approaching democratic institutions. And until they do, Wolf, we are going to have a problem with Saudi Arabia, and this is going to be a long time and arduous journey between us and Saudi Arabia over the next decade.

BLITZER: All right. Let's take a quick break, senators, we have a lot more to talk about, including Iraq, the potential of a U.S. war with Iraq, indeed the entire showdown Iraq.

We're also looking for your phone calls. LATE EDITION will continue right after this.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

GEORGE W. BUSH, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: Deception this time will not be tolerated.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: President Bush in Europe this week, pressing to disarm the Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein.

Welcome back to this special LATE EDITION, Showdown: Iraq.

We're talking with two key members of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the panel's chairman, the Democratic Senator Joseph Biden of Delaware and the Republican Senator Chuck Hagel of Nebraska.

Senator Hagel, do you believe that these upcoming inspections by these U.N. weapons inspectors can really get the job done?

HAGEL: We'll see, Wolf. The important thing is that we are now on a diplomatic high ground process and we are working that process to, in fact, reach a conclusion.

And what's important there is that we have the world community with us. We have the force of the United Nations with us. It's now up to Saddam Hussein. And what happens as we go along is really in the hands of Saddam Hussein.

So I think we'll have to wait and see, but I think this is the correct course of action that we are on. And we are preparing for a military option, if that would be required, and that's appropriate.

BLITZER: Senator Biden, are you optimistic that the inspectors can do it?

BIDEN: I'm optimistic that the job will get done one way or the other.

And I agree with Senator Hagel. If in fact, he blocks them and/or there is duplicity somehow and it's not functioning, then I think the world will support the effort to go in and take out those weapons and find them.

But it remains to be seen what action he'll take. My guess is he'll probably misjudge, as he always does. And my guess is that we're likely to be, with other willing nations, at war with

Saddam over the next -- sometime in the next six to 12 months.

But I hope that's not true. This is the single best hope we have. But if we do go now, we are so, so much better off because the leadership of the president and going through the United Nations that it drastically enhances our standing in the world, as well as our prospects in Iraq.

BLITZER: Senator Hagel, let me ask you the specific questions about these no-fly zones. As you well know, Resolution 1441, the latest U.N. Security Council resolution, says that the Iraqis should not interfere with coalition aircraft. But since the Iraqis accepted that resolution, they have indeed continued to target British and U.S. planes patrolling the no-fly zones in the north and in the south.

The U.N. secretary general, Kofi Annan, insists this is not necessarily a violation of the agreement. He says this -- he said it this past week: "I don't think the Council will say that this is in contravention of the resolution that was recently passed."

But the Pentagon spokeswoman, Victoria Clarke, has a very different point of view, reflecting, indeed, the Bush administration stance. Listen to what she says.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

VICTORIA CLARKE, DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS: Two things are very, very clear. One is we're going to continue to patrol these no-fly zones. We are going to continue to protect the Iraqi people from the Saddam Hussein regime. Second thing is, we do consider it a material breach.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: Do you consider -- do you agree with the administration, Senator Hagel, that the Iraqis are already in material breach of Resolution 1441?

HAGEL: The firing at American and British aircraft, Wolf, is not new. This has been going on, off and on, for the last 10 years. Is that right? No. But the fact is, this is not a new development. Is this a provocation of Saddam Hussein's government trying to interfere with our inspectors? I don't think that we can make that case.

We're going to have to resolve this issue, because you've got the American government interpreting it one way and the secretary general of the United Nations interpreting it another way.

Obviously, if there is some blatant, provocative act on the part of Saddam Hussein's government, then I think that's a clear and easy issue to deal with. We'll know what we have to do.

But in this case, since it is not a new provocation, we're going to have to find a way to resolve this. Because if this continues, then we may find in the next two or three weeks the U.N. inspection effort completely neutered and neutralized and ineffective because the United States government says, "Well, I'm sorry this is a material breach. All bets are off, and we have now one option and that is a military option." So this is going to have to get resolved within the United Nations Security Council.

BLITZER: It's clear, Senator Biden, that the Bush administration is not going to go to the U.N. Security Council specifically on these -- the interference, the Iraqis targeting the U.S. and the British warplanes in the northern and southern no-fly zones, even though they insist the Iraqis are in material breach since they accepted the latest U.N. Security Council resolution.

A lot of critics, including conservative Republicans, are wondering where else would the U.S. allow an enemy, if you will, to fire on U.S. warplanes and not respond, let's say, more massively than the U.S. has already responded?

BIDEN: Fortunately, the president doesn't listen to the Defense Department spokesperson most of the time. You say, Wolf, I think your phrase, this reflects the Bush administration's position. I would respectfully suggest nothing reflects the Bush administration position until President Bush states it.

You'll recall the Defense Department said we will not go to the United Nations. You recall the Defense Department said we will not go to the Congress. You'll recall the Defense Department said there is no option here but the use of force. Fortunately, the president makes his own decisions. He listens to other voices.

This seems to me to be the perfect ploy for Saddam Hussein. Get us in a fight with the United Nations over whether or not a 10-year pattern of firing at American planes is a material breach. Divide the United Nations, divide the allies on that issue, and then do exactly what Senator Hagel predicted would happen, render useless the investigations.

The president is too smart for this. The president will say when in fact it is materially, it's a material breach that existed before this new resolution and it continues. We should not take it lightly. We should fire on them. We should take out whatever they fire at us. We should go beyond that if we need to. But we should not all play into Saddam Hussein's hands and break up this coalition.

There will be stages here. What you have is the Defense Department doesn't want us there in the first place, Wolf. They never wanted us to go the United Nations in the first place. They think the president made a serious mistake in locking himself into this process. It's Powell against the rest of that organization. And this is just part of that same old game.

Let's listen to the president of the United States. I predict he will not blow the whole thing up over these continued 10-year pattern of firing on American aircraft.

BLITZER: So what you're saying, Senator Biden, just to be specific, not the Defense Department, what you're saying is that the secretary of defense, Donald Rumsfeld, is on a different page than the secretary of state, Colin Powell?

BIDEN: Absolutely, and so's the vice president based on what I can see. And they're great men. They have a fundamentally different view.

They think -- I'm reading into what I know from my conversations over the last year and the actions that have occurred over the last year. They believe it was a material mistake to go to the United Nations, to get ourselves locked into this process. They know full well that if we were unilaterally tomorrow to say this is a breach, and we invade it, then we would lose all of what we

just built up.

Let's have a little bit of patience here. Nothing new has happened. Let's let the inspectors go forward. Use all the force needed to defend those no-fly efforts. Do whatever we have to do to do that. But let's not get into a semantic debate about whether is a material breach. Let's establish to the world that this guy is continuing to pursue weapons of mass destruction, generate a consensus to the world to go in and take him out.

BLITZER: All right, Senator Biden and Senator Hagel, stand by. We're going to take another quick break. We'll continue our conversation.

Also we'll be taking your phone calls. LATE EDITION will continue right after this.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Welcome back to LATE EDITION, Showdown: Iraq. We're continuing our conversation with Delaware Democratic Senator Joseph Biden and Nebraska Republican Senator Chuck Hagel.

Senators, we have a caller from Wisconsin who has a question. Go ahead, Wisconsin.

CALLER: Hello, Senators, how are you doing today?

HAGEL: How are you?

CALLER: Can you hear me?

BIDEN: We can hear you.

BLITZER: Yes, go ahead with your question.

CALLER: OK, my question is -- it's quick -- I hear a lot that we're not allowed to -- or it's hard for us to fight Iraq, Saddam Hussein and al Qaeda at the same time, although during World War II we were able to fight two wars, basically, at the same time. Why is it so hard today?

BLITZER: What about that, Senator Hagel? You're a military veteran. Can the United States fight Iraq and continue the war on terrorism at the same time?

HAGEL: Yes, we can, if we have allies. That's a critical part of all of this, in my opinion, Wolf. The enhancement of America's relationships around the world is the key to our future success in this war against terrorism. That means enhancement of intelligence gathering and sharing with other nations, law enforcement, diplomatic, humanitarian, economic trade, as well as the military piece.

And we will do what we must do, certainly, to protect ourselves and our allies. But it's going to require coalitions of common interests, partnerships. And that is the future, I think, in the 21st century, and that's the future for America.

BLITZER: Senator Biden, as you well know, the NATO alliance expanded this week, seven new nations, former Communist countries coming into NATO. The president was in Lithuania on Saturday, and he spoke in words that presumably he believes the people in Lithuania and elsewhere would appreciate. I want you to listen to this one specific reference he made to World

War II and the current war on terrorism and a potential war with Iraq. Listen to this.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BUSH: Our alliance with freedom is being tested again, by new and terrible dangers. Like the Nazis and the Communists before them, the terrorists seek to end lives and control all life. And like the Nazis and the Communists before them, they will be opposed by free nations, and the terrorists will be defeated.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: Is that appropriate, to compare these current threats against the United States to the Communist threat during the Cold War and even earlier, as well as the Nazis during World War II?

BIDEN: As I heard the president, I think what he was doing is comparing not so much the Communists and Nazis to al Qaeda, but the need, the kind of thing that was needed to defeat the Communists and Nazis was needed now, which is what Chuck Hagel talked about, cooperation of nations that love peace, nations that seek freedom.

One of the points that Senator Hagel made a moment ago -- and I completely concur with his answer to the caller, I'd just expand it slightly -- is that we have the military wherewithal to fight both al Qaeda, wherever we find it, and Iraq and more, if need be.

What we have to have, though, is, we have to have the intelligence cooperation of a vast number of other countries, in order to be able to know where to send our military. And if they're at odds with our overall policy on Iraq or anything else and refuse to cooperate with us, it makes it impossible for us to fight both wars effectively, against al Qaeda and against Iraq.

And so I think what the president was talking about -- and I agree with him -- is that there is a need to have the same kind of cohesion, the same kind of understanding of the threat and the same kind of cooperation that it took to defeat Nazi Germany and that it took to defeat the Soviet Union, in effect defeat the Soviet Union, with the Wall coming down.

BLITZER: Senator Hagel, as you know, in the war against al Qaeda, the U.S. still has not captured or killed Osama bin Laden, but it did manage to catch what U.S. officials describe as a "big fish" this week, one al Qaeda operative named Abd al-Rahim al-Nashiri.

How big of a deal is this? Is this guy a big fish?

HAGEL: He is a big fish. And this, once again, points up the need for cooperation among our allies. As Joe Biden just said and reflected on some of my earlier comments, the intelligence gathering and sharing, the processing of that is the way we scoop these guys up. This is the way we really deal with this new scourge of mankind called terrorism.

And every time we can pick one of these guys up, we build on that success. We will continue to build on that success. So this was a good week for our intelligence community.

BLITZER: We're almost out of time, but Senator Biden, before we go, I have to ask you this question. We saw a lot, we heard a lot from the former Vice President Al Gore this week. He seems to be making a lot of indications that he's going to run again for the presidency. A, do you

believe he will? And, B, are you thinking about running for the presidency?

BIDEN: Yes and yes.

BLITZER: How seriously along the road are you toward making a formal announcement that you want to run?

BIDEN: Oh, I have to learn a lot more about what prospects I'd have before I would do that. I am looking at it. I am a long way away, but I think Al Gore is not and should not be. Al Gore is a significant national figure. I think if he decides to run he'll be formidable, and I think he should.

BLITZER: But you are ready to challenge him as leader of the Democratic Party and seek that presidential nomination, at least you're thinking about that very seriously?

BIDEN: If after the next several months I concluded I had a reasonable shot of doing that, I would not be reluctant to do it. I don't know that I have that reasonable shot. I paid no real attention to it in the sense of going out.

As you know, you've covered presidential politics, Wolf, you have to do this full time. I have not been doing it full time. I'm going to go take a look and decide whether or not it's viable.

But if it were, I have real disagreements with Al on some things. I would not hesitate to run because he's running. But I do think he's very formidable within our party, and obviously he's a serious fellow.

BLITZER: And what do you bring to the table? When you talk about disagreements, what do you think you would bring to the Democratic Party as leader of the party as its presidential nominee that Al Gore would not necessarily bring?

BIDEN: Well, that's a little premature to engage in that at this moment.

BLITZER: All right.

BIDEN: Thank you.

(LAUGHTER)

BLITZER: But it's always fun to do it in any case.

BIDEN: Thank you very much.

BLITZER: Senator Hagel, you're looking at becoming the majority in the Senate. You're going to be -- what are you going to be doing now in your role? Are you going to be chairman of the committee?

HAGEL: Well, Senator Lugar is going to replace Joe Biden. And fortunately for this country, I think Senators Lugar and Biden are two of the preeminent thinkers and most experienced foreign policy people we have in government. They work closely together.

I then will be the ranking Republican on the Foreign Relations Committee. I look forward to working with the new chairman and the outgoing chairman over the next couple of years, working with the administration. We have many great challenges ahead of us.



And I would say that as far as my family's concerned, we already have a president, and that's Bush. His name is Bush, and I expect him to run again. And if Joe decides to run, I think he'd be a formidable candidate.

(LAUGHTER)

BIDEN: That's a long way away.

BLITZER: Senator Biden and Senator Hagel, we'll be watching all of this in the next weeks and months to come, and we'll have a little bit of fun on this program, as well. Always good to have both of you on the show.

BIDEN: Thank you very much, Wolf.

HAGEL: Thank you.

BLITZER: Thank you very much. Thanks to both of you.

Just ahead, U.S. troops prepare for a possible second war in the Persian Gulf. What will they face this time around? We'll get some unique insight into the U.S. plan from the former NATO supreme allied commander, General George Joulwan, the retired U.S. Army lieutenant general, Claudia Kennedy, and the retired U.S. Army brigadier general, David Grange.

It's all coming up on LATE EDITION.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BUSH: My expectation is, is that we can do this peacefully if Saddam Hussein disarms. That's my expectation. But Mr. Saddam Hussein has got a decision to make.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: President Bush speaking during a visit with European allies this past week.

Welcome back to LATE EDITION, Showdown: Iraq.

If the crisis with Saddam Hussein does end in war, what are the challenges of a U.S.-led military campaign this time around? Joining us now with some perspective, three very distinguished military veterans.

In Washington, the former supreme allied commander of NATO, retired U.S. Army General George Joulwan. Also in Washington, retired U.S. Army Lieutenant General Claudia Kennedy. She's the Army's first female three-star general and is the author of an important book about that experience, entitled "Generally Speaking." And joining us from Oakbrook, Illinois, is retired U.S. Army Ranger and Brigadier General David Grange. He's also a CNN military analyst.

Generals, good to have all three of you on LATE EDITION.

General Joulwan, you're a retired four-star general so I'll begin with you.

(LAUGHTER)

The U.S. military, by most accounts, seems to be pretty much ready to go. It's deployed in

the region. Probably going to take a few more weeks, but what's your sense right now as far as readiness level of the U.S. military if the president should give that order to go to war?

GEN. GEORGE JOULWAN (RET.), FORMER NATO ALLIED SUPREME COMMANDER: I think we're fairly well set, Wolf. We've deployed command and control headquarters, troops, the prepositioned stocks are ready. Our air bases are up. The predeployment of both air, land and sea forces are there. I think it's very important here not to get locked into option A or option B because I'm not sure the president has made that decision yet. But all options are still on the table, the military are working all those options. But quite a bit, quite an impressive bit of deployment and much different than we were in 1990.

BLITZER: And I want to flesh some of those differences out in a moment.

But, General Kennedy, as you look at that readiness, how long can a military remain in that kind of high-ready capability without losing some of its edge?

LT. GEN. CLAUDIA KENNEDY (RET.), U.S. ARMY: Well, that's always something we think about, and our commanders both at the strategic level and at the tactical level have a very good sense of how to cycle the soldiers through periods of intense training and then less intense activity.

BLITZER: So basically what, is this a matter of weeks, months? How long can they continue at sort of this hair-trigger level?

KENNEDY: Well, this army is the best prepared and the most ready we've ever had. And so, part of the reason for that is the leadership that they get. That leadership is very sensitive to the need to keep people in a high-energy state. And so we're able to do this as long as it takes. We're in here for the long haul.

BLITZER: General Grange, if the readiness level is eventually, once the president gives the order, supposed to be, let's say, at a 10, where do you estimate the U.S. military is right now?

BRIG. GEN. DAVID GRANGE (RET.), CNN MILITARY ANALYST: Yes, I don't think any military is ever at a 10. There's always things as a commander that you want to do that you haven't had time to do. But it's true, it's the best trained army in the world. It has the most experience of any army in the world since the first Desert war all the way up through all the operations ongoing until now. So it's ready.

There's some things that need to be tweaked. There's some more stocks that need to be replenished. But it's in good shape and this is what soldiers, Marines live for is actually this type of training.

BLITZER: Airmen and sailors, as well, I'm sure you meant to include them in your analysis, General Grange.

GRANGE: Absolutely.

BLITZER: Let's get right to our caller from Georgia. Go ahead, Georgia.

CALLER: Yes, thank you very much, Wolf. I'd like to ask your outstanding panel, in the event we attack Iraq, how many ground troops will be needed and how long do you think it'll

take to achieve victory?

BLITZER: Tough but important question, General Joulwan.

JOULWAN: Again, I hate to give a number. I think the 70,000 to 80,000 would seem, I think is something we should think about. But remember what I said. The president has not yet made a decision.

And the president will make the decision, not any of his Cabinet. The president will make his decision. And based on that option, whether it's going to be quick with SOF and Air Force, that's option A, all the way to a large ground force.

I would not underestimate the number that's going to be required now. I think it's very important to keep all those options on the table. If regime change comes into this and that means going into Baghdad, that's going to require another set of force structure. I can tell you the military is planning for all of that. I think they're looking at simultaneity, which they're not just going to come in from one axis, from one country. This is the sort of pressure that I think Saddam Hussein needs to feel.

So, the numbers involved here can vary from a very small number with SOF and Air Force, up to a larger number if that political decision is to go in and take Baghdad.

BLITZER: General Kennedy, I'm sure you've noticed, as a lot of our viewers have noticed because I get tons of e-mail on this, that many of the retired generals perhaps are considered more dovish as far as going to war with Iraq, specifically Secretary of State Colin Powell, the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, our own General Wesley Clark, a former NATO supreme allied commander, as opposed to some of the political leaders, some of them who never served in the military.

What's your take on this?

KENNEDY: Well, my sense of this, Wolf, is that retired general officers, as is true of all ranks of soldiers who have retired, we have a perspective on this that is built on experience. And General Powell and General Clark, as well as any number of others, understand the price of war and we understand what it costs.

And so we want to make sure that when this country goes to war that we're very serious about it, not only about the military operation but about the sustained, political effort, the sustained economic development that would be devoted to this region upon completion of military operations.

BLITZER: All right. Generals, we're going to take a quick break. We're only getting started.

We have a lot more analysis to do with our outstanding panel of retired generals. They'll also be taking more of your phone calls. This special LATE EDITION, Showdown: Iraq, will be right back.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Welcome back to LATE EDITION, Showdown: Iraq. We're talking about the military challenges of a possible new war with Iraq with the former NATO supreme allied

commander, retired General George Joulwan, the retired U.S. Army lieutenant general, Claudia Kennedy, and the retired U.S. Army brigadier general and CNN military analyst, David Grange.

General Grange, I want you to listen to what the secretary of defense, Donald Rumsfeld, told CNN's Bob Novak this past weekend, over these past few days about the next war, if there is a next war, against Iraq. Listen to this.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

DONALD RUMSFELD, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE: Saddam Hussein's forces are considerably weaker today than they were then, and our forces are considerably stronger.

The fact remains that the existence of weapons of mass destruction changed the equation. And so, the very reason why it's important for him to disarm also changes the circumstance quite substantially. And one has to be sensitive to those risks.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: Talk, General Grange, about those risks. Assuming the Iraqis militarily are weaker, the United States militarily is stronger, there is this whole wild card of weapons of mass destruction.

GRANGE: Well, that's correct. I mean, tank on tank, aircraft on aircraft, there's obviously no match, and I think Saddam and his regime knows that.

The threat would be a special Republican Guard fighting in the cities, as an example, or use of WMD, in this case a chemical attack on an advancing U.S. force or coalition force or starting, let's say, some type of biological warfare on his own people, like the Shi'a in the south, to contaminate an avenue of approach moving north.

Things like that he could use, and I think he's the kind of person that would do it, and likely if we go to war again.

BLITZER: That sounds, General Joulwan, like a huge potential challenge facing the U.S.

JOULWAN: Of course it is, and not just the U.S. I think it's also a great challenge for our European and NATO allies who are very close to Iraq, Turkey in particular, very important for our ally Israel and other nations in the region.

So I truly think that the weapons of mass destruction, by the way, have been around for 20-plus years in Iraq are something that needs to be contended with. I wouldn't panic over it, but we need to address it.

And, by the way, I'm a little bit concerned about being a doveish retired general here...

(LAUGHTER)

... but I think it's something that we really need to be concerned with but equally with our allies.

BLITZER: I didn't say you were a doveish general.

(LAUGHTER)

I called General Powell and General Clarke doveish. We'll talk about that in a moment. Generals, all of you stand by. I'm not categorizing any of you.

We're going to take another quick break. Coming up in the next hour of LATE EDITION, we'll get much more insight from our distinguished military panel. Then we'll move on, talk about the war on terror. We'll have three big-city mayors. They'll be weighing in on the state of homeland security in the United States.

All that, much more, including Israeli and Palestinian officials. LATE EDITION will be right back.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Welcome back to LATE EDITION. We'll continue our military roundtable in just a moment, including more phone calls for our three generals, but first, here's CNN's Carol Lin in Atlanta with a news alert.

(NEWSBREAK)

BLITZER: We're getting some insight into the obstacles and challenges of a possible new war with Iraq from the former NATO supreme allied commander, retired General George Joulwan, retired U.S. Army Lieutenant General Claudia Kennedy, and retired U.S. Army Brigadier General and CNN military analyst David Grange.

General Kennedy, if you're taking a look at the differences of the U.S. and the Iraqi militaries a dozen years ago as opposed today, you add in this ingredient that the Iraqis, if pressed against the corner, Saddam Hussein might unleash weapons of mass destruction. That certainly scares a lot of Americans right now who are worried about their loved ones who may serving in the U.S. military.

KENNEDY: Yes, well, certainly people are always very proud of the people who serve who are from their families who serve in our American military, and always a bit concerned especially in times of active operations like these.

One of the differences is that, compared to the first Gulf War, is that our munitions are far more precise than they were a dozen years ago. We have a more capable army. It will be a different size and scope of a war, although I completely agree with General Joulwan that there's a lot of range in the planning right now.

And I think that one would have to assess that the Iraqi military lacks the same robustness that it even bordered on before. And, frankly, we saw what happened once active operations got under way.

BLITZER: Do you see, General Grange, perhaps on a much bigger scale, but the same model that was used to effectively liberate Afghanistan from the Taliban and al Qaeda a year ago, that same model, bringing in special operations forces early on, then working with these -- the air power, do you see that effectively getting the job done, at least to start with, in Iraq?

GRANGE: I think it'll be more simultaneous use of forces this time, both general-purpose and special-operating forces. And I think it may start off with a limited size, but very quickly

it'll, I think, produce overwhelming force, in case things change, once you start to fight, which always appears to be the case, and then have enough force in place, when you go into the consolidation phase, after you remove the regime, that you can control Iraq itself for the transition.

BLITZER: General Joulwan, we saw a historic expansion of NATO this past week. Seven additional countries from Eastern Europe, the former Soviet bloc, now full-scale members of NATO, something that would have been unthinkable only a few years ago. And the Russians simply stood by the side. The president then went to see President Putin the next day and got a pretty warm reception over there, as well.

What role as an organization, if any, should NATO have if there is in fact another war against Iraq?

JOULWAN: Well, I think, first of all, the Prague summit was a great success. And when linked to the congressional resolution here, the U.N. resolution, and now a very strong resolution coming out of Prague, it's very significant. And I think politically that's important for Saddam Hussein to feel that pressure, so he doesn't miscalculate.

I think the allies can, and NATO in particular, can help in many different ways: basing, overflight rights, logistics, as well as on the ground. Remember, there are 400 Romanians now in Afghanistan, with U.S. forces. I think you will see several of our NATO nations joining us, if and when we get involved in Iraq.

And remember also that the Germans and Dutch will take over the international security force in Afghanistan. There is a willingness, and I think that was demonstrated.

This cohesion, this mutual trust and confidence that we felt for so many years in NATO is there again today. NATO is every bit as essential today as it was in the past. I hope we realize that. And they will be very important, particularly Turkey as a NATO member, if and when we go into Iraq.

BLITZER: All right. Let's take a caller from Kansas. Kansas, go ahead, please.

CALLER: Yes. My question is, after Iraq, what other nations we take on, especially nations where the terrorism evolved, namely, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia?

BLITZER: General Kennedy, your background, at least in part, is in intelligence. What happens after Iraq, assuming there is a war with Iraq?

KENNEDY: Well, one of the most important activities in the aftermath of military operations in Iraq is to do something about making sure that that country does not fragment, that politically they're able to find a way to effect a regime change that has some kind of transformation from the current dictatorship to something approaching democracy, and to get back on their feet economically.

I think the focus ought to be on Iraq and making sure that these people, who are basically well-educated, well-schooled, have plenty of background to be able to take on their own self-governance, that they're able to do that.

Now, that requires a longer-term commitment by the United States and all of our allies than just the period covered by military operations.

BLITZER: We know, General Grange, the U.S. military has done some extensive planning for the possibility of urban warfare in Baghdad, other major cities of Iraq. We, in fact, have some 3-D animation of some of the things that they've been looking at. But a lot of Americans remember Mogadishu, some other unpleasant experiences.

Is the special operations forces, are these capabilities there for the U.S. military, if they have to go into a huge city with millions of people, like Baghdad?

GRANGE: A lot of training effort has gone into fighting in cities, especially in the last 10 years. Some units are very good at it. Others are getting better all the time. It's a priority of training for Marine and Army units and aircraft operating in city areas, like helicopters.

So, the military's much better than it used to be. It's difficult. It's something we don't want to get involved in, but you probably have to at times. And I think the military's going to be ready for it.

BLITZER: General Joulwan, why is it so hard for the U.S. military in Afghanistan and along the border, let's say, between Afghanistan and Pakistan, to find Osama bin Laden?

Everyone assumes he is now alive, and everyone seems to assume that he's along that border someplace. Why can't the U.S. military and its coalition partners there find him?

JOULWAN: Well, it's always difficult to find one individual, but -- and I hope we learned the lesson from Afghanistan, if and when we go to Iraq. The point of military operations is to impose your will on the enemy.

I don't think we did that adequately in Afghanistan. We had opportunities at Tora Bora and Anaconda to close with (ph) and destroy the enemy. We didn't do that effectively, in my opinion. And therefore, many of the al Qaeda escaped.

We are now making adjustments in Afghanistan. We cannot make that mistake in Iraq. There is never a free operation in terms of casualty-free operations.

But what we should focus on is what is the mission, the clarity of that mission, and get on with it. There will be a price to pay, but we cannot make the mistakes we made in Afghanistan, we made in Lebanon, we made in Bosnia and the Balkans. We have to learn. And we must learn that in Iraq if and when we commit to force.

BLITZER: General Kennedy...

JOULWAN: And I think it's very important.

BLITZER: Go ahead, General Kennedy, I want you to have the last word. A lot of our viewers looking at the seasons changing, the weather factor, if in fact the president gives the order to go to war against Iraq -- December, January, February and March.

Is the weather an issue that the president and the military command has to consider?

KENNEDY: Absolutely, Wolf. We think about the weather in every single military



operation, whether we're in the summer or we're in the winter. And remember that our special operation troops, as well as our light infantry, train, at least half of them, train under severe winter conditions, and we're able to go in and do that.

The other part of this is that when we've been developing weapons in the last 10 or 12 years, one of the considerations has to do not only with night operations but winter, severe cold weather operations.

BLITZER: Now, there's a bigger problem, though -- and let me have the last word, General Grange -- as far as dust is concerned, in that part of the world, desert warfare and the heat if it gets to March, April. Is that a deadline, in effect, for going to war?

GRANGE: There's never a deadline. It's a consideration. It's a factor. There'll be wearing on parts of machinery, combat equipment and helicopters, but it will not be a show-stopper. It's tougher to operate, but I believe the forces are capable of doing that.

BLITZER: Three retired U.S. generals joining us. Thanks to all three of you, General Joulwan, General Kennedy, General Grange. Always a pleasure having you on this program.

When we return, a new round of violence in the Middle East. Is there any chance of renewed efforts for peace? We'll talk with the Palestinian representative to the United Nations, Nasser al-Kidwa, and Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's aide, Raanan Gissin. They'll join me live when LATE EDITION continues.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BUSH: We're going to continue to work toward peace in the Middle East. Two states living side by side in peace is the vision.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: President Bush commenting on the latest cycle of violence in the Middle East. Eleven Israelis were killed and dozens more were injured in a Palestinian suicide bus bombing in Jerusalem on Thursday. And a 13-year-old Palestinian boy and a British United Nations worker were killed and another Palestinian man was injured in a subsequent Israeli crackdown in the West Bank and Gaza.

Joining us now from Jerusalem is the spokesman for the Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, Raanan Gissin, and in New York, the Palestinian representative to the United Nations, Nasser al-Kidwa.

Gentlemen, welcome back to LATE EDITION.

I want to get to all of those issues in a moment, but Raanan Gissin, we just had a lengthy discussion about Iraq.

What is the position of the Israeli government? If the U.S. goes to war against Iraq and the Iraqis were to attack Israel once again as they did a dozen years ago, what would Israel do?

RAANAN GISSIN, ISRAELI SPOKESMAN: Well, Israel's a peace-seeking nation. We're

not looking for any wars with anyone, neither with the Palestinians nor with the Iraqis.

But, of course, if we are attacked -- and I see that as not as the most reasonable scenario, because I believe that certain precautions and certain measures will be taken so that this will not happen. But if it does, I can assure you that Israel will know how to defend its citizens like any other democracy. And that's our prime responsibility.

But I don't believe that we will reach that kind of a scenario. I think the planning of the war, as we learn it from the United States, if there will be a war, and hopefully there won't be, but if there will be one, that issue of attack against Israel will be taken care in advance.

BLITZER: Well, let me press you on that because you obviously are vague, perhaps deliberately so. What does that mean, it would be taken care of in advance, so that the Iraqis, for example, don't launch Scuds at Israeli targets?

GISSIN: Well, I believe that it's become common knowledge, both in your press in the States as well as here, in the cooperation that we have with the United States. And the United States, if it is going to go to a war against Iraq, is going to neutralize in advance the launch capabilities of the Iraqis with regard to weapons that they may have, whether those are weapons of mass destruction or nonconventional weapons.

But at any rate, you can rest assured that we have taken all the defensive measures in order to protect our citizens. We also have offensive capabilities, and I think that the Iraqis will think twice before they decide ever to use these weapons.

I would say that a major threat to the countries of the Middle East and other countries in the world lies more so with the spread of terrorist activity rather than with the launching of these missiles.

BLITZER: All right. Let me bring Ambassador al-Kidwa in.

What do you sense will be the reaction of the Palestinians in the West Bank, Gaza, elsewhere, if the U.S. finds itself at war, militarily speaking, against Iraq?

**NASSER AL-KIDWA**, PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVE TO THE U.N.: Well, we believe that the region does not need another war. This is -- this would be a very dangerous development. I hope that it's not going to take place. And we believe that Security Council Resolution 1441 provides for a peaceful solution through the inspection regime.

Unfortunately, we also believe that Israel is pushing, Israel and its friends, I must say, is pushing for a war. And we fear irresponsible behavior on the part of the Israeli authorities, including, for instance, waging even broader attacks against the Palestinian people and maybe getting into additional illegal schemes against the Palestinian people in the occupied territories.

BLITZER: Raanan Gissin, two accusations Ambassador al-Kidwa just made against your government. Let's handle both of them, if you could respond briefly.

Are you encouraging the United States to go to war against Iraq, your government?

GISSIN: No, we're not, and we're not involved in any conduct of the war. We support the United States and President Bush efforts to eradicate terrorism because it's a threat to all

democracies around the world, but we have no intention of going to war, and we're not involved in this war.

All I can say that right now, for the past six weeks, we've been facing a wave of unprecedented terrorist activity from all the Palestinian terrorist groups, and we had to exercise our right of self-defense. And this would seem that the ones who are trying to instigate an escalation is not Israel but rather the Palestinian terrorist groups, with, I must say regrettably, the support of the Palestinian Authority.

BLITZER: All right. Let's let Ambassador al-Kidwa respond to that charge from Raanan Gissin.

Go ahead, Ambassador.

AL-KIDWA: Well, I believe that the term "self-defense" is very misleading. Let's recall that Israel exists in the occupied territory as an occupying power. It has been there for more than 35 years, waging the most oppressive campaign against the Palestinian people and actually waging even colonialism, trying to expand beyond its border and trying to annex even parts of the occupied territories.

So the legal aspect and the political meaning of the situation has always to be borne in mind. So, the situation is completely different. Again, Israel is an occupying power. And the only issue that it has to do is to end its occupation, as the United States by the way repeatedly called for, and allow the existence of a Palestinian state -- a real one, with full sovereignty over its land and its people.

BLITZER: Raanan Gissin, I'll give you a chance briefly to respond, but we have to take a commercial break. Go ahead and respond briefly, and then we'll come right back. Go ahead, Raanan.

GISSIN: Well, I think this is never been said before here on CNN, but the ones who deny Israel's right for self-defense also deny my birth right. This is not occupied territory, disputed territories, because I have birth rights on that land, is equal and if not more than Mr. Al-Kidwa.

I recognize his rights to the land. He never recognized my inherent, historical rights to the land which is my ancestral homeland.

BLITZER: And you're referring -- hold on one second. You're referring, Raanan Gissin, specifically to the West Bank, right?

GISSIN: No, I'm saying that the ones who deny my right of self-defense, it derives from denial of my inherent birth rights to the land that I live on. I'm not an occupying power.

AL-KIDWA: You are an occupying power.

GISSIN: I lived on that land for 4,000 years. My forefathers -- no, I'm not. This is disputed territory between two people.

BLITZER: Ambassador Al-Kidwa, go ahead very quickly, go ahead and respond.

AL-KIDWA: There are 37 Security Council resolutions on the situation on occupied territory

that is the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Twenty-seven of those resolutions define Israel as occupying power. There is consensus, international consensus on this fact.

For Mr. Gissin to come here and deny that there is occupation actually is negating the possibility of any peaceful solution between the two sides.

BLITZER: All right.

AL-KIDWA: This is exactly the crux of the problem. They want to annex this land. They want to expand. That is the crux of the problem.

BLITZER: All right, we're going to take a quick break. We have much more to talk about.

We're going to continue our conversation with Raanan Gissin and **Nasser Al-Kidwa**. LATE EDITION will be right back.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Welcome back to LATE EDITION. We're talking about the crisis in the Middle East with Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's spokesman, Raanan Gissin, and **Nasser al-Kidwa**, the Palestinian representative to the United Nations.

Raanan Gissin, there's been a lot of interest, today, yesterday, this weekend, involving Saudi Arabia and the war on terror, allegations, suggestions that the Saudis may have at least indirectly played some role in funding some of those September 11th hijackers.

As far as your government is concerned, is Saudi Arabia funding terrorist actions against Israel?

GISSIN: Look, I don't know if they're funding directly, but there's no doubt that there has been money, Saudi money, involved in supporting families of the terrorist groups, families of suicide and homicide bombers.

There's an overall atmosphere, today, which is very permissive to this kind of suicide and homicide bombing, which is part and parcel of, I would say, that radical element of Islam that wants to see a solution to the situation by eradicating Israel, by eradicating Western democracies. And that's a very ominous sign.

And the fact that there is money funneled into it and incitement which goes unabated are the main causes for the continuation and the spread of this ominous phenomena of suicide and homicide bombing, which we had, unfortunately, the experience in the past two years of suffering from it more than any other nation in the world.

BLITZER: Ambassador al-Kidwa, as far as you know, are Saudi funds going to groups the U.S. State Department considers to be terrorist groups, Hamas, Islamic Jihad, in particular?

AL-KIDWA: Well, I don't think so, actually. Even Mr. Gissin is speaking about Saudi money going to families. And families and charities are one thing; terrorist activities are another thing altogether.

But again, this is the same Israeli pattern, trying to draw some kind of suspicion about Arab positions in general, whether it is Saudi Arabia or any other Arab country, speaking about

incitement, while he himself is saying publicly on the CNN that no occupation, thus negating the existence and the national rights of the Palestinian people. This is the utmost instigation that should be condemned and, frankly, should be ended (ph), so that the two sides can indeed reach a solution.

BLITZER: Raanan Gissin, as you know, the United Nations representatives in the West Bank are very angry right now that Israeli forces apparently killed a U.N. worker on the West Bank over the past couple of days. Tell us what the position of your government is, what happened in that incident.

GISSIN: We regret very much the loss of any innocent civilians, and we are the ones who supported UNRA (ph) and U.N. workers in the territory, as much as we can.

But I think we've got to set the record straight. For the past 30 years, all those refugee camps were used, misused and abused by the Palestinian terrorist groups who used these refugee camps as launching and staging ground for attacks against Israel. They did it in Jordan, they did it in Lebanon, they now do it in the territories, and the world was silent.

You know, talking about U.N. resolutions, I haven't seen one resolution in the 55 years that the U.N. exists that supports the state of Israel. I've seen over 100 resolutions that condemn Israel.

We have a debate now in Israel, because we have elections. And it's a legitimate debate about how to carve a road to peace. And what is the debate in the Palestinian Authority today, among the Palestinian groups? It's whether they should kill Israelis and Jews only in the territories or in the rest of the country.

BLITZER: Well, I'm going to move on, but there is a 1947 U.N. partition resolution, which called for the establishment of a Palestinian and a Jewish state, but that was in 1947.

GISSIN: That's the one resolution.

BLITZER: Ambassador al-Kidwa, we all saw that Jerusalem bus bombing this week. The Israeli government says the Palestinian Authority, led by Yasser Arafat, could control these suicide bombers, Hamas, Islamic Jihad, if he really wanted to.

Is there more he should be doing? Can he be doing more? Because clearly not only the Israeli government but the U.S. government is obviously condemning the Palestinian Authority for not doing enough.

AL-KIDWA: Well, unfortunately we can't do more in the circumstances, thanks to the Israeli policies and Israeli actions, including the destruction of the security capabilities of the Palestinian Authority.

We need different political atmosphere. We need to provide the Palestinian people with hope, with political horizons, so the Palestinian Authority is enabled to take the necessary actions in this regard.

So, we have no doubt in our mind about the appropriate way to proceed, but let me go back about and say something about this U.N. official who was killed by the Israeli army. The Israeli

army killed him, prevented the needed saving actions to be taken. And unfortunately, they lied about that, as usual, as happened in the past repeatedly.

That proves, to my mind, the pattern being articulated or being committed by the Israeli forces against the Palestinian people in general. The Israeli soldiers, unfortunately, are trigger happy to say the least, and I'm afraid there is even a culture that was created through the upper echelon of the army that encouraged this kind of completely irresponsible behavior, if not criminal behavior, including the commission of war crimes.

BLITZER: All right. What about that, Raanan Gissin?

GISSIN: Well, you know, we have to admit when we make mistakes. I haven't heard Mr. al-Kidwa admit that the Palestinians have made any mistakes or, for example, what kind of painful compromises are they willing to make for peace? We show that we're willing to make painful compromises, and we started with a process which was dashed by the Palestinian Authority and their leader.

What kind of painful compromises today are the Arabs and the Palestinians willing to make for peace? Maybe that's the kind of question that Mr. al-Kidwa has to address himself to.

AL-KIDWA: Very good point. May I try to answer that?

Actually, we are ready to reiterate our acceptance for Israel within 1967 border and to live in peace side by side. I hope that Mr. Gissin is able to say that we accept the end of Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territory that started in 1967 and accept the existence of a Palestinian state with sovereignty so that we can live side by side.

This is the solution and there is, again, international consensus in favor of this resolution. What is needed is to have clear Israeli position in favor of this resolution, and then the situation could dramatically change.

BLITZER: Go ahead, Raanan Gissin. We're almost out of time.

GISSIN: Israel is committed to peace. And the prime minister of Israeli's government can lead to peace, despite all the allegations and all the demonization that spreads today in the Arab world.

But one thing must be understood. First, there has to be an end to that awful incitement which sends young school children to blow themselves up in buses and discotheques and kill other, indiscriminately, other school children, other Israelis.

Without the stoppage of incitement, the two-state solution that we want so much will not materialize. And I think it's the responsibility of Nasser al-Kidwa and the Palestinian leadership to seriously look into this matter of what the incitement does to the next generation.

BLITZER: All right. We gave Raanan Gissin the first word.

AL-KIDWA: I'll accept...

BLITZER: Ambassador al-Kidwa, you'll have the last word. Go ahead, respond to the most recent point that Raanan Gissin just made.

AL-KIDWA: I think we both have to exercise some additional efforts to end this miserable situation, this tragedy which is taking place. We have to try even harder, and the Israeli side has to try. Terrorism or terrorist acts has to end, but also war crimes committed by the Israeli army have to come to an end.

So, we desperately need to end this situation, and let's hope that we can still, nevertheless, work together toward that end.

BLITZER: All right. Nasser al-Kidwa and Raanan Gissin, a good debate, a good discussion today. Thanks to both of you for joining us on LATE EDITION.

AL-KIDWA: Thank you.

BLITZER: We'll have both of you back, probably in the not-too- distant future.

And just ahead, as the holiday travel season begins here in the United States, a new U.S. Department of Homeland Security is beginning to take shape. But is it enough to keep Americans safe? We'll ask Boston Mayor Thomas Menino, Orlando Mayor Glenda Hood and Washington, D.C. Mayor Anthony Williams.

LATE EDITION will be right back.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

TOM RIDGE, DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF HOMELAND SECURITY: This is the first time we'll have an agency that can consolidate that information and work with the private sector to protect and harden these targets.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: The U.S. homeland security director, Tom Ridge, speaking to CNN the day after the Senate overwhelmingly approved the creation of a new Department of Homeland Security. President Bush expected in the coming days to sign that bill into law.

Welcome back to LATE EDITION.

We turn now to three mayors who are on the front lines in the war against terrorism: In Boston, Mayor Thomas Menino. He's also the president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors. In Orlando, the Florida -- Orlando, Florida, that is, Mayor Glenda Hood. She's the chairperson of the Florida Domestic Security Advisory Panel. And in Washington, D.C., Mayor Anthony Williams. He's a member of the Homeland Security Advisory Council.

Mayors, thanks so much for joining us.

Mayor Menino, let me begin with you. Now that there's about to be this formal Department of Homeland Security, do you think the people in Boston are going to be any safer as a result of that?

MAYOR THOMAS MENINO, PRES., U.S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS: I think the Homeland Security Department was long overdue. The mayors called for it right after 9/11. You



know, it's not a partisan issue, it's not Democrat, Republican issue. It's an issue of how we coordinate the services.

But there's one missing ingredient, Wolf, is the funding ingredient, and that's the \$3.8 billion that was promised to the cities over two years ago. I understand Senator Clinton is going to file the bill to give us direct block grants to cities for homeland security, but that's the missing part. They went home, they didn't even deal with the issue of finances for cities.

Cities have spent about \$2.6 billion since last September, and we're asked to be on the front lines every day, but nobody's willing to help us meet those costs.

BLITZER: What about that, Mayor Hood? You feel safer in Orlando as a result of what's going on in Washington?

MAYOR GLENDA HOOD, ORLANDO, FLORIDA: Well, I'm glad that they have passed the bill to put the department in place because now there will be clear lines of authority, that intelligence information will be able to get down to our local law enforcement professionals in a much quicker way and a much more efficient way, and that's what's important. Because we've all been on a heightened state of alert in our cities, and we know that it's important to provide that safe environment for those people who live here and who visit our communities.

BLITZER: But are you getting...

(CROSSTALK)

BLITZER: Mayor Hood...

HOOD: Yes?

BLITZER: ... picking up on what Mayor Menino said, are you getting the funding from the federal government that you need?

HOOD: No, we're not. And we've been able to advance funding, mid-budget year here in Orlando and then in our regular budget, but we can't sustain that over a period of time. So we need to see that funding, and we need to see it soon.

BLITZER: Mayor Williams, I want to read to you from the latest FBI bulletin warning of new terror threats against the United States. Among other things, it says this. It says, "In selecting its next targets, sources suggest al Qaeda may favor spectacular attacks that meet several criteria: high symbolic value, mass casualties, severe damage to the U.S. economy and maximum psychological trauma."

God knows your city, Washington, D.C., fits that description, especially the notion of high symbolic value. Are they giving you the help you need to deal with that?

MAYOR ANTHONY WILLIAMS, WASHINGTON, D.C.: Well, Washington, D.C., itself has been given help in terms of its emergency preparedness and bioterrorism response.

But I think the mayors are right in that Congress has the duty to see that local government, your first line of response, has the resources to help the federal government execute a homeland security strategy. You can't do that with nothing.

BLITZER: Mayor Menino, they tell you to be on the alert. They tell you of possible spectacular attacks. Boston's got a lot of high visibility, potential targets as well. But what do they do after they tell you that?

MENINO: They do nothing. They just tell us to be on alert. That means we have to alert our police and intelligence units and make sure that these spectacular sites they say -- you have to put additional police. You know, the one thing they're not addressing at all in this homeland security is communications between police departments. That was a major issue in Washington and New York, but nobody's even addressing that issue when we talk about homeland security. How do different police departments and fire departments speak to each other, that's one issue that has to be addressed as we move forward and try and make sure our country is safe.

BLITZER: Do they tell you anything, Mayor Hood, after they tell you that, be on the lookout, be alert, get ready, spectacular threats that are out there? What do they tell you after they say that?

HOOD: Well, I have to tell you, it's gotten a lot better since September 11th of 2001. All our law enforcement folks say that. But we've really almost had to take things into our own hands.

And we have an organization at the state level here, thanks to our governor, Jeb Bush. We have seven regions, we have coordination among all those different regions with the state, with the feds.

But we still need to make sure that through this new Department of Homeland Security that, again, that information is getting down where it needs to get in an efficient, fast way.

BLITZER: Do you believe, Mayor Hood, that they're giving you the specific information, your law enforcement department in Orlando? You've got Disney World down there. That's certainly a potential target that everyone is very familiar with.

Are they sharing the kind of intelligence, the specific information that your law enforcement authorities need?

HOOD: All of our folks tell me that they are getting much better information now than they did previously. Do we still have work to do? Absolutely. And I believe that the new Department of Homeland Defense will help us go a long ways toward getting it right.

BLITZER: Mayor Williams, there are these color codes, these alert status levels that the federal government has put out. As you well know, right now the country is at an elevated or yellow level. They were for a brief period of time at a higher level, the orange level.

Do these codes actually have any practical impact on your day-to-day efforts to keep the citizens of Washington, D.C., safe?

WILLIAMS: Wolf, I'd agree with Mayor Hood. We're not where we want to be or where we should be, but we're a lot better off than where we were on September 11th. We're coordinating much better with the federal government in responding to events, coordinating much better with them in sharing specific information as to a specific potential event.

Where I think we have a lot more work to do is sharing intelligence between state and local

government and the federal government, between the federal government and the private sector, in terms of potential threats, where you work with a network, work with local government in actually obtaining that information.

We saw with the sniper, for example, where the sniper got through a number of different exchanges with law enforcement without being stopped. To me, that's a failure of sharing intelligence and information.

BLITZER: Well, Mayor Menino, on that issue, and I'm going to take a quick break after you give me your answer, but on that specific issue of sharing intelligence, as everyone knows, the CIA's reluctant to share information with the FBI, and the FBI historically has been reluctant to share some information with the CIA.

Both of these agencies presumably are very reluctant to share information with a local police department, let's say in Boston.

MENINO: Well, let me just say, Wolf, that the task force we have between state, federal and Boston police works. The sharing of information is there, that they continually exchange intelligence information that they have, working together also with the Port Authority.

I think the issue of sharing is better than it was in the past. But the issue you also mentioned is the color scheme. You know, if you're ever on an orange alert, and the federal government is, but what's the alert in Massachusetts? They haven't coordinated those alerts yet either on the federal and state side. There are some failures in the system.

But one thing I have to say is that Tom Ridge has been very responsive to Boston in particular, as we have different emergencies arise. His department has been very responsive to us.

BLITZER: All right. Logan Airport, is that safe right now, Mayor?

MENINO: Oh, I believe it is. It's much safer today than it was last year and the year before. I think they've done a great job at Logan Airport.

BLITZER: All right, Mayors, stand by. We have a lot more to talk about.

We're going to continue our conversation and also take your phone calls on homeland security. These mayors are on the front lines right now in protecting three major U.S. cities.

LATE EDITION will continue right after this.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Welcome back to LATE EDITION. We're discussing homeland security with Boston Mayor Thomas Menino, Orlando Mayor Glenda Hood, and Washington, D.C. Mayor Anthony Williams.

We have a caller from California. Go ahead with your question, please.

CALLER: Wolf Blitzer, it's a pleasure. I'd like to ask your panel of mayors, are they surprised they haven't been attacked in the same fashion as the BM (ph) meters on the Don & Mike Show?

BLITZER: Oh, unfortunately, that was a hoax call.

But, Mayor Williams, are you surprised, though, that there hasn't been since 9/11 another major, in the words of the FBI, "spectacular" attack that we've had before?

WILLIAMS: Well, I think we live in a new era of threats, with new challenges, and I think there's risk out there. But having said that, I think that people have gone to extraordinary lengths to protect their cities and their communities. And in that respect, I'm not surprised.

I think that's what Mayor Hood and Mayor Menino were saying, is that people are out there on the front line doing the job, and they need that support. And I believe that support will be forthcoming. That's my own view.

BLITZER: Mayor Hood, I want you to listen to what your senator, the Florida senator, Bob Graham, the chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, said earlier this week, as far as the transition as this new Department of Homeland Security gets off the ground. Listen to what Senator Graham said.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

SEN. BOB GRAHAM (D), FLORIDA: There will inevitably be a time of learning who your new partners are, what the new rules and expectations are. And during that transition time, we may actually see some degree of lessened domestic security.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: Do you accept what he says as a fact, that there could be a lessened degree of security in the coming weeks and months?

HOOD: Well, I think certainly, when you put a new department together at the grand scale that this Homeland Security Department will be, you might see some vulnerable areas.

And that's why it's important that we at the local level continue to take the lead, as we have. Mayor Menino has said that, Mayor Williams has said that. Every mayor across America will tell you that we have absolutely done everything we can to make sure that our communities are safe.

And we're engaging our citizens, giving them emergency- preparedness training, making sure they have all the information that they need, because we can't sit around and wait. We're the ones where things are going to happen, if there's going to be a terrorist threat or attack. And our first responders are the first ones there and the last ones to leave. And everybody else is in a supporting role.

So, I would agree that there will probably be some vulnerable areas. It's a difficult reorganization, the largest that we've seen, but I'm confident that we'll all be there, working together.

And I will say, like was said earlier, that Governor Ridge has been outstanding, as far as working with us at the local level.

BLITZER: Mayor Menino, Senator Jeffords, your neighbor from Vermont, also is concerned

about the short term. I want you to listen to what he said. Listen to this.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

SEN. JAMES JEFFORDS (I), VERMONT: It is irresponsible to divert precious, limited resources from our fight against terrorism to create a dysfunctional new bureaucracy that will only give the American people a false sense of security.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: Those are strong words, Mayor, a "false sense of security."

MENINO: Well, let me just say, Wolf, I don't want to, since the senator, you know, has more knowledge than I do, but I just know in Boston, we coordinate all our services. Yes, you have a few bumpy roads, but it works better. There's better communications between departments when you have an emergency in your city.

So I'm a firm believer in the coordination of all these services. You know, it's about time. We took too long to do it. And, you know, like I said earlier in the program, it's not a Democrat-Republican issue, it's how we get the job done. And I think, by this consolidation, we'll be able to get the job done.

You know, we're on a different track in America today. You know, the change in our lives forever. Mayors are in two tracks: one of making sure our cities are safe, and also the other track of making sure our cities work for the people who live there.

So it's a much different world. I think this consolidation will work. Will we have some bumpy roads? Yes, it will. But I think, by having one person in charge, we're much better for it.

BLITZER: Mayor Menino, thanks for joining us, Mayor Hood, Mayor Williams, always good to have all of you on this program.

(CROSSTALK)

WILLIAMS: It's a pleasure.

BLITZER: Thanks so much for joining us.

MENINO: Good to be with you.

HOOD: Thank you, Wolf.

BLITZER: Thank you very much.

It's time now to say goodbye to our international viewers. Thanks very much for watching.

Coming up for our North American audience, the next hour of LATE EDITION. What do new homeland security measures mean for your rights? We'll get two legal perspectives.

Then, LATE EDITION's "Final Round." There's no shortage of strong opinions from our panel. It's all coming up, when the next hour of LATE EDITION returns.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Welcome back to LATE EDITION. I'm Wolf Blitzer in Los Angeles.

We'll explore the legal implications of new homeland security measures in just a moment. But first, here's CNN's Carol Lin with a CNN news alert.

(NEWSBREAK)

BLITZER: This week, a U.S. appeals court gave the government the approval to implement broad new wiretapping powers. In addition, a new database will be able to monitor the purchase and travel activity of virtually any person in the United States, a step the government says is necessary to fight the war on terror.

Joining us now to help through all the legal aspects of this war are two special guests: In Miami, the famed criminal defense attorney, Roy Black; and in Washington, D.C., the former U.S. attorney, Joseph DiGenova.

Gentlemen, always good to have both of you on the program.

Let's begin with you, Roy.

I don't know if you saw the story in today's "Washington Post," but an important story suggesting of those 44 people detained over these past several months since 9/11 as so-called material witnesses, only -- at least 44 of those people, only half of them, if that, have actually been called to testify before any grand jury. The rest are simply being held.

What does that say to you?

ROY BLACK, CRIMINAL DEFENSE ATTORNEY: Well, unfortunately, the Department of Justice is using a lot of these rules, rules that were created are being used in the name of national security, to keep people secretly detained.

And if anything, our system of justice has always been one leaning toward openness, to trials, having lawyers, not having secret detention. We've always been -- and our Founders of our Constitution were against these secret kind of proceedings, and that's why we have our Bill of Rights.

BLITZER: Are you concerned about that, Joe DiGenova?

JOSEPH DIGENOVA, FORMER U.S. ATTORNEY: No, Wolf, and I'll you why. A material witness statute was enacted in 1984 in a bipartisanship effort to codify common law in this area. And in order for a material witness to be held, it requires the government to go before a federal judge and have the federal judge rule that this person is a material witness. And not only that, they have be represented by counsel in those proceedings, and if they can't afford counsel, it's provided to them by the government.

So these proceedings, while they are secret from the public, they're not secret from the federal judiciary. And all of the usual procedures for the protection of people are attended.

We are at war. There are cells that exist in this country. You remember that the 19 hijackers who tried to destroy this country on September the 11th, 2001, were part of a cell that was functioning in this country. There are other cells in this country, according to published reports.

And the use of the material witness statute is a perfectly legitimate and constitutional means

of helping us protect the republic and American citizens from future attack.

BLITZER: Roy Black, you want to respond to that?

BLACK: Of course. I have to disagree with that, because a number of judges are now beginning to make objections because they've seen they've been misled in some of the information the government has told them about people that they're holding without bail in solitary confinement, in which there's no evidence they've committed any kind of crime.

And what we're using as a procedure now to hold people secretly in the special housing units and solitary confinement and horrible conditions. And, you know, this is just totally an antithesis of our system of justice.

DIGENOVA: Well, I think it's very important what Roy just said. If federal judges have problems with these material witness situations, they have every responsibility and right to call the government to account.

It will be interesting to see whether or not some of the things we've been hearing are in fact true, but that's why we have federal judges and that's why these material witnesses have been held on the orders of federal judges.

BLITZER: Well, Joe, let me interrupt for a second. If these are material witnesses, why aren't they being asked to testify before a grand jury?

DIGENOVA: Well, Wolf, the answer is very simple. Sometimes material witnesses don't go before a grand jury. They are interviewed, they give sworn statements, they give hair samples, they give fingerprints, they give information about people that the government is interested in.

Just because you're a material witness doesn't mean you have to go before a grand jury. There's nothing in the statute that requires that.

BLACK: And sometimes you're just a target of federal law enforcement or the United States government, and they want to hold you in isolation to see what they can do to you. And that's unconstitutional.

BLITZER: All right, let's move on. Obviously the two of you are not going to agree on this whole issue of material witnesses.

There's a story that also emerged over the past few days saying that the U.S. has dramatically expanded the number of countries on a list that would require residents living here in the United States from those countries to register with the federal government earlier this month, for example, we'll put up on the screen, residents from Iraq, Iran, Libya, Sudan, Syria. But on Saturday, they added all these other countries to that list.

Roy Black, is the federal government, as some now believe, out of control on this issue, asking people who live in the country who are originally from all of these other countries to have to formally register their whereabouts, their activities with the federal government?

BLACK: Well, Wolf, that doesn't bother me as much as their interference with American citizens. If there are people here from other countries who come into the country under the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the United States government has the ability to require



them to make reports and say where they are. I don't think that really interferes with people's civil liberties.

BLITZER: This is an issue involving, Joe DiGenova, as you well know, men 16 years of age and older. And if you take a look at that list, and let's put that list back up on the screen, you'll notice one thing on those lists. Almost all of them either Middle East, North African, African countries.

You don't see France, for example, on that list. Zacarias Moussauoi is a French citizen. He's accused of being the so-called 20th hijacker. If that regulation had been in existence when he came to the United States, it wouldn't have made any difference at all.

DIGENOVA: Yes, well, Wolf, what we're doing here is we are regularizing for the first time in our history the entrance to our borders. For too long, our borders have been like sieves, and we have not regulated the conduct of aliens coming into this country.

I agree with Roy, we should be doing this. Not only that, what's very, very ironic about this is that, you know, we've been subject to tremendous criticism from the Europeans for many of the things that we've been doing since 9/11.

The Europeans have the most incredibly hard-line, conservative, alien registration controls than any countries in the world. And they have -- and they're proud of the fact that when you go, even as an American, to a hotel in Paris or Rome, you have to give your passport, and they keep it. And they call the local police and let them know you're there. You get it back when you ask for it. But I'm not concerned about this.

And with regard to Mr. Moussauoi, in some of these countries that are not on the list, there are nonetheless, such as our allies in France, extra visa requirements that are imposed as a matter of reality even though they're not on the list.

BLITZER: All right, let's move to talk about this big win for the Justice Department, Roy Black, this past week, allowing law enforcement in effect to cooperate with the intelligence branches of the U.S. government to share information.

The attorney general spoke out after the appeals court came down on the side of the Justice Department. Not surprisingly, he was very happy. Listen to this.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

JOHN ASCHROFT, ATTORNEY GENERAL: This will greatly enhance our ability to put pieces together that different agencies have. I believe this is a giant step forward.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: What's wrong, Roy Black, if anything, with letting one arm of the U.S. government cooperate with another arm of the U.S. government and, namely, let law enforcement cooperate with intelligence and share information?

BLACK: Well, Wolf, the only problem is the Fourth Amendment of the United States Constitution, which gives American citizens certain rights of privacy and rights of illegal search and seizure.

What's happening now is there's a breakdown between intelligence and criminal law enforcement. What happened before under the foreign intelligence surveillance court wiretaps and what have you, if they're seeking wiretaps against intelligence agents from other countries, they can get it under a lesser standard than they could when they were doing it for a criminal investigation.

What happened is this review court, which has sat for the first time in history by three judges just appointed by Chief Justice Rehnquist, has taken down that wall and said that they can now say any kind of intelligence warrant they get, they can now use it for a regular criminal investigation. And that impinges upon our Fourth Amendment rights.

BLITZER: Joe DiGenova, when you were the United States attorney in the District of Columbia, you became intimately familiar with all of these restrictions that were imposed on you then. In effect, what's happening now is that some of the looser standards, as far as espionage are concerned, are being broadened to the whole criminal area as part of this war on terrorism. Are you comfort with that?

DIGENOVA: Well, first of all, Wolf, I disagree with your premise. Let me direct your attention to a wonderful article in the Wall Street Journal this week written by a tremendous lawyer named Victoria Toensing, who also happens to be my wife, which explains what the court did here.

And what she said in that article is this -- and I disagree with Roy on this, obviously respectfully because Roy's a great lawyer and one of America's great advocates.

They did not lower the standard in this case for either intelligence or criminal. What they said was is that the probable cause that is required is the same as it is in any case. The difference is, you have to prove that there's probable cause to believe, for a FISA, that someone is acting as the agent of a foreign power.

What they did that was truly important was they broke down the wall between law enforcement and intelligence so that people who were working on these cases could talk to one another. And indeed, what they said was, was that that was what Congress intended in 1978 when it enacted the statute and, obviously, what Congress did almost unanimously when it passed the Patriot Act last year.

BLITZER: FISA, Roy Black, just to our viewers who may not familiar with it, the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act which had earlier had some of these restrictions.

I assume, you may have read Victoria Toensing's article in the Wall Street Journal. Do you agree with the wife of our distinguished guest, Joe DiGenova?

(LAUGHTER)

BLACK: Well, I agree with him that his wife is brilliant as well as he is. However, I disagree with the conclusions that she drew in the editorial, which, of course, I read.

What I believe is happening is that, remember in the '70s we had the backlash to what J. Edgar Hoover was doing with the FBI, combining intelligence functions against the civil rights

movement and using them in criminal investigations. And we always thought this wall would be put up to have intelligence on one side and real criminal investigations on the other.

Now we're backtracking from that and going back to what we were doing 30 years ago. And I think this is a real fear because the FBI committed many abuses during the '50s, '60s and '70s.

DIGENOVA: Right. I couldn't agree more with Roy on the issue of what happened back in the '70s. I was a counsel on the Church Committee which investigated the FBI and CIA, and there were clear abuses.

But at that time, what was going on was the executive branch, basically J. Edgar Hoover, was wiretapping without anybody's approval, including a federal court. Congress reacted to that, and both liberals and conservatives agreed that if you're going to have intelligence wiretaps, they should be approved by a court.

That was enacted. We now have courts approving this. The FBI and the Justice Department will not be able to go overboard because these warrants are reviewed by federal judges who authorize them. It's entirely different than it was in the 1970s.

BLITZER: But let me ask you...

DIGENOVA: So I think the concerns...

BLITZER: Joe, I just want to interrupt for a second.

DIGENOVA: Yes, sir. Sorry.

BLITZER: Whenever these federal judges are asked to provide -- to authorize these kinds of surveillance wiretapping warrants, don't they always accept what the federal government almost says at face value?

DIGENOVA: There are very few cases, it is true, in which these courts have rejected these warrants. There's a good reason for that. The lawyers responsible for these warrants and the agents do not bring them to the court unless there is sufficient evidence. I can assure you that if there was insufficient evidence, these judges would not grant these warrants.

The truth is, there has been a very responsible use of these warrants. There were 932 last year, according to published reports. There are 280 million Americans in this country...

BLITZER: All right.

DIGENOVA: ... and tens of millions of visitors from foreign countries that are enemies of us.

BLACK: Well, Wolf, how do we...

BLITZER: Roy Black, I want you to respond, but also respond in this context. These are extraordinary times after 9/11. There's a war against terrorism under way, and as a result, the federal government needs some additional tools to protect the American public.

BLACK: Yes, but, Wolf, as I recall our Constitution was forged in very troublesome times as well. And the founders recognized that we Americans needed these rights, particularly in times of crisis. You don't need rights when nothing's going on. You need rights when the government

is overreaching and what's happening here.

Now, Joe says that all these warrants are being used responsibly. Well, of course, we have no idea of finding out what's being done with these warrants. And what happens practically, if the government goes to one of these judges and says, "We need this to go after a foreign agent, and here's this foreign agent," of course the judge is going to agree to this.

However, if the judge knew this was just a regular criminal investigation, then he would look at it much more carefully. And that's the problem here, because these judges, you know, particularly after 9/11, are going to give the government a lot of power to go after people.

BLITZER: All right, let me let you respond. Then we're going to move on.

Go ahead, Joe.

DIGENOVA: Let me just say, I think it's very important for people to be concerned the way Roy is and for us to be concerned about whether or not these powers are being used wisely.

But as I said, federal judges are reviewing these warrants. Moreover, there is oversight of these functions by both the House and Senate Intelligence Committees and the House and Senate Judiciary Committees. Those are the people who are vested with the oversight responsibility to ensure, along with the federal judiciary, that the executive branch is not abusing its powers.

There is no record of any case whatsoever, involving any judge or any oversight, where there has been an overstepping of these bounds legally.

BLITZER: Roy Black, I want to shift gears for a moment and talk about the sniper case in the greater Washington area, indeed, outside of Washington, in several other states as well.

As you know, John Malvo, the 17-year-old suspect, denied his lawyers' petition to be treated as a juvenile in Virginia, where he's being held. Was that the right thing? Should he be treated as a juvenile or as an adult?

BLACK: Well, Wolf, that's a very difficult question. In most cases, I think that prosecutors abuse the power to charge juveniles as adults. In Florida, we use that quite often by politically elected prosecutors who do it.

However, in the Malvo case, considering he's 17 years old, and considering how outrageous the crimes were, certainly if there was a case in which somebody should be certified as an adult, this would probably fit that category.

BLITZER: What about that, Joe?

DIGENOVA: Well, Virginia state law is very clear. The prosecutor has the right to petition a court to have someone treated as an adult. They have done that, and the court has ruled that he will be treated as an adult.

There's a state law process, and it has been followed. And I think in this case, it is absolutely appropriate to deal with Mr. Malvo as a mass murderer and as an adult.

BLITZER: Let me throw one other wild card out there, Joe DiGenova. Put on your old hat as a former U.S. attorney in Washington, D.C.

This whole issue of the Saudi money trail perhaps going, indirectly at least, to some of those 9/11 hijackers. There's a lot of political stakes involved in this investigation.

Do you think the FBI, the CIA, federal law enforcement authorities can actually get to the bottom of this story?

DIGENOVA: Well, they can try to. But remember, Saudi Arabia is a sovereign state. Its diplomatic personnel in this country are protected by international law and international treaties. The Saudis are with us and against us, in different ways, every day. They're a strange ally. They are an ally that we needed in the past, and we still need now. Whether or not we will continue to need them in the future is an unanswered question.

But certainly the Saudis have not cooperated in investigations involving evidence on their territory. Former FBI Director Louis Freeh made it very clear, over several years, that he was getting very, very little cooperation, in fact some obstruction, from the Saudis.

On this question, I don't believe for a minute that Prince Bandar's wife knowingly gave money to people who were among the 19 hijackers in 9/11. But I do believe that the prince and others in this country have contributed to charities which they know very well support terrorists and spread the kind of outrageous, extreme Islamic radicalism that is responsible for the kind of terrorism that exists in the world today among Islamic radicals.

It's their responsibility. The Saudis' responsibility may not be for a specific act, but they are responsible for the atmospherics that exist in the Islamic world today, by virtue of sending out from their country an outrageous, extreme form of Islam which is anti-American, anti-Semitic, anti-women and anti-Western.

BLITZER: On that note, Joe DiGenova, I'm going to have to leave it right there. Next time, Joe, you'll tell us how you really feel on this issue.

DIGENOVA: Good enough!

(LAUGHTER)

BLITZER: Roy Black, always good to have you on the program.

BLACK: I'm willing to vote for Joe in the next election.

(LAUGHTER)

BLITZER: We know how Joe feels about Saudi Arabia and about his wife Victoria Toensing.

(LAUGHTER)

Thanks to both of you gentlemen for joining us.

DIGENOVA: Thank you. Thank you, Wolf.

BLITZER: Thank you.

Up next, Bruce Morton's essay.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BRUCE MORTON, CNN CORRESPONDENT: Big Brother, if you're too young to have read the novel which came out half a century or so ago, was a dictator, and his thought police really did watch everyone just about all the time.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: Is fiction becoming reality when it comes to our privacy? Stay with us.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: And now Bruce Morton on the government and your privacy.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

MORTON (voice-over): It's taken a little longer than he thought. 1984 was 18 years ago, but novelist George Orwell was right: Big Brother is watching you.

Big Brother, if you're too young to have read the novel which came out half a century or so ago, was a dictator, and his thought police really did watch everyone just about all the time. The hero rebels against that, has a secret love affair and so on. He loses. Big Bro finds him out.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: The ayes are 90, the naves are nine, and the bill is declared passed.

MORTON: Today's version is in the new homeland security bill. It sets up something called an Information Awareness Office -- doesn't that have a nice ring -- which will be run by John Poindexter. Yes, the same man who was Ronald Reagan's national security adviser during Iran-Contra, was convicted on five counts of lying to Congress, conviction later overturned.

What the office will do is to gather personal data on all of us from commercial and governmental databases around the world. Poindexter assured The Washington Post the data will not be misused, and we know the government wouldn't mislead us about that. Sure we do.

Former Vice President Al Gore, who enjoys the Internet, told the New York Times this plan, along with expanded authority to spy and wire tap, amounts to, quote, "the most systematic invasion of privacy of every American citizen that has ever been undertaken in this country, the most fateful step in the direction of that Big Brother nightmare that any president has ever allowed to occur."

Columnist Richard Cohen notes that the Internet was always supposed to create a global village, and now maybe it has. The old-fashioned kind of small town where everybody snoops and gossips about what everybody else is doing.

It may not be all bad, of course. It could force us to be virtuous. Can't not pay the grocery bill, it'll be on the Internet and all the neighbors will know. Can't cheat on your spouse, it'll be on the Internet and he or she will know. Can't -- well, you get the idea.

Back when I was covering anti-Vietnam War demonstrations in the 1960s and '70s, government guys would show up and take pictures of demonstrators or reporters. I always told them that they'd get a better shot free from the publicity department, but they never believed me.

Still, that was a couple of people with 35-millimeter cameras, technical lightyears from where we are today.

Now a database here, a database there. We've got the real deal. Big Bro isn't just watching you, he's close enough to smell you and breathe in your face.

I'm Bruce Morton.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

BLITZER: Thanks very much, Bruce.

Up next, our "Final Round." CNN's Jonathan Karl and our panel weigh in on the big stories of the week.

I'll be back next Sunday in Washington, D.C.. Until then, thanks very much for watching. I'm Wolf Blitzer in Los Angeles.

The "Final Round," right after a CNN news alert.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(NEWSBREAK)

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

JONATHAN KARL, CNN CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENT: Hello. I'm CNN congressional correspondent Jonathan Karl.

It's time now for the "Final Round." Joining me, Donna Brazile, the Democratic strategist, Peter Beinart of the "New Republic," Jonah Goldberg of "National Review Online," and Christopher Caldwell of the "Weekly Standard."

A key Arab ally of the U.S. is on the defensive again. The FBI is investigating whether two of the September 11th hijackers received money from the Saudi government. That is raising some new questions about the U.S.-Saudi relationship. Today, the top Republican on the Senate Intelligence Committee addressed the issue.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

SEN. RICHARD SHELBY (R), ALABAMA: I wouldn't look at Saudi Arabia as an ally like the British or the French or the Canadians or anybody like that. I think our relationship with them is totally transactional.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

KARL: Totally transactional. Peter, is this the really the day of reckoning, the time of reckoning for the U.S.-Saudi relationship?

PETER BEINART, NEW REPUBLIC: No, it's not. America won't be able to have any reckoning with Saudi Arabia until we do something about our dependence on that oil. And there's no constituency that I can see anywhere in Washington, certainly not in the Bush administration, to get serious about America's dependence on Saudi oil.

I don't want to hear any conservatives talking tough against the Saudis unless they have a plan to deal with SUVs. Right now they don't.



KARL: Jonah?

JONAH GOLDBERG, NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE: My plan for SUVs is to buy one.

(LAUGHTER)

BEINART: Exactly my point.

GOLDBERG: Other than that -- well, my plan for SUVs is also to drill in ANWR.

BEINART: That, alone, is not going to do it.

GOLDBERG: I understand, and I would actually be...

CHRISTOPHER CALDWELL, WEEKLY STANDARD: That might handle Jonah's SUV.

(LAUGHTER)

GOLDBERG: I might be in favor of a grand Faustian bargain of raising CAFE standards and opening ANWR, to do both.

Regardless, Saudi Arabia, it's not a reckoning because partly it's the Middle Eastern oil, partly it's because there are a lot of people in Washington who are deeply invested in keeping that relationship going.

And it's a real tragedy because Saudi Arabia fundamentally represents virtually everything America is supposed to be in opposition to: a corrupt and arbitrary monarchy that brutalizes women, that is a religious theocracy that brutalizes religious minorities and that exports terror around the world. And they are not our friends.

CALDWELL: That's right.

KARL: And look, the transaction they were talking about was oil. That's what Shelby was talking about. Oil for overlooking all of this.

DONNA BRAZILE, DEMOCRATIC STRATEGIST: Absolutely. But Jonah is right. I mean, we've got to somehow change our relationship with Saudi Arabia. When the administration came out and said you're with us or against us, somehow or another, Saudi Arabia was exempted from that.

And it's time that we forced that regime to stop their huge anti- American propaganda that comes out of that country, including, as we all know, 15 of the 19 terrorists, and they haven't even said I'm sorry for that.

CALDWELL: Donna's right. Saudi Arabia is now, I would say, the most detested regime in a bipartisan sense since the Iranian hostage crisis of 1979. I think what you see in Congress now is the sense that perhaps the Bush administration has been protecting them to an undue degree.

There could be a couple of reasons for this. They may not want it's hand pushed strategically, but it may just be covering up for cronies. And I think there's a pattern since sending the bin Ladens back to Saudi Arabia in the days after September 11th that they want to uncover. KARL: But the reason why we're talking about this is because of the story that the wife of the Saudi ambassador to the United States gave some money that ended up, allegedly,

potentially in the hands of two of the hijackers.

I mean, do you really think, Peter, that the wife of the Saudi ambassador would knowingly fund the September 11th attacks?

BEINART: I really don't know. What we know is that there is a very insular Saudi elite, not all officially in the government. But we know that nothing happens in Saudi Arabia, really, that the government doesn't have that much control over.

And there is a tight network of Islamic charities that have been supporting really bad guys around the world that are very close to this government, and that really has not been disentangled yet.

KARL: All right, enough on Saudi Arabia, we've got to move on.

Debate is heating up about a new tool the government says it needs to fight the war on terror. The Total Awareness Information program includes a database that can access every American's credit card transactions, travel activities or gun purchases.

Earlier today New York Democratic Senator Charles Schumer and former House Speaker Newt Gingrich squared off on the issue.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIPS)

SEN. CHARLES SCHUMER (D), NEW YORK: The administration doesn't give a justification for it. They put in no safeguards. They don't talk to people. And these things leak out.

NEWT GINGRICH, FORMER SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE: After October 11th -- September 11th, they said "Gee, why didn't we know that the Arab men who were out there getting pilot training were somehow connected?" After the sniper we said, "Gee, why didn't we know that wasn't a white van, it was a blue car?" So Congress will come back and scapegoat later.

(END VIDEO CLIPS)

KARL: All right, Jonah, I mean, on the face here this new program is a little -- has some echoes of "1984." Is this Big Brother?

GOLDBERG: Not only is it Big Brother -- well, the reality is what this is, is this is Big William Safire, who has a rice-paper-thin skin when it comes to civil liberties. And every now and then, he writes these hysterical, factually insupportable, logically inconsistent screeds against some looming threat to civil liberties in the United States. And it shows how powerful he is that the media always falls for this stuff.

This is not an actual program in existence. This is basically a lab-tested computer simulation that is not doing anything right now in terms of probing people's privacy. In order to enact it, it has to go before Congress, it has to get approval. There's oversight. There are all sorts of things. We don't even know if it works. It's basically a research project. And everyone's going nuts about it, and they shouldn't.

KARL: Donna, I mean, can you defend this former Nixon speechwriter?

BRAZILE: Oh, absolutely.

(LAUGHTER)

Well, I will defend Mr. Safire because I think he's right on the money. The American people take great pride in our civil liberties, and we respect the fact that we have a right to privacy.

And I think if the administration funds this project and if it goes beyond what Jonah just said, a research project, into something that is truly out there, the American people will rebel against it.

CALDWELL: Well, I think information gathering of a much more aggressive kind is going to be necessary.

My worry about a computer-generated one is that it's going to be biased toward finding people who obey the law. That is, people who have Social Security numbers and college loans and health plans, and not toward people who've walked across the Canadian border, only use cash and have five aliases.

KARL: Peter?

BEINART: I mean, I'm sympathetic to the need to synthesize this information. We know that what happened before September 11th is there was too much information that wasn't being communicated. Fine.

But if you're going to give this new power, create an agency with all this new power, which people have a lot of concerns about, why on Earth do you put the guy in charge of it who lied to Congress? I mean, you can talk about...

KARL: Admiral Poindexter.

BEINART: John Poindexter, for goodness' sakes! I mean, there are a lot of smart people in this town who you could give this job to. Why give it to a guy who has a history of lying to Congress?

GOLDBERG: Well, part of the reason he got the job is because he actually brought the idea to the Pentagon as a research project, and he said, "Hey, I have this idea of how to synthesize this stuff." And since it was his idea, they said, "OK, why don't you give it a try and see if this technology even works." So it's much less ominous than the media is making it out to be.

CALDWELL: But it's not a school project. Poindexter is political poison. If you're going to change our attitude toward civil liberties in a way that you need bipartisan support for, you don't want a Harvey Pitt-style dartboard at the head of the agency.

(CROSSTALK)

KARL: So at the very least, it wasn't exactly smart politics, I mean, if you're looking for support for this.

All right, we've got to take a quick break. When we come back, Tom Daschle and Rush

Limbaugh mix it up. That and much more when the Final Round returns.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KARL: Welcome back to the "Final Round."

There was an interesting war of words this week between the Senate Democratic leader, Tom Daschle, and conservative radio talk show host Rush Limbaugh. Daschle said Limbaugh's rhetoric incited some of his listeners to threaten violence against Daschle and his family. Limbaugh dismissed Daschle's claims, saying they amounted to sour grapes.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

RUSH LIMBAUGH, TALK SHOW HOST: ... very small playbook. For 40 years, they had a free run with the mainstream press not challenging them on what they said, but instead challenging us. We've had to hone our response to all the accusations they make against us, and we've gotten good at it.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

KARL: All right, Chris, picking a fight with a guy with 20 million listeners, what is Tom Daschle up to here?

CALDWELL: Well, he is grasping at straws. And that shows that a lot of this talk we've had in the recent years about how we need to be more civil and that kind of thing is really just a blind for anti- democratic quashing of free speech.

This kind of talk is nothing compared to the stuff you heard in the 1936 election about fascists and slaves of big business, or even in the 19th century. It's so small potatoes.

KARL: Donna, this wasn't a good move for Daschle, was it?

BRAZILE: Well, I think Tom Daschle's a little sensitive. I mean, after all, he received that anthrax letter, his family's been threatened.

On the other hand, as someone who's been a verbal combatant in the partisan war of words, I think Democrats should take Rush Limbaugh on. I go on some of those conservative talk shows, and no, I don't like being called a liberal loony, but look, I give it right back and call them conservative kooks.

(LAUGHTER)

So, look, we have -- there's a thin line there between free speech and going over the line. Some time they go over the line, and I think they need to be a little bit more responsible.

As for what the Democratic Party should do, we should find our own Rush Limbaughs and bring it on.

KARL: A Democratic Rush Limbaugh, there's an idea.

GOLDBERG: It's called Dan Rather.

(LAUGHTER)

BEINART: The reason the Democrats don't have a real Rush Limbaugh is no one knows what a Democratic Rush Limbaugh would say on the central issue of the day, which is Iraq and the war on terrorism.

The Democrats do not know what they believe about this. And until they get a sense of what they do, all of this stuff is window dressing. You can't deal with a messenger if you don't have a message.

GOLDBERG: I have a slightly cynical interpretation of this. Well, either it was just basically a stupid mistake on Daschle's part, or what it was was an attempt to rip out a page from the mid-1990s playbook of demonizing the angry white male. There was all that Rush Limbaugh-bashing. We blamed him -- the media blamed him for the killing of Matthew Shepherd and for Oklahoma City and all that kind of stuff.

The Democratic base loves it. It makes Daschle a victim of the mean, angry, nasty, fascist white guys and all that kind of stuff.

And so, if it was a mistake, maybe he decided to exploit it along those lines, or it was just dumb all the way around. I can't figure it out.

KARL: So a mistake or brilliant political move here?

CALDWELL: Oh, it was so confusing that he thought that the thing that really led to the threats was the way Republicans had called him an obstructionist. And yet the whole press conference he gave was dedicated to calling Republicans obstructionists. It was a terrible mistake.

KARL: In fact, there was a poster right behind Daschle at the time that was talking about Republican obstructionism.

(LAUGHTER)

And the other thing that was interesting is he was actually saying Democrats need to emulate Rush Limbaugh, that's the way to get the message out, but also, you know, make it an attack.

BEINART: The particularly (ph) strange thing is, what Daschle should be saying is, "I actually got my guy elected in South Dakota." In an election where the Democrats did terribly, Daschle should be saying, I'm one of the few guys who has something to be successful...

(CROSSTALK)

KARL: In a Republican state, all right.

BRAZILE: In an election where Democrats lost the Senate by 50,000 votes in New Hampshire and Missouri, the Democrats should find the good and praise it and keep fighting the next battle, which will happen in a couple of months.

KARL: All right, well, find the good.

One Democrat who was everywhere this week was Al Gore. The former vice president is promoting his new book he co-authored with his wife, Tipper. His media blitz is largely viewed as Gore's political re-emergence. He took the opportunity to criticize President Bush on the war

on terrorism and express support for a single-payer national health-care system.

Donna, you are our resident Al Gore expert. What's going on?

BRAZILE: Well, first of all, I think you're going to see a lot more of Al Gore leading up not only into the election in 2003, where you're going to have three gubernatorial elections and many mayoral elections, but also 2004.

This is not a different Al Gore. This is the same fighter, the same person who wants to get back out there and cast himself back with the voters in 2004.

KARL: Is he going to run?

BRAZILE: I don't know, but I believe there's something inside of Al Gore that will lean toward him running in 2004.

KARL: Christopher?

CALDWELL: Yes, I think he's running, and he doesn't look too bad. I think his performances have been miserable, he's stumbling, he's a little bit off his stride. But he doesn't have to be the William Jennings Bryan, the repository of Democratic hopes. All he really has to be is the Michael Dukakis, as someone said in 1988, the last guy standing with money.

KARL: But, Peter, there's an emerging conventional wisdom about Al Gore, which is the Democratic elite in this town doesn't like him, but out there the grassroots Democrats want him to run again.

BEINART: I think so, particularly when you look at who his real competition is. I think his real competition is Gephardt. Gephardt's, I think, the only guy who could beat him in Iowa. And I think if Gore wins Iowa, I think he's looking in pretty good shape. And Gephardt was really hurt by these elections. So I actually think Gore is probably not looking in too bad a shape.

The weird thing about this re-emergence is that if there was an authentic Al Gore all these years, you really thought it was -- I always thought it was really as a new Democrat, as a centrist. And here he is moving to the left on both foreign and domestic policy, which makes me wonder, if this is the real Al Gore, then what was the old one all these years?

(LAUGHTER)

KARL: National health care.

GOLDBERG: Well, I think it is the real Al Gore, because the real Al Gore would always say or do anything based upon what the polls or what the political strategy at the time was going to be. For a long time, it made a lot of sense to be a DLC Democrat, centrist Democrat, so that's what Al Gore was. Then it made sense to go left, so now he's going left. That's the real Al Gore. And just everything else, what he says, is all superficial to the essence of the guy.

BRAZILE: I don't think it's left or right in terms of Al Gore. I think it's Al Gore moving forward to try to help redefine the Democratic Party for the 21st century. And I think Gore will have a leadership role in helping to get the party's message back in shape.

KARL: All right. And now, just one more thing. Are you seeing any specific signs that he's

getting ready to run? I mean, are you seeing him lining people up, talking to people, getting ready?

BRAZILE: Well, no. But what I do see, and many of us have seen, we see him on TV, we hear him on the radio, he's in the newspaper. And I'm waiting for him to go to Des Moines.

KARL: All right. Here we go, we've got to take one more quick break, and the Lightning Round is next. Stay with us.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KARL: Time now for our "Lightning Round."

Retiring South Carolina Republican Senator Strom Thurmond will celebrate his 100th birthday next week.

All right, Christopher Caldwell, what is Strom Thurmond's legacy?

CALDWELL: I'm sorry his place in history is for the 1948 Dixiecrat election. He's been a pretty run-of-the-mill Republican ever since, and his legacy in Washington is a lot of really interesting virility jokes.

(LAUGHTER)

KARL: The Cal Ripkin of politics?

GOLDBERG: Actually, well, the John Holmes of politics.

(LAUGHTER)

Anyway, his real legacy, I actually think, is he was the harbinger of the Republicanization of the South. He was the first guy to go from Dixiecrat or Democrat to Republican and he was the harbinger of it all, along with Barry Goldwater, of turning the Democrats solid Republican.

BRAZILE: His legacy may be that of a principally conservative segregationist, but the South has changed. We now have African-Americans running for statewide office, and African-Americans serve in statewide office in the deep South, a South that he once opposed having African-Americans the right to vote. And now the vice chair of the Democratic Caucus hails from South Carolina, his home state, Jim Clyburn.

BEINART: Yes, let's call a spade a spade here. His legacy is white supremacy. His legacy is the rise of the Republican Party in the South based on the backlash against civil rights on the Republican Party becoming the anti-black party. And if Republicans really want to move away from that legacy, they should join me in saying good riddance.

KARL: All right, well, don't wait for that to happen.

Retiring House Republican leader Dick Armey is considering becoming a consultant of the foe to many conservatives, the American Civil Liberties Union. Have liberals gained a new friend?

And, Peter, I'll throw this at you, although I imagine Democrats would much rather see Dick Armey on the advisory panel for the ACLU than in Congress.



BEINART: Give Dick Armey credit. You know, I disagree with him on most things, but he has been consistent. He was consistent against the expansion of government power under Clinton and under Bush. I only wish people like John Ashcroft, who was a vehement civil libertarian when Clinton was in power, still stuck to some of those principles today.

KARL: You want to say something nice about Dick Armey?

BRAZILE: Well, not only Dick Armey, I also think they should recruit Bob Barr. I mean, he's another civil libertarian. You have a lot more in the Republican Party, as well the Libertarian Party, and they should go after all of them.

GOLDBERG: Yes, I mean, there's bizarre misunderstanding of the history of the conservative movement in America that says that somehow they aren't civil libertarians. A big tradition on the right has always been deep skepticism of government, deep skepticism governmental intrusion, and Dick Armey and Bob Barr just represent it.

KARL: But wait, it was the first George Bush that attacked Michael Dukakis as being a card-carrying member of the ACLU.

CALDWELL: But Jonah is right. Dick Armey has -- Dick Armey's problem is that, while he's always been terrific on economic issues and very consistent, he's always floundered whenever he's got off of them from the "Barney fag" remark, to his confusion about Iraq, to now. He's just looking for a place to perch.

KARL: All right. Next up, the "New York Times" is urging Tiger Woods to boycott next year's Masters tournament because of the Augusta National Golf Club's refusal to admit women members.

In an editorial this week, the "Times" said, quote, "The absence of golf's best player would be a dreaded asterisk to the name of next year's winner. And a tournament without Mr. Woods would send a powerful message that discrimination isn't good for the golfing business."

Does Tiger Woods have a special responsibility on this one to speak out? You wanted a sports question, Donna. What do you think?

BRAZILE: Oh, Lord, here I go. First of all, I don't think he should boycott it, but I do believe that he should speak out. And I think he would be an eloquent speaker on this as someone who, from his history or his parent's history, should know the pain of discrimination.

I also think Jack Nicklaus and many of the other golfing pros, and don't ask me their names, should speak out as well.

(LAUGHTER)

KARL: I'll give you a quiz.

Jonah?

GOLDBERG: Well, first of all, I have no problem with Augusta staying all-male. It's a free country.

Second of all, it's classic "New York Times," which, first of all, likes to sort of try to force

and shame people into becoming the moral leaders that they want them to be.

And they often are confused by the idea that race and sex are not the same thing and they have very different roles in our society. We fought a civil war to make this country generally color blind. We didn't fight a civil war over gender. And, you know, they don't understand that.

(CROSSTALK)

KARL: ... a male Tiger Woods could join Augusta?

BEINART: That's right. It's not because he's black, it's because he's the best golfer. And the point is that no other golfer would have the same impact.

It's true, Augusta has the right to discriminate. "The New York Times" has this very same right to call for a boycott, and I hope Tiger Woods joins.

CALDWELL: Yes, I have to agree with Michael Wilbon of "The Washington Post." He said, "Tiger Woods is being asked to do this because he, as a black, is supposed to represent minority progressivism, and he'd be a fool if he were to listen to these yappers at the New York Times."

KARL: All right, well, we'll leave it at that. The "Final Round" is over. Thank you very much.

BRAZILE: Happy Thanksgiving.

KARL: Yes, Happy Thanksgiving to all of you.

All right. Oh, do we have one more question? We do have one more.

(LAUGHTER)

Do we have one more? Two teenagers are suing McDonald's. They claim the fast food restaurant caused them to become obese, because it failed to provide sufficient information about the health risks associated with those meals.

So, Jonah, what do you say? Suing McDonald's, very quickly.

GOLDBERG: Well, you can read my amicus brief, because I'm blaming them for my obesity, too.

(LAUGHTER)

No, it's absurd. You know, it's a typical trial lawyer thing. It's idiotic.

BEINART: Yes, I agree. Look, everyone should know by now that McDonald's is not exactly health food.

KARL: All right, well, that really is it for LATE EDITION.

(LAUGHTER)

Thank you. Happy Thanksgiving.

(CROSSTALK)

All right. That's it for LATE EDITION for this Sunday, November 24.

Be sure to join us next Sunday and every Sunday. And thank you for watching. We wish you all a Happy Thanksgiving and a great weekend.

I'm Jonathan Karl in Washington. TO ORDER A VIDEO OF THIS TRANSCRIPT, PLEASE CALL 800-CNN-NEWS OR USE OUR SECURE ONLINE ORDER FORM LOCATED AT [www.fdch.com](http://www.fdch.com)

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**SHOW:** YOUR WORLD WITH NEIL CAVUTO (16:00)

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**HEADLINE:** Palestinian U.N. Representative Discusses Recent Mideast Violence

**GUESTS:** **Nasser Al-Kidwa**

**BYLINE:** Neil Cavuto

**BODY:**

NEIL CAVUTO, HOST: Yesterday, Israeli forces descended into the Gaza Strip, 14 dead, 80 wounded, all Palestinians. Israeli prime minister calling the action a "success." But Palestinians calling the raid a "war crime." But Israel officials say they plan to do more of these raids in the future to stamp out terrorism. Joining me now is Palestinian representative to the U.N., **Nasser Al-Kidwa**, who sent a letter of appeal to the Security Council in an effort to protect the Palestinian people.

Ambassador, good to have you.

**NASSER AL-KIDWA**, PALESTINIAN REP. TO U.N.: Thank you.

CAVUTO: Can you tell me a little bit about this letter.

AL-KIDWA: Well, actually, it is not the first time that the Israeli occupying force has committed war crimes against the Palestinian people and Palestinian civilians, of course. And it has been a while for us now trying to bring international observers or international troops (ph). There has been lots of international efforts in that direction, and we are just trying to do that, we are pushing in that direction.

CAVUTO: So when you hear the Israelis say they are trying to address terrorism and go to the seeds of terrorism, you don't buy that?

AL-KIDWA: I think nobody buys that, all over the world actually. There has been a consensus, condemning what the Israelis have done. I mean, they fired missiles at the crowd,

civilian crowd directly. They haven't even pretended to have identified any target, military target or otherwise. They just said that this neighborhood is a stronghold for Hamas, and we went in to apply pressure on them.

CAVUTO: Well, it turns out that neighborhood was a stronghold for Hamas, right? So people innocents are lost like in the campaign against terrorism on the Israelis, many innocent civilians are lost, so there is blood on both sides senselessly, right?

AL-KIDWA: It's not the same thing. There is blood on both sides.

CAVUTO: What's not the same thing when a discotheque in Israel is hit and 22 people are killed?

AL-KIDWA: And that is why we precisely condemn something like that. I was trying to say that there is blood on both sides and we condemn any attacks on innocent civilians, the difference being one, that what is being done by the Palestinians or done by some groups against the law, against the Palestinian Authority and against the peace process as a whole. What is being done by the Israeli side is done by an army, in implementation of an official policy, and it is a committed by the sanctions of the highest level of the political echelon.

CAVUTO: But, Ambassador, you can understand, right? that when Israelis criticize you or spokesmen for your concern, and you don't more aggressively come out against these homicide, suicide attacks, whatever you want to call them, that it gives them pause that they think also, well, he does not really mean it?

AL-KIDWA: No. I don't think so. I think it is a matter of policy, Prime Minister Sharon from the beginning has made it very clear that he does not want to settle, that he wants some kind of transitional arrangement. He said that repeatedly, he does not want a partner, he does not want Yasser Arafat, he does not want - actually the Palestinian people as a whole, that is the problem. The Palestinian position against the suicide bombings is very clear and it is being repeated every day. What the Israeli side is doing however is weakening our capacity to deal with the problem and not enhancing.

CAVUTO: But let me ask you, it's a good point, but when you hear of the bus attacks, the discotheque attacks and everything else, why doesn't somebody just scream about it? this is senseless, this is immoral, this is murder. Why - the kind of things that you want to hear from Israelis or the global community about the suffering of your people, why don't we hear the same out of your people when it is the Israelis who suffer?

AL-KIDWA: We say the same. The problem.

CAVUTO: Actually Ambassador, I don't hear it.

AL-KIDWA: Probably you did not ask, probably you did not give.

CAVUTO: Do I have to ask?

AL-KIDWA: . a chance.

CAVUTO: Call a press conference, condemn it.

AL-KIDWA: Even if we do that still you probably won't cover it. And if you do you won't cover it enough.

CAVUTO: Oh, I don't know about that. Where is the clarion call to say, this stops, whether it's Israelis inflicting harm on the Palestinians, or Palestinians on the Israelis?

AL-KIDWA: It should have stopped a long time ago. And we are looking forward for it to stop immediately. And we are trying our best, what is needed though is different Israeli political position, one that really wants an end to that and really wants a political settlement.

CAVUTO: But could you welcome the Israeli proposal? We will talk as soon as the attacks end? It seems like a very simple start to something, why don't you endorse that?

AL-KIDWA: First, Mr. Shamir (sic) said I won't talk unless there is a quiet for seven days, that was a condition impossible at the time. Nevertheless, it did happen, not only seven days, it did happen for about maybe a month or over a month. And still he did not want to talk. So the issue again is his political position, he does not want a settlement.

CAVUTO: When you see Sharon here in the United States tomorrow, anything you want to hear out of him?

AL-KIDWA: You see, the timing of what happened, yesterday, is very familiar. It happened yesterday, provoking a Palestinian reaction to it, just in time for him to be at the White House. And it is time to question the timing and the methods and the content of the Israeli actions against Palestinians.

CAVUTO: Ambassador, thank you very much, we want to be fair to both sides, Ambassador Nasser Al-Kidwa. We will see what happens, Ariel Sharon is due in this country tomorrow, as the ambassador said, to lay out his case. We shall see.

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**HEADLINE:** Nasser Al-Kidwa discusses the Middle East

**BODY:**

MR. RUSSERT: And we are back. Mr. Al-Kidwa, welcome back to MEET THE PRESS.

MR. NASSER AL-KIDWA: Thank you.

MR. RUSSERT: Is Yasser Arafat finished as leader of the Palestinian people?

MR. AL-KIDWA: I don't think so. I think this will be the decision of the Palestinian people to make and not anyone else. And more importantly, I think it's a matter of policies and positions, rather than the individual himself. The underlying position, I guess, on the other side is one which calls for different kind of policies and positions. And I think Yasser Arafat is as moderate as anyone else can go without being considered as a traitor by the Palestinian people. And I think this will be the decisive element.

MR. RUSSERT: Will he seek re-election as president of the Palestinian Authority?

MR. AL-KIDWA: You know, for him and I think for many Palestinians as well, it's a matter of a mission rather than a post. His mission is to lead the Palestinian people until the establishment of an independent Palestine. After that, by the way, the question will be very legitimate because many Palestinians also think that he might not be the man to build the modern institutions of the state, but we are still in the phase of national liberation. And I think he symbolizes the ambitions of the Palestinian people during this stage, and as such, I think they will stand by him.

MR. RUSSERT: And he will run for re-election?

MR. AL-KIDWA: Again, it is not a matter of post. I think...

MR. RUSSERT: But it's your expectation...

MR. AL-KIDWA: ...it's a matter of...

MR. RUSSERT: ...in the January elections, he will be on the ballot?

MR. AL-KIDWA: Well, barring any surprises, one can see continuation of this stage, again, until the actual establishment of the state.



MR. RUSSERT: Do you believe that President Bush's denunciation of Yasser Arafat would be a political asset for him in such a campaign?

MR. AL-KIDWA: Well, I think the Palestinian people have a broader problem with the speech of the president. It's not only his negative position, vis-a-vis President Arafat, but I think the president's attempt to put the burden on the Palestinian people, ask them to do huge things under Israeli occupation and while the Israeli side is actually engaged in systematic destruction of the Palestinian Authority and the Palestinian infrastructure, allowing basically Mr. Sharon and his government to continue with their military campaign against the Palestinian people and then putting the blame on the Palestinian people themselves--that is the problem.

Let me also be clear, nevertheless, that at the level of vision, the president's speech does have very positive elements. You named them earlier--the need to end Israeli settlements, the need to end Israeli occupation, the establishment of a Palestinian state at the beginning with a provisional border, but then as part of final settlement within three years and so on. So we see those positive elements, and we would want to work with the administration. However, there is no mechanism, there is no road map, there is no--there is no explanation how we get from here to there while the operational part--the only operational part is just putting the burden on the Palestinian people and let Mr. Sharon continue with what he is doing now.

MR. RUSSERT: Is there anyone who could be elected leader of the Palestinian Authority, who would be acceptable to the United States, who would not be viewed as, in your words, a traitor to the Palestinian cause?

MR. AL-KIDWA: Again, if it is a matter of an election, a Palestinian election within an independent Palestine, I think there will be many Palestinians. But, at this stage, it is not that; it is the leadership of the national liberation movement, the Palestinian movement towards independence, and, as such, I think, he is the historic leader of the Palestinian people.

MR. RUSSERT: He being Yasser Arafat?

MR. AL-KIDWA: Yeah.

MR. RUSSERT: The leader of Hamas--let me show you on the screen: "Ismail Abu Shanab, a leader of the military group Hamas...expressed a different hope...'I hope the Palestinian Authority will now understand that it should support resistance and not chase after the West'...observing that Mr. Arafat had now 'lost the support of the American administration' along with that of average Palestinians."

Do you agree?

MR. AL-KIDWA: No, I don't agree, because the Palestinian leadership and the overwhelming majority of the Palestinian people made up their mind. We want to remain engaged in the peace process. We want to have a peaceful negotiated settlement with the Israeli side. We have to defend ourselves, nevertheless, when Israeli tanks and Israeli soldiers attack Palestinian cities and reoccupy those cities. This is legitimate under international law, although this is not our choice. Our choice, strategic one, remains the same.

MR. RUSSERT: But the Israelis, as you well know, deal day after day after day with suicide

bombings--women, children, grandparents, all being destroyed. This was the photograph I showed Dr. Rice, there's a young Palestinian baby with the famous red Hamas headband, and strapped to them a suicide bombing outfit or gear. What is that about?

MR. AL-KIDWA: It's about serious problems endured by the Palestinian society as a whole, that, at least, parts of this society lost all hope and is really suffering of serious despair and hopelessness. But this comes as the direct result of 35 years of military occupation, 35 years of colonization, Israeli colonization, of our land and 35 years of oppressive measures, especially during the last two years and more so since 29th of March. War crimes were committed. Destruction--destruction is taking place in unimaginable, unimaginable way. Millions of Palestinians, two-plus millions, are put under curfew, almost continuously.

MR. RUSSERT: But does any of that justify suicide bombings or dressing a baby like that?

MR. AL-KIDWA: No, it doesn't. Of course, it doesn't, but it's easy for me here while in the comfort of Washington to say that we don't want that, and we really don't want that. But for this to change we need to give this people hope. We need to tell them, not only theoretically that we are going to have a state, but we need to tell them that today things will start changing. Today we are going to have one, two, three, and that was not there in the speech made by the president.

MR. RUSSERT: As to suicide bombings, Yasser Arafat said this in an interview with an Israeli paper: "that 'foreign forces' were exploiting young hopeless Palestinians, encouraging them to commit attacks in exchange for money, adding that two families of suicide attackers from Jenin received \$30,000 each from these foreigners."

These foreigners being Iraq?

MR. AL-KIDWA: Being many, many, many countries, not only that.

MR. RUSSERT: Why not tell these foreigners stop giving our people money, stop encouraging suicide bombings?

MR. AL-KIDWA: We did, and many people tend to forget that there has been lots of problems, actually contradiction between the Palestinian Authority on one hand and those extremists--those extreme Palestinian groups, on the other hand. Some of them see themselves as the substitute for the Palestinian Authority and not as an ally of the Palestinian Authority, and this is another reason why the overwhelming majority of the Palestinian people, frankly, do not understand what the president is trying to do. And I am saying that from a position that would want to see some positiveness in this speech because, after all, this is the superpower of the world and we want to work with this superpower so that we can change the situation of the Palestinian people.

MR. RUSSERT: Many Israelis and their allies here in the United States question whether the Palestinians really want peace or whether they want to destroy Israel. William Bennett, in his book "Why We Fight," wrote this: "The official emblem and stationery the Palestinian Liberation Organization, headed by Arafat, feature a map of the entirety of what is to be liberated, not just the disputed territories but all present-day Israel." And he goes on: "The Fatah wing of the PLO, its so-called moderate faction, has as its insignia a shield bearing, again, the entirety of what is

Israel surmounted by two fists holding rifles with a hand grenade beneath."

And you take that and couple it with a statement that Mort Zuckerman, the editor in chief of U.S. News & World Report writes today, that "Yasser Arafat told the former president of Indonesia when asked, 'Why didn't you accept President Clinton's peace plan?' He said, 'Look, we've got 150 years, and we'll throw them into the sea.'"

MR. AL-KIDWA: Mr. Bennett, unfortunately, did not tell us what is the Israeli map. Israel, for more than 50 years now, does not tell the world what is the borders of Israel. So it's not just to say that the Palestinian side does not show borders. It's the Israeli side also that does not show borders. Now, with regard to Mr. Wahid, think his credibility is something which does not deserve a lot of comment.

MR. RUSSERT: You don't think Mr. Arafat said that?

MR. AL-KIDWA: Of course, he didn't. And let me tell you, more--I mean, more importantly, publicly, Yasser Arafat is directly responsible for moving the whole Palestinian society from a position demanding absolute justice, that is going back to our homes and having all Palestine to opposition, demanding relative justice to establish Palestinian state on less than one-fourth of mandated Palestine. The West Bank and Gaza constitute 22 percent of mandated Palestine, and this man is responsible for moving the position, the Palestinian position, from this to that. Now, if he does that publicly through a historic process, how comes that anyone would question that he might make this kind of comments?

MR. RUSSERT: Because he has not stopped the suicide bombings. He has not stopped the terrorism. He has not arrested the people he has promised to arrest.

MR. AL-KIDWA: He was not able to do that simply because there was total absence of the needed political context for the Palestinian Authority to be able to resist this phenomenon. To take the necessary actions, there must be some political hope. There must be some political context. There is no military or security solution of the situation. We need to have clear-cut road map leading us to a final goal in a context of clear vision for peace in the region.

MR. RUSSERT: Do you believe you'll see a Palestinian state in your lifetime?

MR. AL-KIDWA: Absolutely. I have no doubt whatsoever that this will be the case.

MR. RUSSERT: And how long?

MR. AL-KIDWA: Hopefully very soon.

MR. RUSSERT: Three years, five years, 10 years?

MR. AL-KIDWA: Well, if we are to believe what President Bush has said, it should be before three years.

MR. RUSSERT: Mr. Al-Kidwa, we thank you very much for sharing your views.

MR. AL-KIDWA: Thank you.

MR. RUSSERT: Coming next: Our MEET THE PRESS Minute with the postmaster general from 1969. Stamps were 6 cents back then. They are now going up to 37 cents for a first-class

letter, starting today.

(Announcements)

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**HIGHLIGHT:**

Profiles of the key players in the Middle East crisis, the Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat.

**BODY:**

THIS IS A RUSH TRANSCRIPT. THIS COPY MAY NOT BE IN ITS FINAL FORM AND MAY BE UPDATED.

FREDRICKA WHITFIELD, CNN ANCHOR: Coming up next on "PEOPLE IN THE NEWS," more on the Middle East crisis, the key players, the Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat. Two very different leaders at a crossroads. We'll begin with Yasser Arafat. Here's Sharon Collins.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

SHARON COLLINS, CNN CORRESPONDENT (voice-over): This week, President Bush announced conditional support for the creation of a Palestinian state.

GEORGE W. BUSH, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: My vision is two states

living side-by-side in peace and security.

COLLINS: His vision for a peaceful resolution to the Mid East conflict included an important proviso.

BUSH: Peace requires a new and different Palestinian leadership so that a Palestinian state can be born.

COLLINS: His name was never uttered by the intention was clear -- remove Yasser Arafat from the Mid East peace process.

BUSH: I call on the Palestinian people to elect new leaders, leaders not compromised by terror.

COLLINS: Two weeks ago, back-to-back suicide bombings in Jerusalem elicited a strong response from Israeli forces and shattered confidence in Arafat's ability to control the situation.

DAVID SHIPLER, AUTHOR, "ARAB AND JEW": It's a Catch 22 situation for him. The more moderate he becomes with the Israelis, the less credibility he has with the Palestinians. The more militant he is, the more credibility with the Palestinians and the less conciliatory the Israelis will be.

Now, how you work your way out of that, I'm not sure. Arafat doesn't seem clever enough to do it. He's a good survivor. He's not so good as a leader who can move a situation into a different era.

COLLINS: It's clear the United States doesn't think Yasser Arafat is the Palestinian leader who can bring peace, but it's not clear even with his popularity waning whether he will ever give up his struggle for statehood.

COLLINS: Yasser Arafat's life story is a reflection of the Palestinian movement. He was born in 1929, one of seven children. His birthplace, like other details of his life, is a source of some speculation. He claims to have been born in Jerusalem but his birth certificate says Cairo. His mother died when he was four and his father sent him to Jerusalem to live with his uncle for several years.

JOHN WALLACH, ARAFAT BIOGRAPHER: His childhood was painful for him. He was shunted back and forth from one relative to another. He never really had a mother and father that he knew very well. He likes to say today that that homelessness, that sense of not having a parent, not having a mother and father is parallel to the homelessness of the Palestinian people themselves.

COLLINS: In 1937, Arafat rejoined his father, three sisters and three brothers in Cairo. They lived in a mixed neighborhood, Arab and Jewish.

WALLACH: He had Jewish friends. He even played basketball on a Jewish team. So this is someone who has been familiar with the struggle, the Zionist struggle for independence from his early years or at least from his teenage years and I think that that had a deep influence on him.

LARRY KING, CNN HOST: Do you think we will see Jewish children and Palestinian children playing together, growing together, being friends?

YASSER ARAFAT, PRESIDENT OF PALESTINIAN NATIONAL AUTHORITY: It my boyhood, we were doing the same.

KING: Your cousins?

Y. ARAFAT: Yes, not to forget that we never said the other Jews. We used to condemn our cousins. This is the history. Abraham is our -- is mine.

KING: You never hated the Jews?

Y. ARAFAT: Never, otherwise I will not be a real Muslim.

COLLINS: The creation of Israel in 1948 drew Arafat to the ranks of Palestinian nationalists who wanted to destroy the Jewish state. While studying engineering at Cairo University, he arranged the smuggling of weapons from Egypt into Palestine.

WALLACH: He promoted himself as the leader of the Palestinian Student Union, that he was going into the desert to seize weapons that had -- old weapons that the British had left behind from the days when Egypt had won its independence.

COLLINS: When Egypt went to war with Israel in 1956, 27-year-old Yasser Arafat fought for the Egyptians. After the war, another Arab defeat, Arafat began to focus on displacing the Jewish state to secure a homeland for Palestinians. He co-founded Alpha Tau, which would later become the militant wing of the PLO and an instrument of guerrilla tactics and deadly terror.

WALLACH: Terrorist activities began against Israel in 1966 and 1967 when attacks took place in Israel itself, blowing up railroad stations and water facilities, dams.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

COLLINS: When PEOPLE IN THE NEWS returns, from militant warrior to national hero. Yasser Arafat engages a struggling people.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

COLLINS (voice-over): June 1967, a dramatic and sudden shift in the Arab-Israeli conflict and a turning point for Yasser Arafat. Israel facing attack from Arab neighbors intent on destroying the Jewish state launches a pre-emptive military strike.

In six days, Israel triples in size, having captured territory from Jordan, Syria and Egypt and raises the Star of David over east Jerusalem.

SHIPLER: Israel was the underdog before the '67 War and was celebrated triumphantly. It was seen as the David that had slain the Goliath.

WALLACH: This was such a devastating defeat for the Arabs that the Palestinians said to themselves, they're never going to be able to deliver independence for us.

COLLINS: Frustrated with the lack of strong leadership in the Arab world, the Palestinians turned to Yasser Arafat. He was elected chairman of the PLO with hopes of putting Palestine on the map and wound up on the cover of "TIME" magazine.

WALLACH: Arafat was now emerging as a figure who not only confronted Israel, but confronted established Arab regimes. This was the beginning of kind of Arafatism nuisance to the Arab leaders, which to some extent, he still is today.

COLLINS: Arafat's obsession with a Palestinian state has been on display ever since, even in the way he dresses. The traditional headdress Arafat wears, the Kuffieh, has symbolic meaning.

HANAN ASHRAWI, PALESTINIAN LEGISLATOR: He always wears it to look like the map of historical Palestine. So he combines many things, a political message of culture, the message of personal matters and a sign of continuity and commitment.

The Palestinians feel the kuffieh is a sign of plight, of dignity, of national identity, of a homeland.

COLLINS: A homeland that has so far eluded them. After the Six Day War, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians fled the West Bank in Gaza into refugee camps in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. The fate of these refugees, their yearning for their own state and Israel's need to guarantee the security of its own people, is at the heart of the conflict that has played out over the last 30 years, a struggle for land and peace with little common ground.

Y. ARAFAT (through translator): The establishment of a Palestinian state with holy Jerusalem as its capital is the only guarantee for security, peace and stability in the region and the world.

BENJAMIN NETANYAHU, FORMER ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER: Arafat is out to destroy the state of Israel. So what did Arafat send out the PLO to liberate? What was the Palestine? And the answer is Israel, any part of Israel and any border.

COLLINS: Under Arafat's leadership in the early '70s, the PLO and its various factions turned terrorism into a household word. One of these factions carried out a series of hijackings in Europe and the Middle East, including five in one week in September 1970, which ended with three emptied planes being blown up in the Jordanian Desert.

Arafat never personally claimed responsibility for these acts, but he never condemned them either.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: The taking of civilian lives, the hijacking of airplanes, these are deemed to be terrorist attacks.

Y. ARAFAT: You are -- you are -- you are mentioning the hijacking. You are neglecting the crux of the whole issue. We are under occupation and according to the United Nations Charter and the resolution and decisions, we have the right to resist against occupation by all means.

NETANYAHU: He's an arch terrorist, he's a master terrorist, he's the one who brought to the world, the -- you know, the terrorist start-up of producing airline hijackings, of taking people hostage, of kidnapping and murdering diplomats, including American diplomats in Khartoum. You name a terrorist technique; he's either thought about it or perfected it.

COLLINS: Despite the terror attacks, Arafat was invited to speak to the U.N. General Assembly in New York in 1974.



Y. ARAFAT (through translator): Today, I have come bearing an olive branch and a freedom fighter's gun. Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand. Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand.

COLLINS: Israel boycotted, but for Arafat and the PLO, the implications were clear.

**NASSER AL-KIDWA**, PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVE TO U.N.: What was significant, of course, was the symbol of the world buddy, recognizing the Palestinian National Liberation Movement and its leader, thus, recognizing the legitimacy of the Palestinians' struggle.

COLLINS: Recognition by the U.N. did not change the ways of Arafat and the PLO. In 1982, the PLO now based in Lebanon launched a series of deadly attacks against Israeli forces.

Israel invaded Lebanon and troops led by then Defense Minister Ariel Sharon pushed all the way to the gates of Beirut, literally driving Arafat and the PLO out to sea.

Y. ARAFAT: I was under siege one year ago. And I am in another siege this year. What is different? It is contradicting. It is a revolution.

SHARON: We came here only for one purpose and that is to destroy, to destroy and to take this world -- to destroy the terrorists' PLO Palestinian organizations.

COLLINS: Arafat was on the run again. He went to Tunis. Then several years later, as Palestinians in Israeli occupied territories staged a violent uprising, Arafat finally indicated that the PLO might be willing to compromise.

At a special assembly of the U.N. in Geneva, Arafat not only recognized Israel's right to exist, he uttered the words many had been waiting years to hear.

Y. ARAFAT: I repeat for the record that we totally and absolutely renounce all forms of terrorists.

COLLINS: With a single speech, came hope that years of fighting just might come to an end. But the time for terror was over.

ASHRAWI: He moved to peacemaker because he made the historical decision. He did that and that had to be recognized and he did change the course of history.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

COLLINS: But more than 10 years later, Arafat's words are being used against him. That story when PEOPLE IN THE NEWS continues.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

COLLINS (voice-over): Having opened the door to peace with his historic speech to the U.N., Yasser Arafat was still a man without a homeland.

Y. ARAFAT: You know it is not an easy life to live every night in different place and on different beds.

COLLINS: He had so many enemies; he practically lived on an airplane and rarely slept in the same place.

Y. ARAFAT: In this airplane, even my colleagues don't know where we are going to.

COLLINS: But Arafat would prove himself the consummate survivor. In 1992, his plane crashed in a sand storm in the Libyan Desert and he escaped with his life. He developed a blood clot on his brain afterwards but beat that too.

Shortly after his brush with death, Arafat went public with surprising personal news. A year earlier, he had secretly married a Christian-Palestinian woman who was half his age, a woman some had mistaken for his mistress.

SUHA ARAFAT, WIFE: It was terrible for me because when I'm married to a man and the entourage would say, "It's his mistress." It's too much this political entourage of the peers, all which is gossiping all the time.

ASHRAWI: I really think it's a very, very simple case of falling in love with a younger woman, who was working in his office, and they wanted to have a more permanent relationship.

COLLINS: Newly married and in declining health, Arafat seemed more reflective, more intent than ever on finding peace, according to people close to him. And in September 1993, the life-long warrior for Palestine sealed an important agreement by shaking hands with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. The Oslo Accords put in writing that the Jewish people were entitled to a state of their own and Arafat was vilified by many Palestinians for signing the deal.

Y. ARAFAT: Making the peace is more difficult than to make war. Any -- and so any -- any officer, any general can make a peace -- they can make war, but to make peace, it means the courageous man to implement peace.

COLLINS: Israeli hard-liners didn't like the Oslo deal either. Among other things, it allowed Arafat to move to Gaza and establish the Palestinian Authority there. Now, the Israeli's mortal enemy would be living in her midst.

MORTIMER ZUCKERMAN, CONF. OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICA JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS: They thought for a moment that he was going to become like Mandela in South Africa or Gandhi in India or indeed even David Bendure in Israel, but was it willing to make the necessary compromises to bring about a peaceful resolution? It turned out that this was a false hope.

COLLINS: Despite anger on both sides, Yasser Arafat, Yitzhak Rabin and Israeli foreign minister Shimon Peres were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts though the award itself was controversial.

NETANYAHU: Does anyone take seriously Arafat's Nobel Prize? I think it was one of the low points of the Nobel Prize.

COLLINS: By this time, the pursuit of peace and the Palestinian state was all consuming for Arafat. He and his wife, Suha, had a baby girl in July of 1995, but their family life was somewhat unusual. Suha had her own apartment upstairs where Arafat seldom ventured. He

claims that he didn't have time for his own daughter because he was father to all Palestinian children.

S. ARAFAT: It's a strange relation. She sees this man 10 minutes in the morning and he goes, surrounded by bodyguards. And she sees his pictures on the TV. She sees his pictures on -- in the pipes, in the lunar pipes, in the little gardens around. I say "papa," but she doesn't understand what is this man.

ASHRAWI: I told him once, "Don't you miss her?" And he said, "Yes, but I can't afford to think about it." So his life has been taken up with the struggle. It doesn't mean he's not a father and he's not -- he doesn't have these human or paternal feelings, but I think reality has deprived him of the chance to express them, to exercise them and to be with his family.

COLLINS: The personal and political spears so often separate converged for Arafat in September of 1995 when an Israeli right-wing extremist assassinated Prime Minister Rabin. It does a blow to the peace process and a personal blow to Arafat.

S. ARAFAT: I got this phone call and he was -- he stayed all night without saying one word. No, but it was -- it was that his partner at peace was killed.

AL-KIDWA: I remember seeing him once in his office after the assassination of Rabin, a few days after and he was really in distress.

COLLINS: Whatever Arafat's personal distress, Rabin's killing put the peace process on life support where it remained until 1998 when the two sides held peace talks again.

At Camp David, in the fall of 2000, the Israelis offered the Palestinians much of the land Israel had occupied after the 1967 Six Day War. One sticking point was that the deal did not include total Palestinian control of Arab East Jerusalem. Arafat rejected it and the two sides haven't been back to the peace table since.

COLLINS: Long before the current crisis, pressures were mounting on Arafat from all sides, pressure to once and for all denounce terror and to put a stop to the attacks.

Y. ARAFAT: Did President Bush succeed to stop the attack of bin Laden? You have the biggest power all over the world. I am doing a 100 percent of my effort, but no one all over the world can give 100 percent of that.

ZUCKERMAN: He puts a lot of tigers into a cage. He organizes these tigers in different cages and then, he says to the people who control the gates to the cages, "Why don't you open those gates?" And then he says, "Oh, my goodness, the tigers are killing people. I'm really shocked."

COLLINS: A one-two punch of suicide bombings two weeks ago that left 26 Israelis dead is the last straw for President Bush. He held Yasser Arafat ultimately responsible.

BUSH: Today, Palestinian authorities are encouraging not opposing terrorism. This is not acceptable. And the United States will not support the establishment of a Palestinian state until its leaders engage in a sustained fight against the terrorists and dismantle their infrastructure.

COLLINS: He called for the Palestinians to elect new leaders, demands that the de facto

leader of the Palestinians leave office.

Y. ARAFAT (through translator): He spoke about a Palestinian state and elections, that we consider our state will be democratic with the coming elections. The last elections that took place on this land were under the auspices of the international community.

COLLINS: The Palestinian Authority has promised new elections in January. And in a move that seems to gloss over Bush's vote of "no confidence," Yasser Arafat has vowed to be a candidate.

In the meantime, Israel troops have moved into Palestinian controlled territories and strict curfews have been imposed. Tensions are still high.

Arafat's goal, a sovereign Palestinian state, may become a reality. It is his role in that reality, however, that remains uncertain.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

COLLINS: Up next, on PEOPLE IN THE NEWS, while the Palestinians are battling to forge a nation, he's fighting to protect one.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

SHARON: Peace might be discussed only when the full cessation of terror...

(END VIDEO CLIP)

COLLINS: An in-depth look at Israel's Prime Minister Ariel Sharon.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

WHITFIELD: Now back to "PEOPLE IN THE NEWS" and our look at the key players in the Middle East crisis.

For nearly six decades, Ariel Sharon has been a presence and a force in Israel, first as a soldier, then a politician and now, prime minister. Here again is Sharon Collins.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

SHARON: Peace might be discussed only when the full cessation of terror activities is in sight.

COLLINS: It's a stance Israeli Prime Minister Sharon has held for many years. And this week, President Bush President Bush echoed his sentiments.

BUSH: And United States will not support the establishment of a Palestinian state until its leaders engage in a sustained fight against the terrorists who dismantle their infrastructure.

COLLINS: One week earlier, Sharon had appeared at the site of a suicide bombing that killed 19 Israelis. It was a strong gesture from the Israeli head of state.

There he promised Israel would take control of Palestinian territories until the terror stopped. As the tanks rolled in, it was clear that the situation in the Middle East had reached another boiling point and that, again, Ariel Sharon was at the center of a vicious cycle of violence in

retribution.

ASHRAWI: To the Palestinians, Sharon is a black fisted murderer, ruthless, cruel, no regard for human life.

ZUCKERMAN: I think they feel strongly about Sharon, because they know what a formidable enemy that he has been. He has fought them for 50 years, and he has fought them effectively and beaten them at that game.

COLLINS: A soldier with roots in the Holy Land; Ariel Sharon was born in 1928 on a farm outside Tel Aviv, where he grew up with his parents and an older sister. The family had come to Israel from Russia seven years earlier to farm the Promised Land. They were part of a huge wave of Zionist immigrants, who worked to turn desert and swamp into fertile ground.

SHIPLER: Sharon loves the land as a farmer does, and has always regarded the land as integral to Jewish identity in that place, that Biblical place. I think it's a very secular, but still rather mystical view of land, and its importance.

COLLINS: Despite his land for the land, Sharon admits in his autobiography that he never felt the warmth of a family until he joined the army as a teenager.

DAVID CHANOFF, CO-AUTHOR "WARRIOR, THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ARIEL SHARON: The military really became his family, and I think all of that kind of warmth, all of those kinds of relationships that you have with the people who suffered through things with you, affected him profoundly.

COLLINS: In Israel's 1948 war for independence, Sharon was shot in the abdomen, but that didn't deter him from a lifetime of military service.

DORE GOLD, SHARON ADVISER: I think Ariel Sharon feels a historical responsibility to save the Jewish State. He's a man, who for his entire life, has been called to duty in critical moments.

COLLINS: After the war, he took time out from the military. In 1953, he married Margalit, a young Romanian woman he had met years earlier on a neighboring farm.

CHANOFF: I think he looked back on that as being a moment that was just extraordinary for its peacefulness, for its joy. He felt as if he has spent his childhood at hard labor and then his youth at war, and that he had missed so much.

COLLINS: But his hiatus from war was cut short. In response to a wave of terror attacks, the army asked him to come back for a special mission.

SHIPLER: When Arab terrorists infiltrated into Israel from Jordan, Sharon who headed an army unit, called Unit 101, went into a Jordanian border town called Qibya and blew up 45 houses in retaliation. Sixty-nine Arab villagers died. Sharon said that he didn't know the houses were occupied.

ASHRAWI: He personally was in charge. When he heard the women and children yelling and screaming in the homes as they demolished them, blew up, and he's carried that legacy throughout. It's a pattern consistently.

COLLINS: The U.N. Security Council condemned the Israel action. Sharon called the civilian deaths a tragedy, but he says Qibya was meant to teach a lesson. For every act of Arab terrorism, there would be a heavy price to pay, a lesson he would return to again and again in the years ahead, as he moved from the battlefield into the political arena.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

COLLINS: That story, when PEOPLE IN THE NEWS continues.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

COLLINS (voice-over): In June 1967, Ariel Sharon, now general, was back at war. This time Israel faced a massive attack from Arab neighbors bent on destroying the Jewish State. Israeli forces launched a preemptive strike to devastating effect. In six days, Israeli-controlled territory tripled in size.

For Sharon, the victory would soon be tempered by crushing personal news. In October, during the Jewish New Year, Sharon's 11- year-old son Gur died of a gunshot wound. He had been playing with one of his father's antique guns.

CHANOFF: Sharon heard a gunshot. Gur was lying there with a terrible facial wound, and he stood there yelling for someone to bring a car. It went to the clinic. The doctor at the clinic said you must get him to the hospital immediately. They got back into the car, and the boy died in Sharon's lap.

COLLINS: It was Sharon's second personal tragedy in five years. His wife, Margalit, had died in a car accident in 1962.

In 1973, Sharon decided to retire from the military and purchased a ranch that would become his sanctuary in the years ahead. By now, he was remarried to Margalit's sister, Lily.

But later that year, he was again called to fight when Egypt and Syria launched a surprise attack on Israel's holiest day. Sharon led the reversal of Israeli fortunes in the Yom Kippur War with the capture of the Egyptian third army, leading 200 tanks and 5,000 men across the Suez Canal, a feat many consider his greatest military triumph.

GOLD: And it was Sharon's bold generalship that led to the crossing of the Suez Canal, the encirclement of the Egyptian Army, and basically bringing about Israel's victory in that war.

COLLINS: Hailed by many as a war hero, and by now disillusioned with the liberal Labor Party that controlled the Israeli government, Sharon decided to pursue politics. He was convinced that his experience in battle would help forge peace and security for Israel.

SHARON: And I saw all the -- the whole Holy War. I lost my best friend. I was very badly injured in -- twice in battles. Therefore, I believe that I understand the importance of peace.

ZUCKERMAN: One of the things about generals that you learn is that essentially they're pragmatists. I mean their military theories and strategies better work. If they don't work, they lose the battles. Well, he's won a lot of battles because, in fact, he has had brilliant strategic and

tactical instincts, and I think a lot of those are now being applied from a political point of view.

COLLINS: Sharon helped form a right wing coalition of opposition parties called the Likud for unity, and he was elected to the Israeli Parliament or Knesset in 1973.

Later in the Israel Cabinet, Sharon's focus was on security. As Minister of Agriculture, he was the prime mover behind the settlement of Israelis in the occupied territories.

SHIPLER: The first time I ever met him was on a settlement in 1979 in the West Bank, where he came roaring up the hill in a Jeep, pulled out his maps, he loves maps, and started talking about security. And he said, "if you raise a child so that he knows every valley and every hill and every spring and every stone, he will consider the land his, and he'll fight to defend it." That's Sharon's view.

COLLINS: To build the Jewish settlements, Sharon deployed bulldozers, and when Israelis came under attack, bulldozers and explosives were used to flatten the homes of Palestinian terror suspects, and homes built outside designated areas. Some nicknamed Sharon "the bulldozer."

ASHRAWI: "The bulldozer" is very appropriate. And sometimes we call him "the Raging Bull" but I don't want to insult Native Americans. I think of him as being obsessive and driven and in many ways quite evil.

GOLD: The "bulldozer" term really refers to a minister who gets things done and doesn't throw up his hands and say, "The bureaucracy has made it impossible." Some may try and use it (UNINTELLIGIBLE), but that's what it really meant. It means someone who gets things done.

COLLINS: To Palestinians, the settlements amount to an illegal land grab and a permanent occupation of their territory.

UNIDENTIFIED CROWD: We want peace! We want peace!

COLLINS: For some Israelis, they are an impediment to peace.

Even more controversial than the settlements, Sharon's military campaign in Lebanon. In 1982, Yasser Arafat and the PLO were using war-torn Lebanon as a base for deadly attacks on Israel. Sharon, now Minister of Defense, led Israeli forces through South Lebanon, all the way to Beirut.

SHARON: We came here only for one purpose, and that is to destroy, to destroy and take this world, to destroy the terrorist PLO, Palestinian organizations.

COLLINS: Sharon later told CNN he ordered Arafat's assassination 13 times during the Lebanon campaign, though more recently he sidestepped the question.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Are you sorry you didn't kill him then?

SHARON: Look, I don't think that we have to deal with everything in the past. I think we have to look forward, how we can reach an agreement, cease-fire, peace.

COLLINS: Israeli forces were able to drive Arafat and the PLO out of Lebanon, but Sharon's triumph was short lived.



SHIPLER: After Arafat and the PLO left West Beirut under a kind of safe passage guarantee from the Israelis, the Israelis permitted Lebanese Christian Phalangist militia to go into two Palestinian refugee camps, Sabra and Chatila, where they massacred 700 to 800 people.

Sharon was forced to resign as defense minister after that. He was investigated by an Israel commission, which found that he should have known, as defense minister, that this massacre would take place, if he allowed the Phalangists to go in there. And they found indirect responsibility, as they put it, by Israel for the massacre, not direct, but indirect.

COLLINS: After the massacres, Sharon was by his own account isolated within the government, consigned to a series of lower level posts, and he was vilified by Arabs and Jews alike. Sharon retreated to his ranch to refocus on family and his roots.

ROBERT MORGENTHAU, FRIEND OF ARIEL SHARON: He really loves the land and he loves growing things, whether it's watermelons or citrus or sheep. The strain of sheep that he has go back to the Biblical days. The thing he wants most, I think, is to go back to his farm and live there in peace, you know, beat the swords into plowshares.

COLLINS: But peace down on the farm would not last. The occupation continued. The settlements grew. Israel faced more terror, and the lifetime warrior was embroiled in another fight.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

COLLINS: That story, when PEOPLE IN THE NEWS continues.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

COLLINS (voice-over): September 1993 brought hope of peace between Israel and the Palestinians. With President Bill Clinton looking on, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Yasser Arafat shook hands, sealing a landmark agreement.

In the Oslo Accords, as they were called, the Palestinians recognized the right of Israel to exist, and the Israelis acknowledged Palestinians could have a state of their own. They also allowed Arafat and the Palestinian Authority to move to Gaza and Jericho on the West Bank. Ariel Sharon and Israeli hard-liners hated the Oslo deal.

Sharon, who was again serving in the Israeli Parliament, referred to it as "a moral error of the first order."

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: The Jewish people are against the agreement with the murderer Arafat, and we will not leave. We will stay here in all Israel.

COLLINS: Two years after Arafat and Rabin shook hands, the peace process was dealt a shocking setback. An Israeli right-wing extremist assassinated Prime Minister Rabin. Rabin's killing brought a surge of support for the doves in Israel, who wanted to build on the Oslo Accords, but Palestinian terror attacks several months later gave a boost to Sharon and the Likud hard-liners as national elections approached.

SHARON: We live in a -- the old belief. There are many, many problems in the Middle East that have not changed. My grandfather faces terror. My parents, myself, my children, and all families here that have been facing this Palestinian terror now for five, six generations.

COLLINS: Benjamin Netanyahu was elected prime minister and the old warrior, Ariel Sharon, returns to the fold as a member of the cabinet. Two years later, in the fall of 1998, Sharon was at Netanyahu's side when Israel and the Palestinians resumed peace talks at the Wye River in Maryland. With little fanfare, a limited agreement was signed, but Sharon refused to shake Yasser Arafat's hand.

GOLD: He certainly shared responsibility for the signing of the Wye Agreement, along with the rest of the Netanyahu government at the time. But I think at the same time, he had a reading over who Yasser Arafat. He read the intelligence reports about how Arafat had failed to fight terrorism, and perhaps was affecting the green light to terrorism, and therefore I think he felt the handshake was symbolic, that the handshake would have been inappropriate, given what we knew about Yasser Arafat already in 1998.

COLLINS: Sharon's doubts about his lifelong adversary, Arafat, only grew the next time peace talks were held. When Israel made what it considered its most generous offer to date at Camp David in 2000, Arafat didn't counter and President Clinton blamed him for the breakdown in talks.

SHIPLER: There may have been reasons that would make you understand why he did, but the fact that he did has convinced most Israelis that he doesn't want peace. So most Israelis would be willing to get out of the territories and would be willing to have the settlements dismantled, but they're afraid to because they think that without their army in there, their security would be at risk. And I think Sharon is absolutely convinced of that.

COLLINS: After Camp David, Sharon and other hard liners feared that Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak might still be prepared to surrender control of East Jerusalem to the Palestinians, and in September, Sharon visited one of the holiest sights there, one claimed by both sides.

SHIPLER: When Sharon went to the Temple Mount, he exercised his right as an Israeli citizen to go there. So he didn't do anything illegal, but he certainly did something nonsensical, and he, by surrounding himself with lots of security people, he basically committed what many Muslims regarded as a sacrilege.

COLLINS: A sacrilege to Palestinians, compounded because Sharon was already so hated by so many.

AL-KIDWA: This was the powder keg, which then exploded and caused explosion of the whole occupied Palestinian territory.

COLLINS: Crowds of Palestinians attacked Israeli security forces. The uprising or intifada returned with a vengeance.

ASHRAWI: He knew that the situation was explosive. It was volatile, and he wanted to ignite the spark that would blow up the whole place and he did it. He wanted to create a situation of insecurity, instability, and fear in order to exploit that to get into office.

GOLD: The visit of Israeli members of Knesset on the Temple Mount is something that had been done in the past, and something that was completely normal and acceptable for an Israeli leader. The intifada had already broken out before Ariel Sharon visited the Temple Mount.

COLLINS: Intentional or not, Sharon's visit paid political dividends and he decided to run for Prime Minister. He campaigned on a message of peace through security. His key opponent, the prime minister, portrayed him in campaign ads as a ruthless warmonger. And yet, he was elected in February 2001 in the largest landslide in Israeli history.

Sharon's moment of triumph was tempered by personal loss. His wife Lily had died 11 months earlier. The day of election, Sharon visited her grave.

MORGENTHAU: I think he was lost for quite a while. I mean you could just see that a very important aspect of his life was missing. I mean he was -- they were very close.

COLLINS: In office, Sharon's son, Omri, has served as a trusted adviser, acting among other things as a go-between with Arafat.

GOLD: He's been a very important conduit for sending messages directly to Yasser Arafat in a back channel where a highly trusted person could be used for passing the most sensitive messages.

COLLINS: A year-and-a-half after his election, Sharon is in uncharted territory. The role of his rival has been called into question.

As Colin Powell prepares for another round of diplomacy, Israel's battle-hardened prime minister must prepare to navigate the tricky waters of Palestinian politics.

GOLD: In the military, generals give orders and they're immediately implemented. In political life, you have to persuade people of your position. He understands you have to build consensus around ideas that you want to get implemented.

SHIPLER: He fancies himself as a strategist, but I think he has some blind spots. One of those blind spots is his lack of understanding of Palestinian politics, of what life is like for Palestinians under Israeli occupation. I don't think he's ever grasped how difficult and how enraging daily experience can be for the Palestinians.

ASHRAWI: I think Sharon, as always, will keep going. As they say, he never stops if there's light, so he will keep going until somebody stops him.

COLLINS: Sharon's supporters hope he won't stop until Israelis feel safe on their own soil.

GOLD: Security means your children can go to school and you don't have to worry about whether there's a security guard in the nursery or the Kindergarten. It means your teenagers can go to a discotheque at night on Saturday night and you don't have to fear they may not come back. Security means what it says, the people of Israel staying alive.

COLLINS: For now, it seems Ariel Sharon is still applying the lesson he first learned 50 years ago -- for every act of terror, there is a price to pay.

(END VIDEOTAPE) TO ORDER A VIDEO OF THIS TRANSCRIPT, PLEASE CALL 800-

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CNN

**SHOW:** AMERICAN MORNING WITH PAULA ZAHN 07:00

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**HEADLINE:** Powell Met With Top Lebanese Officials Today Before Going to Meet With Syrian Leaders

**GUESTS:** Nasser Al-Kidwa, Dore Gold

**BYLINE:** Paula Zahn, Brent Sadler, Wolf Blitzer

**HIGHLIGHT:**

Secretary of State Colin Powell met with top Lebanese officials today before going to Damascus for meetings with Syrian leaders. Powell is shuffling to try to stop attacks by Hezbollah guerrillas from the Lebanese side of the border with Israel.

**BODY:**

THIS IS A RUSH TRANSCRIPT. THIS COPY MAY NOT BE IN ITS FINAL FORM AND MAY BE UPDATED.

PAULA ZAHN, CNN ANCHOR: Up front though this morning, at this hour, Secretary of State Colin Powell met with top Lebanese officials today before going to Damascus for meetings with Syrian leaders. Powell is shuffling to try to stop attacks by Hezbollah guerrillas from the Lebanese side of the border with Israel, attacks, which could become a second front in the already volatile Middle East conflict. Brent Sadler in standing by in Beirut with the very latest on the Powell mission. Good morning, Brent.

BRENT SADLER, CNN CORRESPONDENT: Good morning, Paula. Well U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell is now in Damascus on the second leg of this day of really moving away from the central problem of Israel/Palestinian conflict and looking at it like at another military quidmar (ph), the one you just referred to there Paula along the Lebanese/Israeli border.

Let me give you some background of the past couple of weeks. Hezbollah guerrillas have been bombarding Israeli troops, which occupy a parcel of land called the Sheba (ph) Farms at the foot of the Golan Heights.

Now over this past two weeks, Israel has been responding with heavy artillery and warplanes against the suspected Hezbollah guerrilla hideout. So Secretary Powell has come to Beirut. He met a few hours ago with the Lebanese President Amil Lahood (ph) to stress the importance from the U.S. perspective that all parties interested in peace should do their utmost to reign in Hezbollah attacks and what he heard here in the Lebanese capital was perhaps, as far as the U.S. mission is concerned, something of a shock because the Lebanese say they will not attempt to reign in Hezbollah because Hezbollah they say is fighting a legitimate resistance operation against those Israeli occupation troops on Arab territories. That's a big problem. It's a sentiment. It's a position, a policy, if you like, that will be echoed right now to Secretary Powell in the Syrian capital Damascus by the Syrian President Beshal Alasat (ph).

However, despite that very firm position here, Secretary Powell is still hopeful that he will be able to make some progress in not only the Lebanese/Israeli situation but Middle East peace in general in this very now crisis-torn region. And this is what Secretary Powell had to say earlier today after meeting Lebanese Prime Minister Rafiki Lerey (ph), who incidentally will be meeting U.S. President George Bush in Washington Wednesday. This is what Powell had to say about the mission his boss, President George Bush, sent to this region to undertake.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

COLIN POWELL, U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE: I know that he will say to you that he is committed to finding a political solution to bring peace to this region. That is why he sent me here, to talk about ending terror and violence but with a clear understanding that in and of itself won't be enough. Just as you said, all the ceasefires in the world will not solve the problem until there is a political solution and that is our commitment and we will devote all of our energies to it.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

SADLER: For his part, Lebanese Prime Minister Lerey said "security is important, very important, but it cannot be a replacement for a peace agreement in the Middle East." So now, Secretary of State Colin Powell in Damascus forging ahead with what he says is an aggressive restart of the political process to try and achieve the vision of peace to make that vision of peace a reality in this very disturbed region. Back to you Paula.

ZAHN: All right. Thanks Brent. Brent Sadler reporting from Beirut, Lebanon for us this morning.

We're going to turn our attention back to the Middle East now for Secretary of State Colin

Powell on his shuttle diplomacy mission to Beirut and Damascus. The major challenge remains, getting Israel and the Palestinians back on the path to peace. Powell met over the weekend with both Palestinian Leader Yasser Arafat and the Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. And Sharon yesterday called for a regional peace conference but one that excluded Arafat. Let's get the very latest now from Wolf Blitzer who is standing by live in Jerusalem. Good morning, Wolf.

WOLF BLITZER, CNN CORRESPONDENT: Good morning, Paula. That regional peace conference would be - would include the United States, it would be chaired by the United States under this Israeli proposal. It would include moderate Arab states like Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan, Morocco. It would include, according to the Israeli plan, representatives of the Palestinians but not according to the Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and would not include Yasser Arafat, which, of course, makes that proposal null and void as far as the Palestinians are concerned. There's no doubt, as far as they're concerned, Yasser Arafat is there leader despite the fact that he remains besieged in Ramallah in that compound in Ramallah where he once had rather elaborate headquarters compound.

All of this is taking place in this backdrop of this continuing Israeli military assault that - that's been going on in the West Bank for about two weeks.

First let's take a look at what's been happening in Jenin. In Jenin, at that Palestinian refugee camp there, the Israelis are now allowing some international observers, members of the Red Cross, the International Committee from the Red Cross, as well as from the U.N., some international journalist to go in. A huge dispute, as you well know, between the Israelis and the Palestinians. The Palestinians are accusing the Israeli army of engaging in massacre in Jenin. Hundreds of Palestinians they say were killed. The Israeli flatly deny it. They say, yes, there were extensive casualties but perhaps 100 Palestinians but they also point that there was fierce fighting and some 23 Israeli soldiers were killed as well. That disputes has not obviously been resolved by any means whatsoever. And the propaganda war on both sides is intensifying.

In Bethlehem, which is not far from here in Jerusalem, there was some explosions earlier today near Manger Square and the Church of the Nativity where for some two weeks some 200 Palestinian gunmen were holed up in that church. The Israelis say they blew up what they call a bomb workshops that they discovered, laboratories and those were planned detonation, those explosions we heard in Bethlehem earlier today -- Paula.

ZAHN: And Wolf, as I understand you'll be interviewing the prime minister of Israel a little bit later on today, 1:45 Eastern Time, and that will unfold live on CNN, right?

BLITZER: It - we'll have it live here on CNN at around 1:45. I'll be going over to the prime minister's residence for this interview. And we'll try to get some answers on some the important issues of the day. He doesn't give a lot of interviews so I'm looking forward to asking him some good questions during this one.

ZAHN: And we will look forward to hearing his answers and the question. Thanks, Wolf. See you probably before 1:45, but we, of course will be carrying that live when Wolf conducts that interview.

Joining us now to talk more about Powell's peace mission, **Nasser Al-Kidwa**, Palestinian



Permanent Observer to the U.N. Welcome back to American Morning.

**NASSER AL-KIDWA**, PALESTINIAN PERMANENT OBSERVER: Thank you.

ZAHN: You know doubt have heard the debate going on in America now, as Yasser Arafat essentially told Colin Powell over the weekend that we're not going to talk about any kind of ceasefire until the Israelis pull out of the occupied territories. Do you understand that if that were to unfold that way, there are a lot of people that would think America would be rewarding terrorism?

AL-KIDWA: First of all it's not only Yasser Arafat who is demanding that. Actually President Bush demanded precisely that more than 10 years ago, 10 days ago, I'm sorry. The Security Council of the United Nations have opted two resolutions demanding also the withdrawal of Israeli forces, one of them says without delay. So obviously, the Israeli side is defying the United States and also violating Security Council resolutions. Without this fundamental step, it wouldn't be possible for the Palestinian side to do anything.

You have to remember that the Palestinian cities are under brutal Israeli occupation. Israel has committed war crimes, there is no doubt about that, as there are preliminary (ph) reports about a massacre in Jenin, and by the way, with the dead in the hundreds or the dozens that does not change the fundamental fact that a massacre did take place in Jenin and so on.

ZAHN: All right.

AL-KIDWA: So there is no possibility to do anything without first achieving full withdrawal.

ZAHN: But Ambassador Al-Kidwa, would you acknowledge that there is a distinct difference between the Israelis saying they're going in to uproot terror and define leaders of a terror network and these suicide bombers, which some people have taken to calling homicide bombers, who intentionally destroy innocent victims?

AL-KIDWA: Well, listen. Let me be very clear. We are against any loss of civilian life on both sides and that, of course, means the Israeli side. But if you are talking about the moral equivalence, I think that what the Israelis are doing is much worse in one sense because what they are doing is being done by the Israeli army, the official army of the state, while what is being done by some Palestinian is being done by groups outside the law. That is the major difference. Israel subjected more than 1 million Palestinians to horrendous situation, all kinds of atrocities.

ZAHN: All right. But are you saying, sir, then Israel has no right to ever defend itself under any circumstances?

AL-KIDWA: No. I'm not saying that. I am saying there is a difference - huge difference between defending itself and attacking the whole population and committing all kinds of atrocities and violation of the (INAUDIBLE) convention (ph) to the point of committing war crimes. This is something very serious, which should be faced by the international community, attended to and frankly the international community has to take very serious actions in this regard.



ZAHN: All right. I just need a real quick 10-second answer to this one. What is one thing that both sides could compromise on that might move this process forward? Name one thing the Palestinians could do, as quickly as you can because we've got to move on to you Israeli counterpart.

AL-KIDWA: (INAUDIBLE) implementation of Security Council resolution 1402.

ZAHN: All right. Well you did it even quicker than 10 seconds. Ambassador Al-Kidwa, it's good to have you on American Morning. Thank you for your perspective. We're going to turn now to one of Ariel Sharon's Foreign Policy Advisors, Former Israeli Ambassador to the U.N., Dore Gold who joins us now. Welcome back to you as Mr. Gold.

DORE GOLD, ISRAEL FOREIGN POLICY: Thank you, Paula.

ZAHN: All right. Well let's talk a little bit about this demand that Yasser Arafat is making in addition to the President of the United States that the Israelis withdraw immediately. It was made abundantly clear after Colin Powell meet with Ariel Sharon over the weekend no timetable has been set for that withdrawal. Has Ariel Sharon called America's bluff here?

GOLD: This has nothing to do with a test of wills or chicken or the egg, who goes first. This is a question of Israeli lives. Israel, in fact, already pulled back from several Palestinian cities; substantial cities and we paid a price. The attack in Agawa (ph) Junction in Haifa last week came from Tulkaram (ph), a city of which we pulled out of without having a ceasefire. We just had an attack in Jerusalem that all of you saw on Friday on Jaffa Street, that attack came from Hebron - from Hebron where we have not conducted these military operations yet.

So if we do not complete these military operations or if we withdraw precipitously without a ceasefire, without a Palestinian partner who is taking responsibility for the situation on the ground, Israeli lives will be lost. It's that simple.

ZAHN: Let me ask you this. When you refer to Hebron, you said that you have not conducted military operations yet. Do you plan to go into Hebron anytime soon?

GOLD: The operational decisions of the Israeli army are, you know, a matter of discussion with the Israeli cabinet. I'm not speculating about what we're going to do but I am pointing out is there's specific areas in the West Bank, but especially in Gaza Strip where we have not conducted our operations to uproot terrorism for whatever reason. And we pay for a price for that because there is nobody on the Palestinian side who is serious about uprooting this terrorism.

Nasser Al-Kidwa speaks about U.N. Security Council resolutions. Well there is a U.N. Security Council resolution 1373, under Chapter 7 of the U.N. Charter. Those are binding resolutions of international law. That's a resolution, which states that no government, no state has a right to harbor international terrorist organizations. Well, Hamas, Islamic Jihad and now Mr. Arafat's own Al Aqsa martyr brigades are international terrorist organization. They are harbored. They are financed in the areas under Yasser Arafat's jurisdiction. We will not pay the price of his continuing failure of abiding by U.N. Security Council resolutions and his failure to uproot terrorism.

ZAHN: As the Israelis stay in place in some of the areas that you say need to be searched, do

you understand how there is growing friction between some sectors of the president's political pace here in America, some who feel that the president violated the Bush doctrine in allowing somebody to actually negotiate with Yasser Arafat. Has President Bush muddied the moral clarity of his war on terrorism by allowing Secretary Powell to directly talk with Yasser Arafat?

GOLD: Well first of all, President Bush is great friend of Israel and he's a man with great moral clarity. He is the one who said, either you're with us or you're against us. Israel is with the U.S. in its war on terrorism. For if we fail, and we won't fail, but if we did fail to defeat the suicide bombers, and if the suicide bombers and their supporters understood that you can bring a democratic society to its knees, suicide bombing will appear in Western Europe and will appear in the United States. We must win this ...

ZAHN: So are saying it's OK the American government has talked with Yasser Arafat and negotiated with him?

GOLD: Well the U.S. is in a very difficult position. It has regional interests. It has Saudis, Egyptians and others who are turning to the U.S. Department of State and asking for the U.S. to intervene. But we have presented to Secretary Powell indisputable evidence that Yasser Arafat himself has been funding these organizations. I'm talking about the Al Aqsa martyr brigade whose are responsible for the suicide bombing in Jerusalem bombing on Friday. We have the receipts. We have the invoices. And we even have letters approving payment to specific terrorist operatives signed in Yasser Arafat' handwriting. So what to you do with that? It's a very difficult situation. I'm glad that Secretary Powell is also focusing on the north, on Syria, Lebanon, and the threat that's emerging there because that's the real powder keg of the Middle East. We have Iranian forces now deployed on Lebanese soil with rockets aimed at Israel. That's the mine that we have to dismantle.

ZAHN: All right. Dore Gold, we're going to have to leave it there this morning, obviously, Mr. Sharon's policy advisor. Thanks for your time this morning.

GOLD: My pleasure. TO ORDER A VIDEO OF THIS TRANSCRIPT, PLEASE CALL 800-CNN-NEWS OR USE OUR SECURE ONLINE ORDER FORM LOCATED AT [www.fdch.com](http://www.fdch.com)

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NBC News Transcripts

**SHOW:** Meet the Press (10:00 AM ET) - NBC

**April** 14, 2002 Sunday

**LENGTH:** 2837 words

**HEADLINE:** Dore Gold and Nasser Al-Kidwa discuss the situation in the Middle East

**BODY:**

MR. RUSSERT: Dore Gold, Nasser Al-Kidwa, welcome both.

MR. DORE GOLD: Thank you.

MR. NASSER AL-KIDWA: Thank you.

MR. RUSSERT: This morning, Yasser Arafat met with Secretary of State Powell for some three hours; meeting later today with Ariel Sharon. Mr. Al-Kidwa, what can you tell us this morning? Is there any chance for a cease-fire?

MR. AL-KIDWA: Well, I hope so. We need first to see immediate Israeli withdrawal from the cities it reoccupied recently. We expect the Israeli side to heed the request made by the president of the United States, asserted in Security Council Resolution 1402. From our side, we are absolutely ready to proceed with immediate implementation of the resolution.

Let me also say that frankly, the fact that the meeting took place under the barrels of Israeli tanks is really an insult, not only to the Palestinian side, but also to the American side. Look what happened immediately after. Tanks are back; telephones are jammed and so on. The situation inside the headquarters of President Arafat is appalling. This is a situation which needs to end and needs to end immediately.

MR. RUSSERT: Dore Gold, is there any chance the Israelis will begin to withdraw?

MR. GOLD: We've already begun to withdraw. Not long after President Bush made his call, we...

MR. RUSSERT: In two small, minor towns, the incursion...

MR. GOLD: Two major cities.

MR. RUSSERT: The incursion has expanded in many areas.

MR. GOLD: In Tulkarem and Qalqiliya. Well, we've had movement into certain villages, but we withdrew from two cities. In fact, one of the attacks in the city of Haifa emanated from a terrorist who was originally based in Jenin, but used Tulkarem, the city which we withdrew from, as a base of operations to attack us in Haifa. We've taken risks to try and implement the beginnings of a withdrawal, basically in conformity with what the president is looking for. But unfortunately, the situation is still very dangerous.

MR. RUSSERT: But the president has called--11 days ago, called for a complete withdrawal without delay. Thus far, that's been ignored.

MR. GOLD: No, he did not call for a complete withdrawal. He called for the beginning of a withdrawal, and it was important. He understands our problems. President Bush is a great friend of Israel. He understands the risks that Prime Minister Sharon is undertaking when there are so many organizations that have found shelter in the areas under the jurisdiction of the Palestinian Authority-- Hamas, Islamic Jihad, PFLP, that's the group that invented airplane hijacking, and, of course, Yasser Arafat's own Al-Aqsa Brigades. So unless this vast infrastructure of terrorism is dismantled, it is very dangerous for Israel to precipitously withdraw from all those areas and then experience a new wave of bombings in the heart of our cities. This isn't a matter of winning points on a network; this is a matter of the lives of Israeli citizens.

MR. RUSSERT: Dr. Rice did say this morning, however, she thought that international relief organizations and the media should be allowed into Jenin to see what exactly happened there. Would you go along with that request?

MR. GOLD: As of 4 o'clock this afternoon Israel time, that's happening.

MR. RUSSERT: Media and international organizations?

MR. GOLD: I know the media going in. I believe some of the international organizations will also be going in.

MR. RUSSERT: And the situation in Bethlehem, will that be resolved today?

MR. GOLD: We have a very serious problem. We have Tanzeem gunmen, terrorists, who've taken hostage about 80 clergy in the Church of the Nativity. You know, we're trying to negotiate a way to break open this or change this situation on the ground. We don't like seeing religious sites that are important to Christianity, Judaism or Islam used by armed organizations. When a radical group seized the grand mosque in Mecca, Saudis actually sent in forces and removed the armed presence. We are not replicating that here. We would prefer negotiated arrangements which allows the removal of these terrorist organizations.

MR. RUSSERT: Must they surrender?

MR. GOLD: Well, we don't want to see these people just go out and go back into the field with their weapons and then attack us again. So we need to have an arrangement that certainly protects the lives of Israeli civilians.

MR. RUSSERT: They will go before an Israeli court or leave the country?

MR. GOLD: Again, these details are being worked out as we speak. And so I wouldn't want to prejudge that by discussing it at present.

MR. RUSSERT: Can the situation in Bethlehem, the Church of the Nativity, the birthplace of Christ be resolved?

MR. AL-KIDWA: It should be resolved and I think the fact that the Israeli tanks are imposing military siege on the Church of Nativity is scandalic. It shouldn't have taken place in the first place, and what is now coming out from the Israeli side is as much scandalic. I mean, they are proposing either to have those people facing the Israeli courts or for them to leave the country. That is deportation, very serious violation of the four Geneva Convention. It is prohibited under international law, but this is reflective of the Israeli thinking.

Israel still thinks that the West Bank is part of Israel and that the Palestinian people are the subjects of Mr. Sharon. And, thus, you have all kind of serious violations and grave breaches of the four Geneva Convention. War crimes were committed by the Israeli forces in the last two or three weeks. The whole Palestinian people were subjected to brutal force and all kind of atrocities. The life of the Palestinian people, their present and their future, was devastated. We are talking war crimes here, things which ought to send the responsible people to face international criminal court as was the case in many other situations.

MR. RUSSERT: The Israeli--go ahead, Mr...

MR. GOLD: Our international humanitarian law protects innocent civilians. It does not protect armed groups. International humanitarian law protects ambulances. It does not protect an ambulance that tries to smuggle a suicide bomber into the heart of Jerusalem. So we have to be clear about what international humanitarian law was intended to do. It was intended to protect innocent people not terrorist organizations.

MR. AL-KIDWA: I'm trying to keep this discussion...

MR. RUSSERT: When you hear him use the term war crimes, what does that mean to you?

MR. GOLD: Well, again, I think what's happened many times in the entire discourse on international humanitarian law is that it's all been politicized and, in fact, distorted. Israel is a country which today has been using infantry in most of these operations in Palestinian cities. We've lost Israeli boys. Israelis have died because we didn't call in air strikes into Jenin. We've risked the lives of...

MR. AL-KIDWA: You did. You did. You did.

MR. GOLD: No, there were no air strikes in Jenin. We have tried using forces so that we will minimize any risks to innocent Palestinian civilians. Unfortunately, for example, the case of Jenin, Jenin was completely booby trapped with explosive materials. The streets in Jenin in the refugee camp were mined. And so when you see enormous amounts of damage on television, that is a result as much of the Palestinian firepower that was used against Israel as it was of Israel's incursion.

MR. RUSSERT: We seem to be in a Catch-22 here, Mr. Kidwa. You're calling upon the Israelis to withdraw, and the Israelis are saying "We they can't withdraw because the suicide bombs will continue and we can't put our people in that kind of situation." The most recent suicide bomber, a 20-year-old woman, who was in Al-Aqsa, a group which has sworn allegiance to Yasser Arafat, says that he, in fact, is their leader. She made this video and she reacknowledged that kind of allegiance. Let's just watch her:

(Videotape):

ANDALEEB TAQATAQAH: (Through Translator) I would also like to dedicate it to the Vanguard Bridges for Palestinian Liberation and to my brothers in Al-Aqsa. I hope that my martyrdom will be accepted before Allah.

(End videotape)

MR. RUSSERT: "My brothers in Al-Aqsa," that's Yasser Arafat's group.

MR. AL-KIDWA: Not...

MR. RUSSERT: And the Israelis--let me just finish, then I'll give you a chance to respond. The Israelis have provided the following documentation, and I'll show you on the screen. They "made public seized documents that said directly link the office of the Palestinian leader, Yasser Arafat, with terrorist attacks. One of the documents is said to be an invoice submitted by a leading Palestinian militant group to a Palestinian official described by Israel as Arafat's main weapons buyer. Among other items, the invoice requests 20,000 Israeli shekels, \$4,200, to pay

for electrical and chemical components for the production of a month's supply of about 30 bombs. 'It's an invoice of terrorism,' says Dore Gold," who's sitting here this morning, an advisor to Prime Minister Sharon. And documents they have now released publicly showing Yasser Arafat's signature authorizing payments.

MR. AL-KIDWA: For what?

MR. RUSSERT: For what?

MR. AL-KIDWA: Yeah, authorizing payments for what?

MR. RUSSERT: One...

MR. AL-KIDWA: I haven't seen those documents but the Israeli authorities are notorious with this kind of stuff, they take things, put it out of context and then wage a huge international campaign to try to make those allegations stick.

MR. RUSSERT: So Yasser Arafat has no contact whatsoever, no involvement, no influence over Al-Aqsa, whose leader says has sworn allegiance to Yasser Arafat?

MR. AL-KIDWA: Yeah. Their leader said also things to the opposite, let's remember that. Al-Aqsa members used to be part of the Fatah organization. Many of them feel this kind of allegiance which you are referring to. However, structurally, they are not part of Fatah. They don't get any instructions from the Fatah leadership and they do not answer to the Palestinian leader, Yasser Arafat. We...

MR. RUSSERT: So Yasser Arafat has absolutely nothing to do with any suicide bomber?

MR. AL-KIDWA: Absolutely.

MR. RUSSERT: Then why...

MR. AL-KIDWA: And let me...

MR. RUSSERT: Then why did he go on television in March--and let me show you how it was reported in USA Today, and I'll put it on the screen: "In a televised address Saturday, as Palestinian terrorists launched suicide attacks in Netanya and Jerusalem, Arafat urged Palestinians, 'sacrifice themselves as martyrs in jihad (holy war) for Palestine.'"

MR. AL-KIDWA: Of course, because there is difference between suicide bombings and there is--on one hand, and the resistance to Israeli invasion, brutal invasion and military attacks when it comes to defending our cities and defending our people. There is a huge difference between the two and we must do the second, we are not ashamed of that. This is the minimum any people would do. Let's remember that all this is happening against Israeli occupation, which lasted for 35 years and transformed into colonialism. Israel, in grave breach, again, of the four Geneva Convention, transferred more than 400 Israelis, brought them to the occupied territory to colonize this land, to negate the existence and the rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination and independence. This is the origin of all problems we have and we should not lose sight of this fact.

MR. RUSSERT: Dr. Gold.



MR. GOLD: Well, we dispute this charge of occupation, because we remember something. It's called the Oslo agreements, signed back in 1993. Now, what were the Oslo agreements? The Oslo agreements were a withdrawal of the Israeli military government over the Palestinians and the creation of a Palestinian Authority over the Palestinian people, so you can't be...

MR. AL-KIDWA: To do what?

MR. GOLD: Just wait. You can't be an occupied people and have a Palestinian administration. Now, worse than that, this charge of occupation is being used to justify terrorism, because what happens at the United Nations? Many of the Arab spokesmen are saying that it's not terrorism. It's resistance to occupation, which is legitimate. That's not true.

MR. AL-KIDWA: It is not...

MR. GOLD: What we have to establish is a common norm for Israelis, for members of the Arab world, as well, that terrorism is forbidden. When a young man walks into a crowded cafe in Tel Aviv or Jerusalem and blows himself up and kills 20 Israeli teen-agers, that's called terrorism.

MR. AL-KIDWA: You know...

MR. GOLD: You don't have to be an international lawyer, an ambassador to the U.N. to figure that out.

MR. AL-KIDWA: You know what...

MR. GOLD: That has to be something that we erase from the international community and we have to have a common agreement. You can't say, this kind of terrorism we eliminate because it's in Afghanistan...

MR. AL-KIDWA: You know what...

MR. GOLD: ...but this kind of terrorism is called resistance to occupation and is legitimate.

MR. AL-KIDWA: You know what? You know what?

MR. GOLD: The moment we do that--and I'll finish right here--the moment we do that, we lose our coherence and our war against terrorism collapses.

MR. RUSSERT: I'm going to give you a chance.

MR. AL-KIDWA: Yeah.

MR. RUSSERT: Outline a solution this morning.

MR. AL-KIDWA: No, but before that we have just heard why we are not having peace in the Middle East. The moment someone says that there is no occupation it means that they don't want to end this occupation, thus there is no peace process.

MR. RUSSERT: Give us a solution. Outline a solution.

MR. AL-KIDWA: Outline a solution. Easy, immediate implementation of Security Council Resolution 1402, Israeli withdrawal, meaningful cease-fire leading to the implementation of Tenet and Mitchell. Two, a credible presence of a third party, international presence.



MR. RUSSERT: United States troops?

MR. AL-KIDWA: United States or a coalition of the willing states as the secretary-general of the United Nations has proposed. Three, a complete road map which shows the end result, which convinces the peoples of the region, Palestinian, Israelis and others, that they are going into a process leading to specific result, that there is no gimmick, that there is no cheating, this will ensure indeed very serious implementation.

MR. RUSSERT: And you will recognize Israel's right to exist, period?

MR. AL-KIDWA: We did that. We are ready to repeat that. We have no hesitation to do that.

MR. RUSSERT: How does that solution strike you?

MR. GOLD: Well, first of all, what we need right now is a clear commitment to eradicate terrorism. Not find any excuses for it, to eradicate it, to dismantle the vast infrastructure of terrorism that exists in the areas under Palestinian control. Now, we dismantled a great deal over the last two weeks. We didn't touch the Gaza Strip.

MR. AL-KIDWA: You destroyed us also.

MR. GOLD: We dismantled an infrastructure of terrorism that was killing Israelis virtually every day. We have to come to a common agreement that terrorism is eradicated from our area. Once we do that, we can go through the process of Tenet and Mitchell and lead to the beginnings of a negotiation. Now, we have our own judgments about what that negotiated outcome would look like. We believe it has to be consistent with U.N. Security Council Resolution 242.

MR. AL-KIDWA: How would it look like? How would it look like?

MR. GOLD: It has to grant you your rights. It has to grant us our rights.

MR. AL-KIDWA: What? Tell me, what rules?

MR. GOLD: We're not going to negotiate right here but clearly, this has been the basis of both the Madrid peace conference and the Oslo agreements.

MR. RUSSERT: Has so much of the Palestinian Authority infrastructure been destroyed that it has taken away Yasser Arafat's ability to control terrorism?

MR. GOLD: We don't believe so, but I'll give you a great example of where he could do it. He could begin demonstrating to Israel and to the United States that he is against terrorism by taking moves in the Gaza Strip where we didn't even go in. So there is plenty of opportunity for the Palestinian leadership as a whole to demonstrate that it is serious about eradicating terrorism by starting with Gaza.

MR. RUSSERT: We have 10 seconds. Will there be a cease-fire?

MR. AL-KIDWA: There should be, but the Israelis continue with their atrocities in the occupied territory, and that should end as a prerequisite for moving forward.

MR. RUSSERT: Mr. Al-Kidwa, Mr. Gold, we didn't solve it, but we sure gave our best efforts to put our views on the table, and we thank you very much for joining us.

MR. GOLD: Thank you.

MR. RUSSERT: And we'll be right back.

(Announcements)

MR. RUSSERT: And we'll be right back after this station break.

(Announcements)

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CNN

**SHOW:** CNN WOLF BLITZER REPORTS 16:00

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**HEADLINE:** Special Edition: Arafat Condemns Killing of Civilians; Can Powell Broker a Peace Deal?; Is It Time for U.S. Troops in the Middle East?

**GUESTS:** Alon Pinkas, **Nasser Al-Kidwa**, Eliot Engel, Peter King, Dan Meridor, Michael Tarazi

**BYLINE:** Wolf Blitzer, Andrea Koppel, Michael Holmes, Sheila MacVicar, Wesley Clark, Kelly Wallace, Fredricka Whitfield, Judy Woodruff

**HIGHLIGHT:**

Special edition: Crisis in the Middle East. Under pressure after a bloody bombing, Yasser Arafat condemns attacks against civilians on both sides, but neither side seems satisfied. Then, can Secretary of State Colin Powell, who is now in Israel, broker a peace agreement? Finally, is it time for U.S. troops to step in?

**BODY:**

THIS IS A RUSH TRANSCRIPT. THIS COPY MAY NOT BE IN ITS FINAL FORM AND MAY BE UPDATED.

WOLF BLITZER, HOST: WOLF BLITZER REPORTS, live from Jerusalem. Under pressure after a bloody bombing, Yasser Arafat condemns attacks against civilians on both sides, but neither side seems satisfied.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

MAYOR EHUD OLMERT, JERUSALEM: Why are we always the ones who have to condemn the killing of innocent civilians, when Israel seems to be able to kill innocent civilians with impunity.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: We don't need any condemnation. We don't need any apology. We think that this is ridiculous and appalling and insulting.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: But is it good enough for Colin Powell? Can peace ever be made with these two leaders? With the bodies still uncounted in Jenin, Israeli forces roll into two nearby villages. Is it time for U.S. troops to step in?

It's Saturday, April 13, 2002. We're coming to you live from a country on edge. Hello, I'm Wolf Blitzer reporting live from Jerusalem. It's just after 11:00 at night here in this holy city, and we'll bring you all the news, but first, our Middle East News Alert.

Off again, on again, after a bloody bombing in Jerusalem led him to postpone talks with Yasser Arafat, Secretary of State Colin Powell is now prepared to give Arafat another chance. He'll meet with the Palestinian leader tomorrow in the West Bank town of Ramallah.

The door was opened by a statement from the Palestinian Leadership, in which Yasser Arafat, under heavy U.S. pressure to renounce terrorism, condemned the Jerusalem bombing, along with violence against all civilians, Israelis and Palestinians alike. Powell's spokesman says that statement contains a number of "positive elements."

One step forward, two steps back. Israeli forces have pulled out of a West Bank town, but there are new incursions with troops rolling into villages near Jenin and Nablus, areas which have seen the bloodiest fighting in the two-week offensive.

Hezbollah guerrillas in Lebanon have again attacked Israeli positions in a disputed border zone, drawing return fire from the Israeli artillery. The latest attacks by the Syrian-backed guerrillas came after Secretary Powell called on Damascus to rein in Hezbollah, and after the group's other patron, Iran, called for restraint.

We have new pictures of the devastation in the Jenin refugee camp, much of it in rubble after bloody battles between Israeli troops and Palestinian gunmen. There's still no firm count of the dead. Palestinians allege a massacre. Israel says there were hundreds killed or wounded in the camp, but insists they stemmed from the fierce fighting.

An in Nablus, the West Bank's largest city, bodies and survivors are still being pulled from the rubble. A Palestinian says eight of his relatives were crushed when Israeli bulldozers demolished a building during the recent fighting. The Israeli military says it was not aware of the deaths.

Yasser Arafat has managed to come up with the words, the words necessary to justify, in U.S. opinion, a meeting with the secretary of state. Yasser Arafat did it, but he did it his way.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

RICHARD BOUCHER, STATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN: The statement issued earlier today by Chairman Arafat and the Palestinian leadership, contains a number of interesting and positive elements; condemnation of all terrorist acts against Israeli and Palestinian civilians, the strong condemnation of yesterday's bombing in Jerusalem, a call to start immediate implementation of the Tenet understandings and the Mitchell report, a reaffirmation of the Palestinian commitment to a negotiated peace, and support for Secretary Powell in his mission.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: The meeting between Secretary of State Colin Powell and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat will now take place Sunday. Word of the meeting followed the release of a Palestinian statement in Arabic condemning terrorism, a statement Powell had demanded as a prerequisite for a meeting with Arafat. It reads in part: "We strongly condemn violent operations that target Israeli civilians, especially the last operation in Jerusalem."

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

SAEB ERAKAT, CHIEF PALESTINIAN NEGOTIATOR: I think President Arafat is the one who will make the statement. Actually, President Arafat and the Palestinian leadership express their condemnation for all terrorist activities whether targeting Israeli civilians or Palestinian civilians.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: The statement came 24 hours after Friday's suicide blast near an open air Jerusalem market that killed six Israelis and injured scores of others. Israeli officials were less than enthusiastic about the Palestinian statement.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

OLMERT: When I heard about the chance of a meeting between Secretary Powell and Yasser Arafat that I feel embarrassed for the secretary that while America fights terror and the president condemns terror and the Secretary condemns terror, that he has to meet with the greatest terrorist on earth today.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: Instead of meeting with Arafat on Saturday as originally scheduled, Powell met at the U.S. consulate in Jerusalem with religious leaders and with humanitarian workers from the International Committee for the Red Cross and the United Nations.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

COLIN POWELL, SECRETARY OF STATE: Clearly, there are humanitarian needs here in the region greater than ever and I wanted to meet with the dedicated people who do such a great job.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: And covering the secretary's visit to this part of the world is our State Department correspondent Andrea Koppel. She joins us now live from Jerusalem. Andrea, take us behind the scenes. What convinced specifically Secretary Powell to go forward with the meeting tomorrow morning in Ramallah with Chairman Arafat?

ANDREA KOPPEL, CNN STATE DEPARTMENT CORRESPONDENT: Wolf, it was really the very strong language and very explicit language that Yasser Arafat used on behalf of himself and the Palestinian leadership, in which he not only spoke out against violence against all Palestinian and Israeli civilians, but he also condemned acts of terrorism. It was really that word that U.S. officials were listening to hear.

BLITZER: Is there a sense, Andrea, that he can get more than just words though from Yasser Arafat? Can he get enough in specific deed that will convince him to work for a cease-fire with the Israelis?

KOPPEL: Well, you've really hit the nail on the head there, Wolf, and that in fact is what Secretary Powell will be looking for specifically from Chairman Arafat. We've heard it said many times before. He is going to be looking for those words to be put into action.

Yasser Arafat has said it before. He has condemned acts of terrorism before, but what he has as yet to do, say U.S. and Israeli officials, is to translate those words into concrete action.

BLITZER: And as you know, Andrea, the secretary spent part of today meeting with U.N. and Red Cross personnel, as well as with clergy, Christian community leaders here in Jerusalem. What emerged specifically from those meetings?

KOPPEL: A couple of things, one an additional U.S. donation to humanitarian work, another \$30 million. Also some fairly strong language from Secretary Powell urging Israeli military in the West Bank to exercise restraint against civilians there, also urging the Israeli military to allow humanitarian workers to actually get in there, and really also the idea, Wolf, that has been pushed within the Arab world and that is to get a donor's conference going as soon as possible.

Secretary Powell said the Norwegian government had agreed to host one later this month, and why is that important? Well, the U.S. and the Arab world want to show the Palestinian people that there's light at the end of the tunnel and that all of the destruction that they have witnessed in the last several weeks will be repaired and their homes rebuilt and roads rebuilt and whatnot with the help of the international community -- Wolf.

BLITZER: Andrea Koppel, our State Department correspondent, covering the secretary of state's visit to the Middle East.

And let's go to Ramallah now. That's where the meeting will take place between Secretary Powell and Chairman Arafat. Our Michael Holmes has been there now for weeks. He joins us now with the very latest in terms of Palestinian reaction -- Michael.

MICHAEL HOLMES, CNN CORRESPONDENT: Wolf, yes, good evening. I can tell you that the statement issued by Yasser Arafat and the Palestinian leadership was done so after

enormous pressure, and not just from the Americans. Our sources here tell us that the pressure came from the Europeans. It came from the United States. It also came from Arab nations, in particular Saudi Arabia and Egypt, all putting pressure on Yasser Arafat to issue the statement you've just been discussing.

Now as for the meeting tomorrow, something else I can tell you. People inside the compound have reported to us this evening that Israeli bulldozers have been driving around the compound outside. They're outside Yasser Arafat's offices, a large car park area, and the last time I was there, I can tell you that there were crushed cars. There were a couple of burned out cars, and a fair bit of debris around the entrance to Yasser Arafat's office.

People inside the compound tell us that Israeli bulldozers have been clearing a lot of that away. One of them called it a cleanup operation to make the area look a little better for when Colin Powell arrives. You can't hide the damage to the buildings around Yasser Arafat's office however. There are holes in walls, holes in perimeter walls. At one of the buildings in particular had a fire go through it.

So when he arrives there, he's going to see a fair amount of damage. Now inside the building where Yasser Arafat is, sanitary conditions we're told have been atrocious, and that's not just in the words of people inside there. We've spoken to diplomats and other observers who have been inside there, international observers. They say the conditions are, in their words, atrocious.

Something else that happened today, the water after being off for some 11 days, was mysteriously turned back on for about five hours this afternoon. It's off again now, but it was turned back on for five hours, and people were able to use bathrooms and wash.

Now when we talk about the success or otherwise of Colin Powell's visit there tomorrow, we're detecting from our Palestinian sources that there's a fair degree of pessimism, Wolf, that Colin Powell is going to be able to achieve much if anything.

At the moment, the feeling seems to be very much to get him there, see how Yasser Arafat and the several hundred other people in that building are living. They want him to get there and see it in person, Wolf.

BLITZER: CNN's Michael Holmes. He's in Ramallah. He's been there now for days. He'll be there tomorrow morning as well, covering the visit by the Secretary of State Colin Powell with Yasser Arafat. Michael Holmes, thanks very much.

Let's go now to Sheila MacVicar, CNN's Sheila MacVicar. She's just back to Jerusalem from Jenin, the Palestinian refugee camp just outside that camp. Sheila, tell us how close you got to the actual refugee camp, what you saw, and heard.

SHEILA MACVICAR, CNN CORRESPONDENT: Today, Wolf, there are some new Israeli military activities in the villages just outside of Jenin. That meant that the area that we tried to go through was, in fact, under curfew. We weren't able to get in. It meant that we had to stay on the Israeli side of the line, just at that major checkpoint there that Israel has set up that separates the state of Israel from the occupied territories.

From where I was, the city of Jenin and the Jenin refugee camp were about a 10-minute walk

away, no more than that I was told, impossible to see from where I was what was going on. But while I was there, I met with a French television reporter, a correspondent for the French TV Network TF-1, who was able to get into the Jenin refugee camp yesterday.

Now of course, Wolf, one of the reasons why we are all so concerned and interested about what has happened in Jenin is we know the fighting there was very fierce. Twenty-three Israeli soldiers died. We also know that Palestinians have charged that there was a massacre that took place there. The Palestinians have said that perhaps as many as 300 people died there.

Now what this French television reporter, Michel Scott (ph), reporter for France's TF-1 saw yesterday when he was in the Jenin refugee camp, one of the very few journalists to make it in so far, very narrow alleyways. In those alleyways, Wolf, lots of evidence of very heavy fighting, and initially very little evidence of human habitation, until suddenly he told me a door opened and there was a young woman there asking, "are you a journalist?"

He said "yes." The woman broke into tears, told him she had no idea where her brother was. No obviously Michel Scott (ph) started to talk to her about what did she know about what had gone on in the camp. She told him that in the house across the road, there were five dead bodies, men all killed when the Israelis apparently, she said, threw a grenade into that house.

Now Michel Scott (ph) says he saw those five bodies, saw the body of another man who died in his garden, according to the man's sister-in-law, when he went outside to get water from a well. He was apparently they say shot by a sniper. Michel Scott (ph) very carefully says that he saw no evidence of mass numbers of bodies, but the Israeli military is now acknowledging, Wolf, that at least 100 people died there, and that they are beginning to collect the bodies and put them into refrigerated trucks, which we have seen and take them away for burial.

Now the Palestinians allege that they are doing this in order to cover up evidence of the massacre that they say took place at Jenin, and the Israelis, of course, have a different explanation. This is what the Israeli Defense Force spokesman said this afternoon.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

MOSHE FOGUL, IDF SPOKESMAN: Many of the bodies are still being held by the Palestinians themselves in a propaganda ploy, simply that when we leave the area, they'll be thrown out in the street or displayed to create the wrong impression that they were massacred.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

MACVICAR: Now, of course, it's very difficult. The Israelis are picking up bodies. There may be bodies buried under the rubble. It will be a long time, Wolf, before we can know for certain precisely what took place there.

BLITZER: And, Sheila, very briefly the Israeli explanation why they're not allowing anyone into Jenin right now is what?

MACVICAR: There are many places we're not allowed to go. As you know, Wolf, the Israelis say that it's simply too dangerous. They say there are too many booby-traps. Of course, the Palestinians charge that the Israelis don't want us to see what, in fact, has taken place there.



Wolf.

BLITZER: Sheila MacVicar, just back from outside of Jenin, now in Jerusalem. Thanks so much for that report.

Let's bring in our military analyst General Wesley Clark, the former supreme allied commander, the NATO commander. He joins us now live from Little Rock. General Clark, there's a lot of speculation, a lot of talk potentially of introducing U.S. military personnel in some sort of monitoring or peacekeeping role on the West Bank, separating Israelis and Palestinians. Is that a good idea?

GEN. WESLEY CLARK, CNN MILITARY ANALYST: I think it would be an acceptable idea once there's an agreement and there are specific authorizations from both sides as to what the peacekeeping force can do, Wolf.

But absent specific authorizations, what we're going to find is the peacekeeping force is just a third party thrown into the middle of the conflict, and if it doesn't have the authorities to go in and search and review records and talk to people and inspect facilities and dig into things very deeply, and if it doesn't have a political authority to appeal refusals from the sides too, and if it doesn't have the final authority to use force to conduct these inspections, well we're going to find that it's a frustrated and incapable force.

BLITZER: As you well know, General Clark, there have been a few hundred U.S. soldiers in Sinai for more than 20 years, since the Israeli-Egyptian agreement. They're relatively quiet, in fact completely quiet in Sinai.

But I have to tell you, the discussions I've had with top Pentagon officials, there's no great desire to send U.S. troops into the West Bank. They remember what happened to those 241 Marines at that barracks outside Beirut in 1983 when they were killed by a suicide truck bomber. Is that the sense you're getting as well?

CLARK: Well, I'm confident the Pentagon is not volunteering to send troops in there. But I think it's important to note that the situation in the West Bank would be nothing whatsoever like the situation in the Sinai, where there was a peace agreement. The troops went in after a peace agreement, and it's a relatively unpopulated area. So they're doing military tasks, like patrolling and observing. They're not in and amongst potentially hostile populations and they're not fighting urban combat.

The more relevant consideration or the more relevant analogy is to Bosnia, and you look at the U.N. protective force there 1992 through 1995 and how ineffective and powerless it was to stop the fighting between the sides, and that's the risk that we would face if we put forces on the ground prematurely, before a political agreement in the West Bank.

BLITZER: And wouldn't those U.S. forces be the targets of those who would oppose any agreement and try to undermine an agreement by killing as many U.S. soldiers and other military personnel as possible?

CLARK: Wolf, I think that's exactly right. There's a tremendous risk of that and there's also the risk that the forces there, of course, could stop any Israeli actions but could they really be

effective in stopping terrorist activities? Probably not as effective as the Israelis have been.

BLITZER: General Wesley Clark, the former NATO commander, our CNN military analyst, thanks so much for that analysis.

And our Web question of the day is this: "Should U.S. peacekeepers go into the West Bank?" You can vote. Go to my Web page, [cnn.com/wolf](http://cnn.com/wolf). While you're there, let me know what you're thinking. There's a "click here" icon right on the left side of the page. Send me your comments. I'll read some of them on the air each day at the end of this program. That's also, by the way, where you can read my daily online column.

When we come back, would Israelis and Palestinians be better off with new leaders? Coming up, a closer look at Ariel Sharon and Yasser Arafat's ability or inability to achieve peace. Stay with us.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Welcome back. At the core of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, a question of leadership and personal rivalry, two aging leaders who have long detested each other, 74-year-old Ariel Sharon the very definition of an old warrior.

He's fought against Arab armies and Palestinian militants since the age of 14 as a resistance fighter, an Israeli army commander, and a cabinet minister. It was only two and a half months ago that Sharon said he was sorry Israel had not killed Arafat when it had the chance, during Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon.

Yasser Arafat, 72 years old, cut his military teeth in the Egyptian army in the 1956 Suez campaign against Israel. He's taken a path full of intrigue and contradiction, from being a young militant bent on the destruction of Israel to sharing a Nobel Peace Prize with the late Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, and the current foreign minister Shimon Peres. He's consistently been an antagonist to Sharon and the Israeli right wing.

So the prospects for peace depend on these two very different men who clearly do not like each other. Let's get some analysis on who they are. Joining us from New York, Alon Pinkas. He's Israel's consul general in New York. And Nasser Al-Kidwa, he's the Palestinians' representative at the United Nations. Gentlemen, thanks so much for joining us.

NASSER AL-KIDWA, PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVE TO U.N.: Thank you.

BLITZER: First to you, Ambassador Pinkas, do you believe that Yasser Arafat, when all is said and done, can still make some sort of peaceful deal with Israel?

ALON PINKAS, ISRAELI CONSUL GENERAL: No. No I don't, Wolf. It's as simple as that.

BLITZER: Because I know in the past, in the past you've been optimistic in 1999, 2000, you thought that the Oslo agreements were working pretty well.

PINKAS: Well, I think that by 1999, Wolf, it became quite evident to those who were realists, whether they were from the left or the right, that Oslo outlived its usefulness as a political mechanism to make progress towards peace, which is why Israel then chose the

comprehensive path toward Camp David, culminating in the summit in July of 2000.

I'm still optimistic. I'm optimistic about the needs for political settlement. I think that both people will cohabit the same piece of land whether some people like it or not. I think that there is a Palestinian elite. There are Palestinian leaders. There are Palestinian, hopefully they will become decision makers, but there are Palestinians political leaders out there who understand what needs to be done in order to reach an accommodation or some kind of a coexistent mechanism, even if it's short of a peace agreement with Israel.

Arafat himself, you asked specifically about Arafat, I think he's an impediment to peace. I think he's not to be trusted. It's up to the Palestinians to decide whether they want to continue with him. I'm not saying anything about deposing him, but look he signed ten separate cease-fire agreements. He broke all of them.

BLITZER: All right, Ambassador Pinkas, let me interrupt you because I want to bring in Ambassador Al-Kidwa and ask him the same question, except about Prime Minister Sharon. Ambassador Al-Kidwa, do you believe that the Palestinians can still make a deal with Prime Minister Sharon?

AL-KIDWA: Well, the problem is the prime minister himself said that he doesn't want to reach a final settlement with anybody. He made a series of statements from that rejecting any final statement to that saying that one has to inflict maximum suffering on the Palestinian side and that's the only way forward. Of course also, the one when he said that he regretted that he didn't kill Yasser Arafat earlier and so on.

And now, I think the prime minister will have some time to clean his name from the obvious war crimes which have been committed in the last two weeks against the Palestinian people, specifically the horrible war crime in the refugee camp in Jenin.

BLITZER: Let me ask you, Ambassador Al-Kidwa, as Ambassador Pinkas has written off Arafat, have you as the Palestinian representative of the U.N. written off Sharon?

AL-KIDWA: Again, I think Mr. Sharon has written himself off from doing any successful peace process with the Palestinian side. However, if he turn around and come clean, saying that he is ready this time to start seriously with the Palestinian side, with the elected leader of the Palestinian side, I think we will have to give it a try.

BLITZER: Ambassador Pinkas, by all accounts what's happened over these past few weeks has strengthened Arafat's popularity among Palestinians as he's holed up in that Ramallah headquarters. You're saying you're looking for other Palestinian leaders to replace Arafat. Are there any?

PINKAS: I'm sure there are, but it's up the Palestinians to choose them or to elect them. Look, Arafat's popularity was not an issue when Israel launched this military operation. We were forced into doing something that every country would have done if it had been subject to daily terror attacks, to daily homicide attacks, to daily murder of innocents, children, women, old people, people having dinner, people going to a pizza parlor.

Whether or not he emerged more strong, more popular, more resilient is almost immaterial.

The idea was to destroy and infrastructure of terror that he himself allowed...

AL-KIDWA: And you destroyed the livelihood of the whole people.

PINKAS: ... that he himself did not destroy and he was supposed to.

BLITZER: All right.

AL-KIDWA: It wasn't any attack against any militants as much...

BLITZER: Ambassador Al-Kidwa, go ahead and respond.

AL-KIDWA: Yes. You know, what happened during the last two weeks is just appalling. I mean the whole international community is saying that. The Israeli occupying forces destroyed the livelihood of the -

BLITZER: Ambassador Al-Kidwa, what are the Israelis supposed to do, Ambassador Al-Kidwa? What are the Israelis supposed to do in the face of massacres, suicide bombers at a Passover seder or yesterday here in Jerusalem at an open-air market? Any government would respond to those kinds of terrorist incidents, wouldn't they?

AL-KIDWA: Well, first of all the Israelis should have reached out to the Palestinian side. They should have said clearly that they intend to end their occupation and that they accept the settlement of a Palestinian state.

(CROSSTALK)

AL-KIDWA: And then, if they want to react militarily in a very measured and specific way, maybe at least the world might have understood. But what happened was completely different. This was willful killing. This was wanton destruction. This was massacres committed against the Palestinian people, the war crimes under international law. You know even the International Red Cross is prevented from getting into some of those territories, especially in Jenin. I mean, this is unheard of, something which the world has to look at in a very serious way.

BLITZER: All right. Ambassador Pinkas, go ahead.

PINKAS: Look -- yes I understand, Wolf. Look, I don't want to drag this conversation into a tit-for-tat, but Mr. Al-Kidwa needs to understand that after 54 years of blaming everyone except itself for these self-inflicted tragedies, it's time that you be responsible and accountable for your idiocies, shortcomings and inadequacies. You can not always blame the entire world for a failed and bankrupt region.

AL-KIDWA: We don't. We don't do that.

PINKAS: Oh, yes you do. You sit there quietly.

AL-KIDWA: We blame you, not the whole world.

PINKAS: You talk about atrocities. You never showed up at Camp David. You never showed up...

AL-KIDWA: Were there atrocities in the last two weeks or not?

PINKAS: Please let me finish.

AL-KIDWA: Were there atrocities in the last two weeks or not?

PINKAS: Let me finish please, Mr. Al-Kidwa because I think your understanding of history and your knowledge of history is selective at best. You did not show up at Camp David. You did not come up with a counter proposal. You lied to President Clinton. You made up a story about an unfair peace offer that no one prevented you...

(CROSSTALK)

AL-KIDWA: Broken record again.

PINKAS: No one prevented you from coming up with a counter proposal.

BLITZER: Let's let Ambassador Al-Kidwa respond. Go ahead, Ambassador Al-Kidwa.

AL-KIDWA: I mean, there wasn't anything serious which was said. Again, I mean, there is Israeli occupation, there has been colonialism conducted by the Israeli side -- confiscation of land, building settlements, transfer of Israeli civilians to the Palestinian territories, grave breaches of the Geneva convention. Grave war crimes committed non-stop against the Palestinian people.

But what happened in the last two weeks have been unparalleled, unheard of, real war crimes, and I believe that at least Shaul Mufar (ph), the chief of staff of the Israeli forces, and other officers really must be indicted and face international criminal court because of the war crimes they...

BLITZER: All right. We only have a few seconds left. Go ahead, Ambassador Alon, I'll give you the last word. We have 10 seconds.

PINKAS: Look, we have no war with the Palestinian people. We don't seek to occupy the Palestinian people, we do not want to control the lives of the Palestinian people. We want to live next to the Palestinian people. The sooner they understand that we want to live next to them, the soon they will realize their dreams. But they are ruled by a ruthless minority of terrorists, led by Mr. Arafat, who makes Tony Soprano look like Mother Teresa. A bunch of mobsters.

BLITZER: Unfortunately, gentlemen, we'll have to leave it right there. We will continue this conversation on another day...

AL-KIDWA: Hopefully in better times.

(CROSSTALK)

BLITZER: Hopefully in better times. You're absolutely right. And Ambassador Alon Pinkas in New York, thanks to both of you for joining us.

CNN

**SHOW: PEOPLE IN THE NEWS 11:00**

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Profiles of Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat and U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell.

**BODY:**

THIS IS A RUSH TRANSCRIPT. THIS COPY MAY NOT BE IN ITS FINAL FORM AND MAY BE UPDATED.

ANNOUNCER: Next on PEOPLE IN THE NEWS, with a region exploding in violence, the Palestinian leader at the center of the crisis.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

YASSER ARAFAT, PRESIDENT OF PALESTINIAN NATIONAL AUTHORITY: Let us return back to the peace of the brave.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ANNOUNCER: A hero and man of peace to some.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

HANAN ASHRAWI, PALESTINIAN LEGISLATOR: He moved to peacemaker because he made the historical decision.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ANNOUNCER: An enemy and man of violence to others.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BENJAMIN NETANYAHU, FORMER ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER: He's an arch terrorist. He's a master terrorist.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ANNOUNCER: A man of contradiction, Yasser Arafat.

Then, he's a former soldier sent to the Middle East to negotiate peace.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

COLIN POWELL, SECRETARY OF STATE: The entire international community as a result of those conversations will together and stand behind this vision of two states living side-by-side.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ANNOUNCER: A kid who started on the streets of New York and ended up in Washington's inner circles.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: We came from a kind of family that raised you and sort of programmed you for success.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ANNOUNCER: The story of a Vietnam veteran, Gulf War hero and now secretary of state, Colin Powell. Their stories ahead on PEOPLE IN THE NEWS.

PAULA ZAHN, HOST: Welcome to PEOPLE IN THE NEWS. I'm Paul Zahn.

His future uncertain. His power in question. His dream of a Palestinian state in jeopardy. And still, Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat remains as defiant and as resilient as ever. His story now on PEOPLE IN THE NEWS.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

Y. ARAFAT: We are in need of agents sending international forces to stop this aggression and this escalation -- military escalation against our people.

ARIEL SHARON, PRIME MINISTER OF ISRAELI: Chairman Arafat should be isolated as the head of the Palestinian Authority who's responsible for terrorist acts on one end and not taking any preventive steps on the other hand.

ZAHN: The terror and hostilities have reached new levels in a conflict that has been smoldering for decades. A wave of Palestinian suicide bombings kills dozens of Israeli civilians during the Passover holiday. The Israeli Army, under orders from Ariel Sharon, pounds Palestinian positions in the occupied territories, effectively trapping Yasser Arafat in his own compound.

A renewed cycle of violence and retribution with one man in the cross hairs.

DAVID SHIPLER, AUTHOR, "ARAB AND JEW": Arafat is now talking about being a martyr. Palestinians are much more enthusiastic about Arafat than they were. It's contributed to his popularity and it's made him more relevant than ever, ironically.

ZAHN: Yasser Arafat's life story is a reflection of the Palestinian movement. He was born in 1929, one of seven children. His birthplace, like other details of his life, is a source of some speculation. He claims to have been born in Jerusalem but his birth certificate says Cairo. His mother died when he was four and his father sent him to Jerusalem to live with his uncle for several years.

JOHN WALLACH, ARAFAT BIOGRAPHER: His childhood was painful for him. He was



shunted back and forth from one relative to another. He never really had a mother and father that he knew very well. He likes to say today that that homelessness, that sense of not having a parent, not having a mother and father is parallel to the homelessness of the Palestinian people themselves.

ZAHN: In 1937, Arafat rejoined his father, three sisters and three brothers in Cairo. They lived in a mixed neighborhood, Arab and Jewish.

WALLACH: He had Jewish friends. He even played basketball on a Jewish team. So this is someone who has been familiar with the struggle, the Zionist struggle for independence from his early years or at least from his teenage years and I think that that had a deep influence on him.

LARRY KING, CNN HOST: Do you think we will see Jewish children and Palestinian children playing together, growing together, being friends?

Y. ARAFAT: It my boyhood, we were doing the same.

KING: Your cousins?

Y. ARAFAT: Yes, not to forget that we never said the other Jews. We used to condemn our cousins. This is the history. Abraham is our -- is mine.

KING: You never hated the Jews?

Y. ARAFAT: Never, otherwise I will not be a real Muslim.

ZAHN: The creation of Israel in 1948 drew Arafat to the ranks of Palestinian nationalists who wanted to destroy the Jewish state. While studying engineering at Cairo University, he arranged the smuggling of weapons from Egypt into Palestine.

WALLACH: He promoted himself as the leader of the Palestinian Student Union, that he was going into the desert to seize weapons that had -- old weapons that the British left behind from the days when Egypt had won its independence.

ZAHN: When Egypt went to war with Israel in 1956, 27-year-old Yasser Arafat fought for the Egyptians. After the war, another Arab defeat, Arafat began to focus on displacing the Jewish state to secure a homeland for Palestinians. He co-founded Alpha Tau, which would later become the militant wing of the PLO and an instrument of guerrilla tactics and deadly terror.

WALLACH: Terrorist activities began against Israel in 1966 and 1967 when attacks took place in Israel itself, blowing up railroad stations and water facilities, dams.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

ZAHN: When PEOPLE IN THE NEWS continues, from militant warrior to national hero.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

ZAHN: June 1967, a dramatic and sudden shift in the Arab-Israeli conflict and a turning point for Yasser Arafat. Israel facing attack from Arab neighbors intent on destroying the Jewish state launches a pre-emptive military strike.

In six days, Israel triples in size, having captured territory from Jordan, Syria and Egypt and raises the Star of David over each Jerusalem.

SHIPLER: Israel was the underdog before the '67 War and was celebrated triumphantly. It was seen as the David that had slain the Goliath.

WALLACH: This was such a devastating defeat for the Arabs that the Palestinians said to themselves, they're never going to be able to deliver independence for us.

ZAHN: Frustrated with the lack of strong leadership in the Arab world, the Palestinians turned to Yasser Arafat. He was elected chairman of the PLO with hopes of putting Palestine on the map and wound up on the cover of "TIME" magazine.

WALLACH: Arafat was now emerging as a figure who not only confronted Israel, but confronted established Arab regimes. This was the beginning of kind of Arafatism nuisance to the Arab leaders, which to some extent, he still is today.

ZAHN: Arafat's obsession with a Palestinian state has been on display ever since, even in the way he dresses. The traditional headdress Arafat wears, the Kuffieh, has symbolic meaning.

ASHRAWI: He always wears it to look like the map of historical Palestine. So he combines many things, a political message of culture, the message of personal matters and a sign of continuity and commitment.

The Palestinians feel the kuffieh is a sign of plight, of dignity, of national identity, of a homeland.

ZAHN: A homeland that has so far eluded them. After the Six Day War, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians fled the West Bank in Gaza into refugee camps in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. The fate of these refugees, their earning for their own state and Israel's need to guarantee the security of its own people, is at the heart of the conflict that has played out over the last 30 years, a struggle for land and peace with little common ground.

Y. ARAFAT (through translator): The establishment of a Palestinian state with holy Jerusalem as its capital is the only guarantee for security, peace and stability in the region and the world.

NETANYAHU: Arafat is out to destroy the state of Israel. So what did Arafat send out the PLO to liberate? What was the Palestine? And the answer is Israel, any part of Israel and any border.

ZAHN: Under Arafat's leadership in the early '70s, the PLO and its various factions turned terrorism into a household word. One of these factions carried out a series of hijackings in Europe and the Middle East, including five in one week in September 1970, which ended with three emptied planes being blown up in the Jordanian Desert.

This was followed by other notorious terror plots -- at the 1972 Olympics in Munich, the killing of 11 Israeli athletes, gunning down passengers at the Rome and Vienna Airports and assassinating political figures. Arafat never personally claimed responsibility for these acts, but he never condemned them either.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: The taking of civilian lives, the hijacking of airlines, these are deemed to be terrorist attacks.

Y. ARAFAT: You are -- you are -- you are mentioning the hijacking. You are neglecting the crux of the whole issue. We are under occupation and according to the United Nations Charter and resolution and decisions, we have the right to resist against occupation by all means.

NETANYAHU: He's an arch terrorist, he's a master terrorist, he's the one who brought to the world, the -- you know, the terrorist start-up of producing airline hijackings, of taking people hostage, of kidnapping and murdering diplomats, including American diplomats in Khartoum. You name a terrorist technique; he's either thought about it or perfected it.

ZAHN: Despite the terror attacks, Arafat was invited to speak to the U.N. General Assembly in New York in 1974.

Y. ARAFAT (through translator): Today, I have come bearing an olive branch and a freedom fighter's gun. Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand. Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand.

ZAHN: Israel boycotted, but for Arafat and the PLO, the implications were clear.

**NASSER AL-KIDWA**, PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVE TO U.N.: What was significant, of course, was the symbol of the world buddy, recognizing the Palestinian National Liberation Movement and its leader, thus, recognizing the legitimacy of the Palestinians' struggle.

ZAHN: Recognition by the U.N. did not change the ways of Arafat and the PLO. In 1982, the PLO now based in Lebanon launched a series of deadly attacks against Israeli forces.

Israel invaded Lebanon and troops led by then Defense Minister Ariel Sharon pushed all the way to the gates of Beirut, literally driving Arafat and the PLO out to sea.

Y. ARAFAT: I was under siege one year ago. And I am in another siege this year. What's the difference? It's a contradicting. It's a revolution.

SHARON: He came here only for one purpose and that is to destroy, to destroy and to take back his world, to destroy the terrorists' PLO Palestinian organizations.

ZAHN: Arafat was on the run again. He went to Tunis. Then several years later, as Palestinians in Israeli occupied territories staged a violent uprising, Arafat finally indicated that the PLO might be willing to compromise.

At a special assembly of the U.N. in Geneva, Arafat not only recognized Israel's right to exist, he uttered the words many had been waiting years to hear.

Y. ARAFAT: I repeat for the record that we totally and absolutely renounce all forms of terrorists.

ZAHN: With a single speech, came hope that years of fighting just might come to an end. But the time for terror was over.

ASHRAWI: He moved to peacemaker because he made the historical decision. He did that

and that had to be recognized and he did change the course of history.

ZAHN: But more than 10 years later, Arafat's words are being used against him. That story when PEOPLE IN THE NEWS continues.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

ZAHN: Having owned the door to peace with his historic speech to U.N., Yasser Arafat was still a man without a homeland.

Y. ARAFAT: You know it is not an easy life to live every night in different place and two different beds.

ZAHN: He had so many enemies; he practically lived on an airplane and rarely slept in the same place.

Y. ARAFAT: In this airplane, even my colleagues don't know where we are going to.

ZAHN: But Arafat would prove himself the consummate survivor. In 1992, his plane crashed in a sand storm in the Libyan Desert and he escaped with his life. He developed a blood clot on his brain afterwards but beat that too.

Shortly after his brush with death, Arafat went public with surprising personal news. A year earlier, he had secretly married a Christian-Palestinian woman who was half his age, a woman some had mistaken for his mistress.

SUHA ARAFAT, WIFE: It was terrible for me because when I'm married to a man and the entourage would say, "It's his mistress." It's too much this political entourage of the peers, all which is gossiping all the time.

ASHRAWI: I really think it's a very, very simple case of falling in love with a younger woman, who was working in his office, and they wanted to have a more permanent relationship.

ZAHN: Newly married and in declining health, Arafat seemed more reflective, more intent than ever on finding peace, according to people close to him. And in September 1993, the life-long warrior for Palestine sealed an important agreement by shaking hands with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. The Oslo Accords put in writing that the Jewish people were entitled to a state of their own and Arafat was vilified by many Palestinians for signing the deal.

Y. ARAFAT: Making the peace is more difficult than to make war. Any -- and so any -- any officer, any general can make a peace -- they can make war, but to make peace, it means the courageous man to implement peace.

ZAHN: Israeli hard-liners didn't like the Oslo deal either. Among other things, it allowed Arafat to move to Gaza and establish the Palestinian Authority there. Now, the Israeli's mortal enemy would be living in her midst.

MORTIMER ZUCKERMAN, CONF. OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICA JEWISH

ORGANIZATIONS: They thought for a moment that he was going to become like Mandela in South Africa or Gandhi in India or indeed David Benduri (ph) in Israel, but was it willing to make the necessary compromises to bring about a peaceful resolution? It turned out that this was a false hope.

ZAHN: Despite anger on both sides, Yasser Arafat, Yitzhak Rabin and Israeli foreign minister Shimon Peres were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts though the award itself was controversial.

NETANYAHU: Does anyone take seriously Arafat's Nobel Prize? I think it was one of the low points of the Nobel Prize.

ZAHN: By this time, the pursuit of peace and the Palestinian state was all consuming for Arafat. He and his wife, Suha, had a baby girl in July of 1995, but their family life was somewhat unusual. Suha had her own apartment upstairs where Arafat seldom ventured. He claims that he didn't have time for his own daughter because he was father to all Palestinian children.

S. ARAFAT: It's a strange relation. She sees this man 10 minutes in the morning and he goes, surrounded by bodyguards. And she sees his pictures on the TV. She sees his pictures on -- in the pipes, in the lunar pipes, in the little gardens around. I say "papa," but she does not understand what is this man.

ASHRAWI: I told him once, "Don't you miss her?" And he said, "Yes, but I can't afford to think about it." So his life has been taken up with the struggle. It doesn't mean he's not a father or he's not -- he doesn't have these human or paternal feelings, but I think reality has deprived him of the chance to express them, to exercise them and to be with his family.

ZAHN: The personal and political spears so often separate converged for Arafat in September of 1995 when an Israeli right-wing extremist assassinated Prime Minister Rabin. It does a blow to the peace process and a personal blow to Arafat.

S. ARAFAT: I got this phone call and he was -- he stayed all night without saying one word. No, but it was -- it was that his partner at peace was killed.

AL-KIDWA: I remember seeing him once in his office after the assassination of him, a few days after and he was really in distress.

ZAHN: Whatever Arafat's personal distress, Rabin's killing put the peace process on life support where it remained until 1998 when the two sides held peace talks again.

At Camp David, in fall of 2000, the Israelis offered the Palestinians much of the land Israel had occupied after the 1967 Six Day War. The deal didn't include total Palestinian control of Arab East Jerusalem. Arafat rejected it.

SHIPLER: It's a Catch 22 situation for him. The more moderate he becomes with the Israelis, the less creditability he has with the Palestinians. The more militant he is, the more creditability with the Palestinians and the less consolatory the Israelis will be.

Now, how you work your way out of that, I'm not sure. Arafat doesn't seem clever enough to

do it. He's a good survivor. He's not so good as a leader who can move a situation into a different era.

ZAHN: Long before the current crisis, pressures were mounting on Arafat from all sides, pressure to once and for all denounce terror and put a stop to the attacks.

Y. ARAFAT: It was the attack. Did President Bush succeed to stop the attack of bin Laden? You have the biggest power all over the world. I am doing a 100 percent of my effort, but no one all over the world can give 100 percent of that.

ZUCKERMAN: He puts a lot of tigers into a cage. He organizes these tigers in different cages and then, he says to the people who control the gates to the cages, "Why don't you open those gates?" And then he says, "Oh, my goodness, the tigers are killing people. I'm really shocked."

ZAHN: At the same time, Arafat has felt pressure from his own people, many of whom feel he has lost touch with the heart of the movement.

WALLACH: The economy of the areas has deteriorated.

ZUCKERMAN: My goodness, the tigers are killing people. I'm really shocked.

ZAHN: At the same time, Arafat has felt pressure from his own people, many of whom feel he has lost touch with the heart of the movement.

SHIPLER: The economy of the areas has deteriorated. People are really desperate. They're desperate economically. Young Palestinians call their parents the failed generation, because they failed to bring either peace or statehood, and they blame Arafat for that.

ZAHN: And yet, Arafat has shown he is nothing, if not resilient. At 72, he again finds himself on the brink with Israel.

Y. ARAFAT: It's aggression against our people.

ZAHN: At this crucial moment, he faces the same dilemma, how to pursue peace with his enemies, while appeasing his own people, a dilemma that so far he has been unable to resolve.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

ANNOUNCER: Coming up next week, if the Palestinians are battling to forge a nation, he's fighting to protect one.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

ARIEL SHARON, PRIME MINISTER OF ISRAEL: Peace might be discussed only when there will be full cessation of terror.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ANNOUNCER: An in-depth look at Ariel Sharon and Israel's war for survival, next week on PEOPLE IN THE NEWS. But just ahead, he's the man in the middle of the Mid East crisis. Colin Powell, and the search for peace, when we return.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

ANNOUNCER: PEOPLE IN THE NEWS continues with Paula Zahn.

ZAHN: Welcome back to PEOPLE IN THE NEWS. When President Bush decided that enough was enough in the Middle East, the man he called on to help the tensions was the very same man that a number of American Presidents have turned to in times of crisis, Colin Powell. Here's Andrea Koppel.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

ANDREA KOPPEL, STATE DEPARTMENT CORRESPONDENT: A generation's old crisis escalating once again past the boiling point. The Palestinians and Israelis living in close quarters, still deeply separated by hostility and violence. The United States and the international community are calling for an end to the bloodshed.

COLIN POWELL, SECRETARY OF STATE: Violence of whatever form, whether one would call it an act of terrorism or an act of resistance, at this point is counterproductive.

KOPPEL: Now, Secretary of State Colin Powell has been enlisted by President Bush to reestablish the broken down lines of communication. Powell has served three previous administrations, every president since Jimmy Carter, accumulating four stars and becoming Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the country's top military leader.

But now the career soldier is a diplomat. This is not the first time Powell's stature and experience have helped bolster the Bush Administration. As the first member of the new cabinet to be announced --

GEORGE W. BUSH, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: And ask him to become the 65th Secretary of State of the United States of America.

KOPPEL: Powell gave instant credibility to the President-Elect, the candidate who lost the popular vote and who lacked experience in international affairs.

SEN. JOSEPH BIDEN (D-DE), FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE: Powell is a man of independent stature. He has built a reputation based on the force of his personality. He has what the military folks call a command presence.

KOPPEL: Though the courtship between Bush and Powell was long, the honeymoon was brief.

JOHANNA McGEARY, TIME FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT: For a time, Colin Powell was finding himself in the position where, in the minds of lots of other people, he wasn't the preeminent voice of American foreign policy. Diplomats abroad would listen to what Colin Powell had to say and then turn around and ask, but what does Vice President Cheney think? What does Defense Secretary Rumsfeld think? What does National Security Adviser Rice think?

KOPPEL: But in the wake of the escalating crisis in the Middle East, and the September 11th terror attacks, Powell's 35 years of military experience and crisis management are clearly in high demand. As a policy maker, Powell is seen as a steady hand, and the White House benefits when one of the most admired men in the nation uses his mythic status to reassure the public.

POWELL: Our war on terror will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been



found, stopped, and defeated. My friends, we know it will take time. It will take effort. We will be patient. We will be persistent, and I can assure you that under President Bush's leadership we will not rest until the job has been done and civilization is safe again.

KOPPEL: Powell's journey to the corridors of power in Washington began in the tough streets of New York. He was born in 1937 and his parents soon settled in the Bronx, where they managed to keep their kids out of the trouble that tempted so many others.

POWELL: Frankly, it was a very fine upbringing that I received in the South Bronx. We had our problems of drugs and crimes and none of our parents was very, very rich. In fact, they were all quite poor.

KOPPEL: His parents, immigrants from Jamaica, worked in the garment district, his mother, Maude, a seamstress; his father, Luther, a shipping clerk foreman. They had come to New York with a dream, determined their children would have a bright future.

MARILYN BERNS, SISTER: We came from a kind of family that raised you and sort of programmed you for success. You know, the expectations were there that you would go forth and achieve.

KOPPEL: Colin and his sister Marilyn were taught that education was the key to success, but all the way through high school, young Colin was hardly passionate about school.

BERNS: Oh, well I think everybody knows that, you know, his studies were pretty average when he was in school.

KOPPEL: But the melting pot of 1940s New York educated him in other ways.

POWELL: And I learned a great deal about myself on the streets of New York. I grew up with people, went to school with people of all different ethnic origins and backgrounds and religions.

GENE NORMAN, CHILDHOOD FRIEND: The totality of a neighborhood that lets you see the world through many different eyes.

TORRY GRANT, CHILDHOOD FRIEND: He prides himself on his ability to speak Yiddish.

NORMAN: Well, I don't believe a word of that.

GRANT: Well, he says it but we all picked up a little Yiddish. We all picked up a little German, Spanish, Italian.

JOSEPH PERSICO, BIOGRAPHER: Colin Powell had very little sense of being a member of an oppressed minority when he was growing up because, as he put it, he lived among Italians, Jews, Poles, Puerto Ricans. Everybody was a member of a minority.

KOPPEL: Although racism was a fact of life in the '40s and '50s, his parents refused to let their children think of themselves as second-class citizens.

POWELL: My parents kept telling, and the adults in my life kept telling me, don't worry about that. Don't care what people say about you or how they point to you and think you're different. You're not different.

KOPPEL: His parents expected him to go to college and so he did to CCNY, the City College of New York.

POWELL: They let me in with my bad grades and I stayed there for four and a half years, it was a four-year course, with bad grades.

KOPPEL: But despite the bad grades, he found his calling. When the story of Colin Powell continues, the sorry student discovers a reason to stay in school.

POWELL: And now I'm the favorite son, the most famous person who ever graduated CCNY, and they give me all kinds of honors, and I smile because they were sure anxious to see me go 35 years ago.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

KOPPEL: After squeaking through high school, the kid from the South Bronx took his "C" average to CCNY, City College of New York. Clearly academics did not excite him, but something else did.

POWELL: I found something that I liked at CCNY. It was ROTC. I liked the discipline and structure of the military. I felt somewhat distinctive wearing a uniform. I hadn't been distinctive in much else.

GRANT: He used to love hiking up and down the block practicing his marching, calling cadence out to himself. He really enjoyed it. So it was without question that Colin was going to be a career man.

KOPPEL: Powell's military career began in 1958, when he received his Bachelor's Degree in Geology and a commission in the United States Army. Colin was now Second Lieutenant Powell.

BERNS: My mother thought, oh this is nice, when he graduated. He'll go in the army for a few years and he'll come out and get a job.

KOPPEL: Little did she know, her son was in it for the long haul.

POWELL: The army was the way out for me, the way out of the city. It was an opportunity when there weren't many other opportunities for young Blacks, even young Blacks who had completed college.

KOPPEL: But when Powell reported for training at Fort Benning, Georgia, he ran into an unexpected roadblock, segregation.

PERSICO: Now, the way Colin Powell handled something like this, yes he's exasperated. He's enraged. But he's not going to let it destroy him. As he put it to me best of all, I was not going to let other people's opinions of me become my opinion of myself.

KOPPEL: The young man who had been programmed for success since early childhood,

would not be discouraged.

PERSICO: He told me once how one of his officers, early in his career, had said Lieutenant Powell, you're the best Black lieutenant in the U.S. Army. Powell was not satisfied with that. He didn't want to see this artificial color barrier. He said, "I was determined to become the best lieutenant in the U.S. Army."

KOPPEL: In 1962, the 25-year-old was shipped to Vietnam. Initially excited to serve in combat, he soon became frustrated that decision makers in Washington had not clearly defined the mission and had no plan for getting out.

POWELL: I came away from that experience with a belief that if we're going to send young men and women into harm's way, we should make sure they have a clear purpose that they are fighting for. They understand that purpose. The American people understand it and the American people are supporting them in what they do.

KOPPEL: The United States Powell returned to was very different from the one he had left. Anti-war protests, the civil rights movement, violence was everywhere. The only calm in the storm was on the home front. The newly promoted Captain Powell had married Alma Vivian Johnson in 1963. Over the years, Alma would hold down the fort during her husband's many absences, making sure the growing Powell clan had everything they needed.

PERSICO: Alma Powell accepted that this was the life this man loved and that he had a great deal to give to it, and she accepted her sometimes very difficult role as a mother on her own and also an army wife who was expected to be charming, tactful, and entertaining. She carried out that role rather beautifully for 35 years, and I think part of his rise is due to the fact that he had a suitable wife.

KOPPEL: With his family in good hands, Colin Powell concentrated on his career. The next big push came in 1972, when Powell's commanding officers ordered him to apply for the White House Fellows Program.

POWELL: The beautiful part about the army is that they were always, they were always giving me something that was beyond me. They were always testing me and by being pushed, I grew fast.

KOPPEL: Out of 1,500 applicants, he was accepted, and once again rose to the challenge.

FRANK CARUCCI, FORMER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE: If you gave him a project, it got done. It got done effectively. It was easy to spot him as a rising talent at that time.

KOPPEL: Then another golden opportunity. Powell was named military assistant to the Secretary of Defense, and was exposed to decision making at the highest levels.

POWELL: At some point in my career, I realized I was doing well enough to become a general.

KOPPEL: So Colin Powell left Washington for an assignment at Fort Carson, Colorado, one that would put him within reach of that once unthinkable goal, but the newly minted general would not stay away from the capitol for long.

CARUCCI: He didn't want to come back, but we had Ronald Reagan call him and he agreed to come back.

KOPPEL: It was an offer he couldn't refuse, Deputy National Security Adviser. He was later promoted to National Security Adviser, a first for an African-American. When George Bush became President, he kept Powell close by, naming him to the highest military rank in the country, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Powell exploded onto the scene in August 1990, when Iraq invaded Kuwait. As Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, Powell was initially reluctant to commit U.S. troops, but eventually he became one of the administrations most trusted spokesmen, when the assault on Saddam Hussein's army finally came.

POWELL: Our strategy to go after this army is very, very simple. First, we're going to cut it off and then we're going to kill it.

KOPPEL: When the war was over, Powell had become a national hero. Powell's term extended into the Clinton Administration where he again argued against military action this time in Bosnia. Even though ethnic cleansing reached gruesome proportions, the mission did not fit the parameters of the Powell Doctrine.

POWELL: I have been characterized as the reluctant warrior. Guilty. But I follow in a long tradition of American generals who have always been reluctant warriors.

KOPPEL: In 1993, Powell retired to write his memoirs with a reported \$6 million advance. Published in late '95, the promotional tour was mobbed.

POWELL: I'll take a question.

SAM DONALDSON, CORRESPONDENT: General, is this really the start of a book tour, or the start of a presidential campaign?

POWELL: Today is the beginning of a book tour, Mr. Donaldson, and...

DONALDSON: And tomorrow?

POWELL: And tomorrow, we'll continue to promote the book but at the same time, we'll be traveling around the country meeting many Americans and answering any questions they may wish to put to me.

KOPPEL: With both Democrats and Republicans courting him, Colin Powell weighed his options, next on PEOPLE IN THE NEWS.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

ANNOUNCER: We now return to PEOPLE IN THE NEWS.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: The latest CNN poll has you right now ahead of both President Clinton and Senator Dole. How does that make you feel?

POWELL: Well, I'm not worrying about the polls or paying attention to polls right now.

KOPPEL: With a runaway best seller, and sky-high ratings in the polls, Colin Powell in late 1995 was at a crossroads.

POWELL: The question I faced was, should I enter politics and seek the Presidency of the United States.

KOPPEL: But it was no secret that Alma Powell, his staunchest supporter for 33 years, did not want him to run. After months of public speculation and weeks of private anguish, he concluded he lacked the passion to run a successful Presidential campaign.

POWELL: The passion and commitment that, despite my every effort, I do not yet have for political life.

KOPPEL: But he now clearly committed to a party, the Republicans.

POWELL: I'm very impressed by what the Republican Party is trying to do right now, trying to put the nation on a better fiscal balance, trying to bring government under control and make government smaller, trying to put more money back into the pocket of individual taxpayers.

KOPPEL: But at the 1996 Republican Convention, Powell sounded like a Democrat. Keep abortion rights, end racial discrimination, and reform welfare for everyone.

POWELL: We have to make sure that reduced government spending doesn't single out the poor and the middle-class. Corporate welfare, welfare for the wealthy must be first in line for elimination.

KOPPEL: After the Republicans lost, Powell established America's Promise, and became its fund-raiser in chief, recruiting corporations and volunteers to help children from poor backgrounds like his own.

But his retreat from politics was only temporary. At the 2000 Republican Convention, staged to showcase the party's new inclusive image, Powell once again blasted the conservatives on affirmative action.

POWELL: Some in our party miss no opportunity to roundly and loudly condemn affirmative action that helped a few thousand Black kids get an education, but you hardly hear a whimper when it's affirmative action for lobbyists who load our federal tax code with preferences for special interest. It doesn't work.

KOPPEL: Despite his differences with the party's right wing, Powell's credibility with the public made him a natural choice for the new Bush Administration. The State Department staff literally cheered when Powell took command. Expectations were high. But his temperate approach frequently clashed with other members of the President's national security team.

BIDEN: In this administration, the overwhelming part of the foreign policy establishment is very hard right, movement right conservatives.

KOPPEL: Powell advocated caution and coalitions. The prevailing view in the administration was that the victor in the Cold War could impose its will unilaterally. When

President Bush said he wanted U.S. troops out of the NATO peacekeeping force in the Balkans, Powell argued for supporting NATO. On negotiations with North Korea to stop developing long-range missiles, Powell said he would pick up where the Clinton administration left off. The White House said no, at least not right away.

POWELL: Because I have pitted others in saying, I got a little too far forward on my skates.

KOPPEL: And on the international treaty to stop global warming, the White House pulled the plug on U.S. support, without consulting Powell.

BIDEN: There seems to be a real distrust among movement conservatives, the right wing of the Republican Party in control of this administration, real distrust for Powell.

KOPPEL: But his supporters said Powell fights the battles he considers most important, and Powell has ultimately turned many of the policy decisions his way.

RICHARD ARMITAGE, DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE: It seems to me you ought to view Secretary Powell, not as a 100-yard sprinter, but as a marathoner.

KOPPEL: What may be the toughest race of his career began September 11th. The United States was in a new kind of war, attacked by an enemy that, for the price of a few plane tickets, had acquired guided missiles.

POWELL: It may well be that the diplomatic efforts, political efforts, legal, financial, other efforts, may be just as effective against that kind of an enemy as would military force.

KOPPEL: Now with violence flaring in the Middle East, the retired general who was sometimes dubbed a reluctant warrior, is looking for alternatives to military force to deal with the problems in the region.

McGEARY: One of the things that people have always felt about Colin Powell is that he is a man of such great promise that what you want to see is that that promise is used to do great things, and if he has ever had a chance to show that to us, he has a chance to show it to us now.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

ZAHN: For the very latest on the crisis in the Middle East, stay with CNN. I'm Paul Zahn. Thanks so much for joining us. Also, I hope you'll join us for "AMERICAN MORNING," weekday mornings from 7:00 to 10:00. Until then, see you next time on PEOPLE IN THE NEWS. TO ORDER A VIDEO OF THIS TRANSCRIPT, PLEASE CALL 800-CNN-NEWS OR USE OUR SECURE ONLINE ORDER FORM LOCATED AT [www.fdch.com](http://www.fdch.com)

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CNN

**SHOW: AMERICAN MORNING WITH PAULA ZAHN 07:00**

April 12, 2002 Friday

Transcript # 041213CN.V74

**SECTION:** News; International

**LENGTH:** 1720 words

**HEADLINE:** Interview of Yehuda Lancry, Nasser Al-Kidwa

**GUESTS:** Nasser Al-Kidwa, Yehuda Lancry

**BYLINE:** Paula Zahn, Chris Burns

**HIGHLIGHT:**

Earlier this week, eight people were killed in the suicide bombing near Haifa and one of the victims was the niece of Israeli Ambassador, Ambassador Lancry.

**BODY:**

THIS IS A RUSH TRANSCRIPT. THIS COPY MAY NOT BE IN ITS FINAL FORM AND MAY BE UPDATED.

PAULA ZAHN, CNN ANCHOR: Up front this morning, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell and his search for peace. As Jack just said, Powell met this morning with Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. And Sharon told reporters he hopes an Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank will happen soon. But he gave Powell no timetable for that to happen.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

ARIEL SHARON, ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER: Israel is conducting a war against the Palestinian infrastructure of the terrorist and it does hope to conclude it shortly. There can be no peace with terrorism. The terrorism of suicide bombers is a danger for Israel and the entire free world. Israel is the only democracy in the world where every single kindergarten and every single school have to be guarded in order to prevent attacks by Palestinian terrorist on the children.

COLIN POWELL, SECRETARY OF STATE: We understand the need for Israel to defend itself. We understand that Israel is under threat from terrorist attack. And we have been supportive, but at the same time, we believe as a friend of Israel, we have to take note of the long-term strategic consequences of the incursions that are underway and it's effect on other nations in the region and the international climate.

And so I think in the conversations with the prime minister, I have explained our position to him and he has explained to me what he feels he has to be done. And I hope we can find a way to come into agreement on this point of duration of the operations and get back a track that will



lead to a political settlement because I think that is uppermost in everyone's mind. How can we go forward?

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ZAHN: On to the issues in the Middle East, both sides in the conflict have been burying their dead. And our own Chris Burns reports on the emotional farewell for a young Israeli woman killed Wednesday in a suicide bomb attack on a bus near the city of Haifa.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

CHRIS BURNS, CNN CORRESPONDENT: Outside her family's apartment the site of Noa Shlomo's coffin unleashes a wave of grief. At 18 she was the youngest of three daughters. Her mother Fanny (ph) is a nurse. Her father Joseph the manager of truck parts warehouse. The intense grief wells up again at Noa's gravesite. Hundreds of townspeople, relatives, friends and fellow soldiers join to bid her good-bye. Noa and a close friend, Karen Franco (ph), were on their way to work as border guards at Allenby Bridge when a suicide bomber blew himself up in their bus killing them and six others. Noa's uncle, Israel's Ambassador to United Nations, says his sister had long worried about Noa's safety. She told him.

YEHUDA LANCERY, ISRAEL'S AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS: I fear a suicide bombing in her car. So it happened unfortunately and my sister called me a couple of days ago in New York and that was the first time that she had heard. You see, it happened.

BURNS: Another uncle remembers Noa as talented dancer and artist. Even made a short film winning a prize for it. Does her death change his mind about Israel's crackdown in the West Bank?

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: I think it should have taken place a long time ago. Like you say in English, strike the iron while it's hot.

BURNS: A common feeling among many here in Nahariya, a place bordered by conflict.

Noa Shlomo's hometown is a beach town that's been hit by repeated attacks by a suicide bomber in train station by Hezbollah guerrillas firing from the Lebanon's border, just a 10-minute drive away.

Hezbollah stopped the shelling two years ago but resumed recently. And then came the suicide blast despite the Israeli crackdown.

YEHUDA BOTBOL, CAFE OWNER: It's the small thing that we can give because if Israel would not do that, it would be like before, every day 20, 30 people dying.

BURNS: Yet Yehuda Botbol joins in bidding farewell. Noa's comrades fire off a salute. She's laid to rest next to other soldiers, 18, 19, 20 years old in a funeral this day multiplied several times over.

Chris Burns CNN, Nahariya, Israel.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

ZAHN: And as you've been watching over the past couple of weeks, we have hosted both the

Israeli Ambassador to the U.N. and the Palestinian Representative to the U.N. here together discussing the conflict in the Middle East. And 10 days ago the subject was suicide bombings.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

**NASSER AL-KIDWA**, PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS: Let's implement immediately the resolution and that includes both ceasefire and the withdrawal from the Palestinian cities, immediately.

LANCRY: Nasser, important resolution a call for cessation, an immediate cessation of suicide bombing you will get the positive Israeli answer. I can promise you that.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ZAHN: But earlier this week, as Chris Burns just reported, eight people were killed in the suicide bombing near Haifa and one of the victims was the niece of Israeli Ambassador, Ambassador Lancry. Her name, you just met her in the last piece, was Noa Shlomo. And joining us once again this morning in New York **Nasser Al-Kidwa**, the Palestinian U.N. Representative and on the phone from Northern Israel where he is traveled to be with his sister's family, Israeli Ambassador Yehuda Lancry. Welcome, gentlemen.

LANCRY: Good morning.

ZAHN: First of all Ambassador Lancry, we offer you our condolences.

LANCRY: Thank you, Paula. Thank you Nasser.

ZAHN: How is your family faring?

LANCRY: They are in -- and we are in a sense in a devastating situation. That is an unbelievable loss and I can only imagine what my sister is -- here and now, she and her husband and two other daughters are feeling (ph) and trying to assist her as best as they can. But this kind of situations are extremely difficult.

ZAHN: Ambassador Al-Kidwa, I understand when you heard this horrible news you were one of the first to pick up the phone and talk to Ambassador Lancry. If you're comfortable, share with us some of what you told him.

AL-KIDWA: Well indeed I did precisely that and I told him what I have always been saying publicly. We have been always against this kind of criminal (ph) actions. Nothing could justify us killing innocent civilians, however, I also said that when there is a personal contact, of course, it's more painful.

So on this front, there's no doubt whatsoever with regard to our position. Unfortunately, we are even deprived from mourning to the fullest because of the huge amount of death and destruction caused by the Israeli forces on the Palestinian side. We have even the likelihood of complete full-fledged massacre in the city of Jenin, which was off limit to even to the Red Cross -- International Red Cross and the United Nations. So we feel the pain, of course, and I definitely feel greatly with Ambassador Lancry and his personal loss.

We have to see, at the same time, the full picture and try to cease -- to stop this madness that

is taking place. And urgently now I believe to stop the Israeli military attacks and to achieve the full withdrawal so that we can at least try to take care of the complete devastation which took place and maybe try to build a life from the beginning for the Palestinian people as a whole.

ZAHN: All right. And Ambassador Lantry, I know you've been with your family this morning but you no doubt have heard the news that Secretary Powell said no timetable was set for that withdrawal. And I know you have supported this military offensive. Now that this violence is so personally affected your family, has it changed in anyway you view this incursion and you -- you view these next steps in trying to get back to the peace table?

LANCRY: Let me first tell you, Paula, that I was (INAUDIBLE) and I am now still able to seal the compassion and the solidarity in voice of Ambassador Al-Kidwa. Undoubtedly, he's called before the flight from New York to Israel has helped lift my spirits undoubtedly and I can read a lot of messages condolences to my sister and in particular the message of Ambassador Nasser Al-Kidwa, my colleague and my friend. And I'm sure that beyond this huge tragedy, at a personal level and international level, some Israel sides and Palestinian sides, we will be doing our best you know to overcome the situation and to finally reach the state of coexistence and peaceful neighborhood nation.

And as to the military operation, I told you what was my position. I, unfortunately, beyond the inevitable (ph) huge loss remained convinced that Israel was prepared to take action against not the Palestinian people but the terrorist networks and I can only mourn and deplore losses on both sides.

I do know that Palestinians are also sharing a lot of suffering and pain and that is maybe the opportunity to call on both sides for vital I would say consciousness as to the need for peace and coexistence.

ZAHN: We're going to close with Ambassador Al-Kidwa. I'll give you a chance to address Mr. Lantry directly and then just a final thought on where you think talks between Yasser Arafat and Secretary Powell might go tomorrow.

AL-KIDWA: Well we hope that the talks will be successful. Unfortunately, the Israel side has already undermined, to a large extent, the mission of the secretary by refusing to heed the request of the president to withdrawal immediately thus shifting the focus to things which are much less important than focusing on the serious next steps including the resumption of peace negotiations and finding a political solution.

Nevertheless, we should not lose hope, but at the same time, I think the world, including the United States, should show more seriousness with regard to what the Israel side ought to do and ought to do immediately.

ZAHN: All right, gentlemen. We're going to have to leave it there at this hour. Again, our condolences to you and your family Ambassador Lantry. Thank you for joining us at this difficult time.

LANCRY: Thank you.

ZAHN: And Ambassador Al-Kidwa.

AL-KIDWA: Thank you.

ZAHN: Thank for your time as well. TO ORDER A VIDEO OF THIS TRANSCRIPT, PLEASE CALL 800-CNN-NEWS OR USE OUR SECURE ONLINE ORDER FORM LOCATED AT [www.fdch.com](http://www.fdch.com)

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**SHOW:** BEFORE HOURS 08:00 AM Eastern Standard Time

**April** 11, 2002 Thursday

Transcript # 041104cb.102

**SECTION:** Business

**LENGTH:** 1076 words

**HEADLINE:** Palestinian Ambassador To UN Responds to Netanyahu's 'Palestinian Taliban' Comparison, CNNfn

**GUESTS:** Nasser Al-Kidwa

**BYLINE:** Deborah Marchini

**BODY:**

THIS IS A RUSH TRANSCRIPT. THIS COPY MAY NOT BE IN ITS FINAL FORM AND MAY BE UPDATED.

DEBORAH MARCHINI, CNNfn ANCHOR, BEFORE HOURS: Secretary of State Colin Powell journeys to Jerusalem later today. He has not backed down from his promise to meet with Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat. Yesterday, former Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu appeared on our program and called for the removal of Mr. Arafat from power.

(BEGIN VIDEO TAPE)

BENJAMIN NETANYAHU, FRMR. ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER: You have to get rid of that main engine. Can you imagine that peace would have come to Afghanistan if the Taliban were still in place? The answer is no. Can you imagine that you're going to have an end to terrorism with the Palestinian Taliban regime still in place. And the answer is, no in both cases. You have to get rid of the regime. Arafat has to go. Whether or not Secretary Powell meets with him is not going to affect that basic truth.

(END VIDEO TAPE)

MARCHINI: We hear now from the other side of the debate this morning, my guest is Nasser Al-Kidwa, the Palestine ambassador to the United Nations.

Welcome. Pleased to have you here today.

NASSER AL-KIDWA, PALESTINE AMB. TO THE U.N.: Good morning.

MARCHINI: Let's start by asking you to address something Mr. Netanyahu said, which was basically that Mr. Arafat should be expelled. If that were to happen, what would follow?

AL-KIDWA: Well, this is the same colonial mentality. I mean, Mr. Netanyahu thinks that Palestine is part of Israel and that the Palestinian people are his subjects. So, he can dictate to them who is the leader that they might have. This, of course, is absolutely rejected by the Palestinian people.

MARCHINI: If Mr. Arafat cannot dictate to the people as his subjects, can he stop the suicide bombers.

AL-KIDWA: No, I said Mr. Netanyahu can not dictate to the Palestinian people.

MARCHINI: Oh, All right.

AL-KIDWA: It is the decision of the Palestinian people. The Palestinian leadership is our business and not the Israeli business.

MARCHINI: But if Mr. Arafat-- -- does he have the power, does he have the ability to stop the suicide bombers?

AL-KIDWA: He is the leader of the Palestinian people. He can tell the Palestinian people where their interest is, however, he needs a political contacts. He needs to tell the Palestinian people that there is a future. That there is a light at the end of the tunnel. That there is independence, not that there is more of the Israeli occupation, more of the same suffering. I mean that, of course, wouldn't work.

MARCHINI: The United States, basically, has wondered-- -- or the people in the United States have wondered for a long time why Mr. Arafat hasn't denounced the suicide bombings.

AL-KIDWA: He did. Of course, did he. He did that repeatedly. In December he went on national television, he made comprehension statements requesting an immediate cessation of all violent acts. And that actually lead to three weeks of a much better situation, much less violence. Unfortunately, Mr. Sharon intentionally refused to cooperate with the American side during this period of time. And again, we lost another precious opportunity.

I want to, nevertheless, to say something about what Mr. Netanyahu said with regard to trying to draw parallels between the American fight in Afghanistan and what Israelis are trying to do against the Palestinians.

This is, frankly, obscene. This an attempt to abuse America. America has not occupied Afghanistan for more than 35 years. America was not a colonial power in Afghanistan, did not transfer Americans to settle in Afghanistan, confiscating Afghani territory. America did not

oppress Afghanistan people, did not deprive them from the right to independence and their other basic rights as Israelis has done in Palestine. So it's obscene to try to link both cases together.

MARCHINI: The distinction is clear, but does that justify acts of terrorism?

AL-KIDWA: Of course not. Of course not, but, again, the Israelis are trying to abuse the pain felt by the American people out of September 11th. They should not be allowed that.

MARCHINI: What do you think Mr. Powell's visit to Mr. Arafat and Mr. Sharon is going to accomplish?

AL-KIDWA: Unfortunately, until now, the Israeli side, Mr. Sharon and the likes of Mr. Netanyahu has already undermined an important part of the mission. Already undermined an important part of the importance of the statement made by President Bush. By refusing to heed his call for withdrawal from Palestinian cities.

So, Mr. Powell will find himself in a situation where he will be obliged to negotiate some details instead of getting into the serious business of how to resume peace negotiations and how to take the parties forward in a meaningful way.

MARCHINI: Israelis has moved out of a number of Palestinian cities, although, you can correctly point out, that it's moved in to some others. However, the United States at least seems to be muted in its criticism of the extent of the pullbacks so far.

AL-KIDWA: Well, I would disagree with that. Actually, the president, the secretary and all other American officials made it clear that this might be a good beginning, but we need to see a complete Israeli withdrawal from Palestinian cities.

By the way, something terrible has happened. I think that there's a massacre emerging now in the refugee camp in Jenin. The Israelis have destroyed the Palestinian infrastructure, destroyed our present life and probably have destroyed the future of the Palestinian people. That, I think, has to be dealt with in a very serious way by the whole world and not only by the United States.

MARCHINI: What do you mean, has to be dealt with? How?

AL-KIDWA: First it has to be stopped, to be reversed, and then it has to be, of course, corrected. By infusing probably huge capacities financially, politically and psychologically. And probably obliging the Israeli side to continue in these efforts to correct the huge wrong that was done by the Israelis side.

MARCHINI: All right. Nasser Al-Kidwa, we could talk about this much longer, but unfortunately, time does not permit. Ambassador and permanent observer to the United Nations, thank you for being with us this morning.

AL-KIDWA: Thank you.

**SHOW:** AMERICAN MORNING WITH PAULA ZAHN 07:00

**April** 8, 2002 Monday

Transcript # 040814CN.V74

**SECTION:** News; International

**LENGTH:** 2351 words

**HEADLINE:** In Mideast, Talk of Peace Does Nothing to Quiet Israel Military Offensive; Refugee Camp in Jenin Comes Under Heavy Fire

**GUESTS:** Yehuda Lancry, **Nasser Al-Kidwa**

**BYLINE:** Paula Zahn

**HIGHLIGHT:**

In the Middle East, talk of peace has done nothing to quiet the Israel military offensive. This morning, a refugee camp in the West Bank town of Jenin came under heavy fire from Israeli helicopter gunships.

**BODY:**

THIS IS A RUSH TRANSCRIPT. THIS COPY MAY NOT BE IN ITS FINAL FORM AND MAY BE UPDATED.

PAULA ZAHN, CNN ANCHOR: Time to go to the Middle East right now where the talk of the peace has done nothing to quiet the Israel military offensive. And this morning a refugee camp in the West Bank town of Jenin came under heavy fire from Israeli helicopter gun ships.

Of course, the impact of the violence in the Middle East is being felt right here at home. On Friday, there was a rally in New York Time Square protesting Israeli's occupation of the Palestinian territory. And in New York yesterday pro-Israeli's demonstrators gathered for a rally of their own just outside of the United Nations.

And as Secretary of State Colin Powell heads to the Middle East, the Bush Administration is trying to find a path to peace. And joining us now Yehuda Lancry, Israeli's United Nations Ambassador and **Nasser Al-Kidwa**, the Palestinian Representative to the U.N.

Welcome back gentlemen, good to see both of you.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Good morning again.

ZAHN: Let's first start with the news of the day coming from Ariel Sharon. He said Israeli troops will get out "as expeditiously as possible". Now we all know it doesn't take Colin Powell



to get to the region - in five days to get to the region. Is the United States essentially saying all right, we want you to withdraw now but as long as it's by the end of the week it's OK. Is that the message that's being sent, ambassador?

YEHUDA LANCRY, UNITED NATIONS AMBASSADOR, ISRAEL: Of course our policy is to conduct this operation in order to approach the terrorist network. But we are very attentive both to the U.N. Security Councils resolution and to the Presidential statement including the mission of Secretary of State Colin Powell.

ZAHN: You say you're sensitive to that and yet the incursion continues?

LANCRY: Because we have stated with the score of terrorists in the Palestinian cities and territories but basically our policy is not to amplify (ph) the cities of these territories. We are respectful of the agreement. This agreement was violated (INAUDIBLE) that the personal (ph) authority didn't muster (ph) the terrorist activity so we're compelled in response to a series of suicide bombing attacks to combat this operation.

And they do believe that this week we will begin to withdrawal.

ZAHN: By the end of the week? By the end of the week, is that what you're saying?

LANCRY: I say this week.

ZAHN: Is that satisfactory?

NASSER AL-KIDWA, PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVE TO THE U.N.: Last Thursday - last Thursday, President Bush requested Israel to end its military operation and start to withdraw. On Saturday, he said without delay. And United States supported Security Council resolution 14-03 (ph). Requesting this withdrawal without delay.

Yesterday, many officials - many U.S. officials including (INAUDIBLE) and Colin Powell said without delay means now not tomorrow. So either the administration is lying and I don't think so, or the administration is being bullied, ignored by the Israeli's. And Israeli's, by the way, are in complete defiance of the whole world, not only the United States. So this is the reality and I think the U.S. and the rest of the world should deal with it as it is.

ZAHN: So what do you do about it? What are you suggesting should happen to Israel right now?

AL-KIDWA: Just be serious. The United States is the source of unlimited support, financially, militarily, politically; the United States provides our protection for the Israel in old places such Political Council for instance. Be serious and believe me, they will listen and they will listen very quickly.

ZAHN: Mr. Ambassador, you're essentially saying if Yasser Arafat had lived up to its - his end of the deal that the Israeli's wouldn't find themselves in this situation?

LANCRY: Absolutely. And that we qualify that the United States, including President Bush, do understand the right of Israeli to defend itself. The United Nations also (INAUDIBLE) the fact that this U.N. Security Council resolution stipulates a package deal for cepricol (ph) steps. We don't get it from the Palestinian side even though the slightest indication that there will be a

ceasefire or declaration of the end of suicide bombings, that is a problem.

ZAHN: But you have people out there like Hussein should (ph) the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee that is saying now the United States can't even pretend to be an honest broker. He writes and we'll put this up on the screen now, much of the president's rhetoric suggested that he buys into the absurd Israeli line that its violent occupation to Palestinian people is somehow analogous to America's war against Al Qaeda. Such a fundamental error would make it impossible for the United States to play any constructive role in resolving the conflict between the Israeli's and the Palestinians.

Do you agree that that's the perception of the American role?

LANCRY: That is one dimension perception of course, which stems from the - his own offload (ph). But as we do know, the United States played a great role in the Egyptian/Israeli history to - in the Taldrin (ph) in Israeli history and even in supporting all the interim phase of the Islam (ph) agreements between us and the Palestinians. I believe that my colleague and friend, Ambassador Kilow (ph), is quite convinced that the United States are in their position ever to play a great role between Israeli and the Palestinians.

ZAHN: Mr. Al-Kidwa, you said it is not your belief that these American officials have been lying. You suggested perhaps maybe they've been bullied by Israel. Are you saying then that Ariel Sharon is trying to completely undercut Secretary of State Powell's mission?

AL-KIDWA: That's the only explanation unfortunately. Because if the secretary arrives (INAUDIBLE) is this mission is done. Actually an important part of the value of the statement made by the president has already done. Let's hope that the rest of it will be kept.

But let me go back to this issue of attempts of role patterns between what's happening in Palestine and the U.S. war in Afghanistan. I think in an attempted role pattern is just obscene. The United States is not occupying power. It has never occupied Afghanistan for 35 years let alone for any period of time. The United States is not - did not suppress the whole operation Afghanistan, preventing them from the exercise of the right to (INAUDIBLE).

I mean any of attempt to compare between the two situations is just obscene and it - it - it does undermine the legitimacy of the war against terrorism led by the United States.

ZAHN: Let's move on to the part of the equation that has become very volatile this morning when you talk about the war on terror. The Bush Administration has made it abundantly clear that Iraq is one of those access of evil powers and you have the head of Iraq, Saddam Hussein coming out today saying he's going to stop shipping oil for a month in protest of the Israeli incursion. What are the ramifications of that? How serious is this?

LANCRY: He's talking the fuel but he's fueling the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. As he do now, he's involving every family of suicide bombers with \$25,000. That is one way of really inflaming the situation between Israeli's and the Palestinians.

ZAHN: You see this as growing to a situation where other Arab nations will support an oil embargo? Is that your pair (ph)?

LANCRY: It could be the situation but I hope that we very strong will emerge to a renewed space of negotiations. Ceasefire, of course, withdrawal, of course, negotiations and a spirit and logic of this with the Palestinians.

ZAHN: Is it a non-starter, sir, this morning that Ariel Sharon said in a very broad speech that the Israeli military will withdraw "to security zones in order to prevent future terrorist attacks on Israeli". Some people are implying that that is Ariel Sharon negotiating himself in advance of Colin Powell even getting here.

AL-KIDWA: This is another man's statement about Mr. Sharon. In addition to a series of mad statements, which clearly indicates his real policies and his real positions against any serious attempt to reach real peace in the region. What we need to know is, again, to show seriousness on the part of the whole world so that Mr. Sharon is convinced and that those war crimes and stated terrorism stops. There's almost a massacre now taking place in Jenin. Helicopter gun ships are throwing missiles at one square kilometer packed with almost 15,000 people in a refugee camp.

ZAHN: That's the issue now that Ambassador Lancry's arguing that all the Israeli's are doing are trying to wipe the terrorists.

AL-KIDWA: Just look at the TV and watch, watch what the - what the Israel forces are doing, preventing even ICRC. This is a war crime, clear war crime, witnessed by the whole world, preventing ambulances, preventing people from being buried. I mean this is an all-out assault against the whole population.

LANCRY: I would not suggest that you base your proof and your reality off the images from the TV. The reality is more complex. We are fighting what the Palestinian call the Palestinian gunmen, Palestinian fighters, forest (ph) terrorists were responsible for - only for the month of March of 135 Israelis killed and hundreds of others injured or for their lives. So that is a problem. If that is a true way for the Palestinian side to stop suicide bombings, to end terror and declare ceasefire, we are responding in a very positive way.

ZAHN: We are going to have to end it there.

AL-KIDWA: We regret any loss of life but what's happening, creating even more suicide bombers.

ZAHN: OK. We'd love to have you come back at the end of the week if you're prediction is true and withdrawal starts then. Ambassador Lancry and Mr. Al-Kidwa, thank you, again. All right. Well, you know. Some Mondays we're better at pronouncing those names than others. I got it right last week. Good luck at the U.N. gentlemen. Thank you for your time this morning.

The conflict in the Middle East has only heightened concerns for American Muslims, especially those who are recent immigrants. Immigrants to American often feel the need or the desire to assimilate, take up their American customs and sometimes even Americanize their names. Well since September 11th, the desire to fit in and the desire to stay true to their culture has been on the minds of many Arab-Americans and Garrick Utley now has this report.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

GARRICK UTLEY, CNN CORRESPONDENT: It is a familiar scene. Palestinians watching the violence in the Middle East on Al-Jazeera, the Arab language news channel. You can feel and hear the anger.

UNIDENTIFIED: All of our community really is very, very mad and very angry about what is happening now.

UTLEY: But this commune is on Main Street, Patterson (ph), New Jersey, at least four of the September 11th terrorists lived in Patterson as they planned their attacks.

Who lives in this community?

UNIDENTIFIED: It's mostly Arab-Americans here.

UTLEY: Hama Alidodo (ph) was born in Jerusalem. He came to the United States more than 30 years ago and teaches chemistry at a local university.

HAMA ALIDODO: You have Palestinians. You have Jordanians, Syrian, Lebanese, some Turkish, few Iraqis.

UTLEY: And as they gather at the Arab (INAUDIBLE) Cafe, they say they have never felt more stigmatized for who they are.

UNIDENTIFIED: Arabs and Muslims actually became somehow, you know, wherever they go, as if there is some kind of a dark mark upon everybody which looks at or resemble Arabs.

UNIDENTIFIED: The story of those who have come to this promise land called America seeking a new life is so often about the discrimination and stereotyping followed eventually by assimilation and acceptance. The process of becoming an American is about your identity to what extent do you cling to an old one or seek a new one.

UTLEY: Derek Hasan (ph) has faced that question. He lives and works across the Hudson River from Ground Zero. Born in Pakistan, he came to this country as a child. Now is he has changed his name to Terry Hasan (ph).

TERRY HASAN: I mean I'm still the same person just with the name Terry, I'm communicating that as a Muslim, I can also embrace America and still have my Hasan classic Muslim last name but also an American first name.

UTLEY: There is a long tradition of immigrants Americanizing their names to fit in better. Schmidt becomes Smith. Josepe (ph) turns into Joseph. Since September 11th, a small but growing number of Muslims have been changing their names.

UNIDENTIFIED: Everyone has a right to a personal choice. Now maybe that's me being too American or too western in the sense like of individualism. But I think it's a personal choice.

UTLEY: But at Arab (INAUDIBLE) Cafe, Terry Hasan's choice is seen as something approaching cultural treason.

UNIDENTIFIED: After September 11, I really think that is demeaning and it is not really very courageous. As a matter of fact, I can really call it cowardly.

UTLEY: Terry Hasan is not bothered by what other Muslims think of him. But even with a new name, he says his religion isolates him in American life.

HASAN: People don't know Muslims in their work life. So as a result, people have a stereotype of Muslims they get from world politics. And there's no personal experience for most people to counter that. So my fear is that Muslims are dehumanized, depersonalized.

UTLEY: He is not alone.

UNIDENTIFIED: This is a melting pot. A land of immigrants and you want to have our share in it and contribute our share as well.

UTLEY: That has always been the American dream. But for some now, that dream is a little more distant. Garrick Utley, CNN.

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CNBC News Transcripts

**SHOW:** Hardball with Chris Matthews (9:00 PM ET) - CNBC

**April** 5, 2002 Friday

**LENGTH:** 1643 words

**HEADLINE:** Ambassador Alon Pinkas, New York consul general, and Dr. **Nasser Al-Kidwa**, Palestinian UN representative, on documents allegedly proving Arafat approved terrorism and morally equivalency of Israeli Defense Force actions and suicide bombings

**ANCHORS:** CHRIS MATTHEWS

**BODY:**

CHRIS MATTHEWS, host:

The BIG STORY tonight, Yasser Arafat's link to terrorism. Israel officials released a new batch of documents that show that Yasser Arafat authorized cash payments to 15 members of his Fatah faction who were among Israel's most-wanted terrorists. The papers bear Arafat's personal signature. Yesterday, President Bush criticized Arafat for being complicit in Palestinian terrorism.

President GEORGE W. BUSH: The chairman of the Palestinian Authority has not consistently opposed or confronted terrorists. At Oslo and elsewhere, Chairman Arafat renounced terror as an instrument of his cause, and he agreed to control it. He's not done so.

MATTHEWS: Ambassador Alon Pinkas is Israel's consul general in New York. And **Nasser Al-Kidwa** is the Palestinian representative to the UN.

Let's start with Ambassador Pinkas. Ambassador, it seems to me that you've got more

documents today. The other day, we had some documents which you were talking about that were released to the world press, which apparently showed money was being pa--was being solicited from Yasser Arafat for payment for explosives and--and ammunition for people to use in suicide bombings. But people came on the show later on and said, 'Well, he never had anything that he signed it, no proof that he had received these invoices.' Now we've got new documents showing he has, in fact, signed documents that approve payments to 15 people identified by your government as terrorists involved with suicide bombing. What do you make of it?

Ambassador ALON PINKAS (Israeli Consul General): Look, the documents are real. The documents we obtained when we got into his compound, the information we had available at our disposal for many months. And--and we shared it with the--with the CIA with--with other countries, with the British, with the Jordanians, with the Egyptians, with the French. His complicity in these acts is--is--comes as nothing new to us. What--what is new is the fact that it can be substantiated. And--and it is well documented.

But you know what? Let me--let me--let me try and disprove my own case in a way here, Chris. That's not even the issue. The issue is--is not this or that document. We have the document. We feel we should share it with you, and we did. The issue is the quality of leadership that this man has shown the world. The--the total inadequacies of--of his ability, of--of his leadership style, the--the lack of decision making, the--the inciteful and hateful speeches, you're--these documents incidentally have been found in the same compound around which--and you can pull the--the tape from the MSNBC archive around which Palestinians were shooting in the air and throwing candy, in joy after 9/11. So--so the issue is the individual, not the document that he did sign or the one that he refrained from signing.

MATTHEWS: Let's go to Nasser Al-Kidwa for a response to that. Mr. Al-Kidwa, you represent the Palestinian cause at the United Nations. What do you make of these documents produced by Israel today, showing the signature of Yasser Arafat on documents that pay money to terrorists?

Dr. NASSER AL-KIDWA (Palestinian Representative to UN): To tell you the truth, I have much better documents, much more credible documents, audiovisual documents, and they are all over the place about the Israeli war crimes and state terrorism committed against the Palestinian people daily, crimes which are enough to send several Israeli officials to the Hague to face international tribunal.

MATTHEWS: Name one.

Dr. AL-KIDWA: Name one? Intentional killing of civilians. Willful killings under the full Geneva Convention is a clear war crime, which should be prosecuted immediately in any--in any country who...

MATTHEWS: Give me the instance.

Dr. AL-KIDWA: ...believes international law.

MATTHEWS: Tell me the instance, sir.

Dr. AL-KIDWA: What?

MATTHEWS: Tell me the instance that you're talking about.

Dr. AL-KIDWA: The instance...

MATTHEWS: We'll talk about it.

Dr. AL-KIDWA: Today, the Israeli forces killed 35 Palestinians, many of whom were purely innocent civilians which had nothing to do with any military confrontation. We have seen killing. We have seen destruction. We--we have seen curfews. We have seen prevention of ambulances and--and medical personnel. We have...

MATTHEWS: Were these people killed in a cross fire with...

Dr. AL-KIDWA: ...destruction of homes.

MATTHEWS: ...with armed terrorists?

Dr. AL-KIDWA: What armed terror--terrorists? You know the Palestinian people need to defend themselves against the Israeli military attacks, against Israeli--Israeli aggression. And the real story, by the way, is the fact that Israel ignored the United States, that Israel had only contempt to the president of the United States, and Israeli rejected his request made yesterday to stop the military operation and to start withdrawing. What they did today is exactly the opposite. They increased their military actions, causing, as I said, 35 people to die. And I believe they will even further continue, which will lead them to the abrogation of any value in the statement made by President Bush tomorr--yesterday.

MATTHEWS: Let's go to Ambassador Pin--Pinkas. Ambassador Pinkas, the charge is made on this program, night after night and as recently as a few moments ago, that there's a moral equivalence between the attacks of the IDF, the Israeli Defense Force in the West Bank, as we've seen today, the deaths of those 35 people, including those who were killed in collateral damage or killed intentionally or not, as part of this mopping up campaign of terrorism and the equivalence of that morally with people going into the streets of Jerusalem and blowing themselves up.

Amb. PINKAS: Chris, it's the same moral equivalence that exists between the arsonist and the firefighter. They both deal with fires. So there's a moral equivalence. There's absolutely no moral equivalence--there's mo--there's no political equivalence here. You're talking about a--a very different type of culture here. You're talking about one culture that holds life sacred and about one culture that idealizes and glorifies death. You're talking about one culture that--that idealizes and makes role models out of the homicidal maniacs who blow themselves up in pizza parlors and in cafes. And you--and you're talking about a different culture which is a democracy and open society that's been fighting for the last 54 years. No one is shooting civilians in the streets. Mr. Al-Kidwa knows that. You know that. Your viewers know that. Yes, there have been Palestinian civilians killed in the last year and a half, mostly by mistake, and we're talking about a few. Most...

MATTHEWS: Right.



Amb. PINKAS: The vast majority of the Palestinians that have been shot are not defending themselves but actually possessing weapons that they should not be holding according to every agreement signed since 1993.

MATTHEWS: You know, you make too good a case, Mr. Ambassador, because if your--if your government's documents which you've able--been able to produce today, the IDF picked up on the West Bank that show that Yasser Arafat has basically spent money for terrorism, what do we do with this guy? I mean, General Zinni spoke with him today. Secretary Powell's going to be speaking with him, within a week. Can we confront--can we deal with a person who's demonstrably a terrorist...

Amb. PINKAS: No.

MATTHEWS: ...by your definition?

Amb. PINKAS: No. That's--that's--that's--that's our point. No. I--and I go back to the--the quote that you used from Churchill. Our initial success is the military one. The ultimate success has to be and will be political. And--and the way we see it are two people living side by side peacefully in two separate countries. Reaching that ultimate success cannot be done, cannot be achieved...

MATTHEWS: Right.

Amb. PINKAS: ...while this man, Arafat...

MATTHEWS: Right.

Amb. PINKAS: ...is in charge of Pal--now, I'm--I'm not in the business of deposing him. It's up to the Palestinians to ask themselves...

MATTHEWS: I understand. Let me talk to a Palestinian. Nasser Al-Kidwa, maybe--maybe this is a tough question. But if our--if our best man, that's Secretary of State Colin Powell, asks your leader, Yasser Arafat to stand with him next week and condemn the suicide bombings, will he do it?

Dr. AL-KIDWA: We--we did that. President Yasser Arafat did that before, and he is ready to do that again. But let me comment a little bit about what was said just a little ago \*\*\*as spoken\*\*\*. This is not true culture. This is...

MATTHEWS: OK. Quickly, sir.

Dr. AL-KIDWA: This is--this is simply racism. This is--this is a conviction that some blood is more valuable than the blood of the others. Unfortunately, we are talking here about occupation, foreign occupation...

MATTHEWS: I understand.

Dr. AL-KIDWA: ...for more than 35 years, during which it was transformed into colonialism.

MATTHEWS: OK.

Dr. AL-KIDWA: And the Palestinian people have been deprived from everything.

MATTHEWS: OK. Let's...

Dr. AL-KIDWA: From everything.

MATTHEWS: ...let's continue this discussion next time we have you both on the program.

Dr. AL-KIDWA: Yeah.

MATTHEWS: Mr. Ambassador Alon Pinkas, thank you, Nasser Al-Kidwa, from the Palestinian cause.

And later, the HARDBALL DEBATE: Is there a moral equivalence--we're going to pick up on that--between the actions of the Israeli Defense Force and those suicide bombers? And Professor Alan Dershowitz is going to be here to talk about whether the US--that's us--should torture people like al-Qaeda commander Abu Zubaydah, who we've picked up, who may know about future attacks on us. You're watching HARDBALL.

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CNN

**SHOW:** CNN LIVE TODAY 10:00

**April** 4, 2002 Thursday

Transcript # 040419CN.V75

**SECTION:** News; International

**LENGTH:** 667 words

**HEADLINE:** Interview With Nasser Al-Kidwa

**GUESTS:** Nasser Al-Kidwa

**BYLINE:** Fredricka Whitfield

**HIGHLIGHT:**

Palestinian ambassador to the United Nations, Nasser Al-Kidwa, talks about the situation in the Middle East.

**BODY:**

THIS IS A RUSH TRANSCRIPT. THIS COPY MAY NOT BE IN ITS FINAL FORM AND MAY BE UPDATED.

FREDRICKA WHITFIELD, CNN ANCHOR: Joining us now with more Palestinian reaction to today's developments here in the U.S., Dr. Nasser Al-Kidwa. He is the Palestinian observer to the United Nations, and he joins us from our U.N. studio in New York. Thanks for joining us.

NASSER AL-KIDWA, PALESTINIAN OBSERVER TO U.N.: Thank you.

WHITFIELD: Well, if indeed this meeting takes place between special envoy Zinni as well as Yasser Arafat, as early as tomorrow, now, it is possible that that meeting will take place under the duress of still-continued Israeli military siege there. How do you suppose that kind of tenuous situation will be able to produce anything positive out of a meeting between the two men, if indeed it happens?

AL-KIDWA: Well, I think you have a point there. This situation must end, of course, as prerequisite for moving ahead with the implementation of the vision, which the president spoke about today. The Israeli army must start withdrawing immediately. And of course, the siege imposed on President Arafat must end, so that we can deal with the situation in a more effective way.

WHITFIELD: When's the last time you spoke with Palestinian leader Arafat, and what did he say when you last spoke with him?

AL-KIDWA: A few hours ago, and that was basically dealing with the possible action in the Security Council regarding Security Council Resolution 1402.

WHITFIELD: And when you spoke with him, just a couple of hours ago, is he talking to you any more about the atmosphere around him? About conditions around him?

AL-KIDWA: The conditions in the Palestinian cities and the occupied Palestinian territory generally is upholding. The humanitarian situation is very grave. And this is one of the reasons why this Israeli aggression and this Israeli military attack should end immediately.

Let me try to deal a little bit with the statement made by President Bush today. This statement, of course, still being considered by President Arafat and the Palestinian leadership. There are important elements in it. I think it's important that the U.S. is ready to engage in more substantial way. It's also important that there is recognition now that there must be a political context for one to deal with the security that I mentioned.

But I have, nevertheless, to say that we do reject the unjustified criticism of Mr. Arafat. And I think we need some kind of official explanation by the United States, on the meaning of what was said, because this will have direct implication on the potentials for the implementation of the vision outlined by President Bush, just some time ago.

WHITFIELD: Let me ask you, Ambassador. Our sources are telling our correspondents that Prime Minister Sharon was very well aware of what Bush was going to be proposing, what he was going to be imploring upon the Israeli military pullout. Yet almost three hours have passed now, and Sharon and other government officials are saying they're continuing to pore over, look over the remarks made by Bush before they will actually begin any withdrawal from Palestinian territories. How discouraging or worrisome is that for you?

AL-KIDWA: It is indeed discouraging and worrisome. But, frankly, this is not new. Israel is in transition, and Israel's contempt, I would say, for the will of the international community, and from time to time the United States, is very well known.

But let me tell you something. The moment that the United States decides indeed that something ought to happen, even if it does include Israel, believe me, the Israelis will have to carry this on.

WHITFIELD: All right. Ambassador Nasser Al-Kidwa, U.N. Palestinian observer, thanks very much for joining us from New York this afternoon.

AL-KIDWA: Thank you. TO ORDER A VIDEO OF THIS TRANSCRIPT, PLEASE CALL 800-CNN-NEWS OR USE OUR SECURE ONLINE ORDER FORM LOCATED AT [www.fdcch.com](http://www.fdcch.com)

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CNN

**SHOW:** AMERICAN MORNING WITH PAULA ZAHN 07:00

**April** 3, 2002 Wednesday

Transcript # 040313CN.V74

**SECTION:** News; International

**LENGTH:** 1355 words

**HEADLINE:** Ambassadors Debate Arafat Presence in Israel

**GUESTS:** Yehuda Lancry, Nasser Al-Kidwa

**BYLINE:** Paula Zahn

**HIGHLIGHT:**

Ambassadors debate Yasser Arafat's presence in Israel.

**BODY:**

THIS IS A RUSH TRANSCRIPT. THIS COPY MAY NOT BE IN ITS FINAL FORM AND MAY BE UPDATED.

PAULA ZAHN, CNN ANCHOR: The big question at this hour: Should Yasser Arafat be forced into exile? Israeli's Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon, offered Arafat a one-way ticket out of

his besieged complex in Ramallah, but Arafat said he'd rather die than go into exile.

Here in New York, representatives from both sides are pleading their respective cases to the United Nations. They met separately yesterday with members of the Security Council on the subject of the U.N. resolution calling for ceasefire and for Israel to pullback its troops from Palestinian territories.

Joining us here this morning, Yehuda Lancry, the Israeli U.N. ambassador and **Nasser Al-Kidwa**, the Palestinian representative to the U.N. Good morning, gentlemen. Thank you both for being with us. Is it a good sign that we have the two of you sitting next to you each other this morning?

YEHUDA LANCRY, ISRAEL U.N. AMBASSADOR: A good sign, yes.

ZAHN: Before we talk about the U.N. resolution, just a quick reaction from both of you to the news that the Israelis claim they have found documents which would indicate that Yasser Arafat was funding terrorist activities. There's no proof that the invoices were ever paid. They claim they have the invoices. The Palestinians saying this morning they're forgery. How important are these documents?

LANCRY: I think that we strongly believe the Palestinian authority is involved in such business, in a blatant contribution with its own commitment to renounce to any form of violent stories and such activities. That is proof and evidence for us. As you do remember months ago or two months ago, Israel seized the ship with smuggled arms, the Karine-A ship, and it was at the same chief financial executive of the Palestinian Authority who was also perceived as strongly involved in this shipment.

ZAHN: Mr. Al-Kidwa, your reaction?

**NASSER AL-KIDWA**, PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVE TO THE U.N.: Complete nonsense. I mean we are talking here about some kind of documents, which somebody said that -- suggested that some money was paid for posters or something like that.

ZAHN: Posters in addition to that explosives for bombs and chemicals for bombs.

AL-KIDWA: I have never ...

ZAHN: I don't have a list, you know, right here but a list of seven or eight things.

AL-KIDWA: I'm not convinced but we are talking about some kind of James Bond activities in comparison with public statements and public policies and the reaction taken by army of a state. I think we should focus on these instead of going around and trying to find bits and pieces of rumors and unsubstantiated claims to try to prove a point. This is -- I don't think this that is way to go.

ZAHN: But I have to tell you gentlemen and Mr. Lancry, our audience is really trying to cut through to the kernels of truth here. And if they can't even have high-ranking U.N. diplomats agree on whether these documents are real or not, they're wondering how you ever are going to come to any peace. I mean is this a pivotal point, these documents or not?

LANCRY: I don't think that is really a pivotal point. It is only an indication of what Israelis

saying clearly in all of the last 18 months. We got from Chairman Arafat, while he signed the Oslo agreement, the major commitment, which is a pillar of the Israeli- Palestinian peace process, the clear renunciation to any terrorist activity. And this is an indication in this sense, unfortunately.

ZAHN: And you say this is really nonsense and just a distraction?

AL-KIDWA: Absolutely. Absolutely. And I'm saying that the cusp of the need for peace is an end of occupation, establishment of a state for security given to Israeli. Unfortunately, we are not having any indication for the last several years about the intention of the Israeli side to end its occupation of the occupied Palestinian territory that allow this people to live in peace, to allow us to regain our liberty and to have our independence.

ZAHN: It is interesting to note the Secretary of State Powell, yesterday, made it very clear that this Israeli, I guess he called it operation, cannot continue. That it is not serving any useful purpose and he anticipates you will withdrawal. But when?

LANCRY: Let me just offer a quick different view from what has been said by my colleague and friend Ambassador Al-Kidwa. Only two years ago, Israel offered a huge and vast and comprehensive political horizon to the Palestinian side, including the establishment of a Palestinian state, which we are accepted and in the resolution 1397. So the political horizon was there. But this didn't prevent the Palestinian side, during the five months of the rule of Ehud Barak's government after the surge of the Palestinian intifada, to continue to harass Israel with terrorists.

As toward our resolve, we clearly indicated before this military operation started that we are not going to reconquer Palestinian territories. That our main and unique goal is to dismantle the terrorist infrastructure, which calls into question the very ability of Israel to exist on a daily basis.

ZAHN: Ambassador Al-Kidwa, so there is no timetable now for the Israeli withdrawal but if the U.N. resolution were going to be fully implemented, the violence has to stop on both sides in addition to Israel withdrawing those forces.

AL-KIDWA: Absolutely.

ZAHN: What is going to change the picture here?

AL-KIDWA: What we need is the following in my opinion. To be more serious and to try to say something useful. We need limitation of Security Council Resolution 1402 the Israelis do not accept.

We need also what the Secretary-General of the United Nations has proposed, third-party presence to help both sides to implement the existing agreements and to increase the confidence between the two sides.

And we need, finally a comprehensive approach; one, which deals with the security dimension but also deals with the political dimension. Unfortunately the United States administration, until now, tried to avoid the political intervention and to deal with only the security, which will never work. It can't work because the Palestinian people need to be

convinced that there is a future, there is hope, that there's independence and all this could be achieved through peaceful means.

This is what will enable the Palestinian authority to fulfill its obligations later on and to try to control the situation.

ZAHN: Ambassador Lancry, we have 10 seconds left. When do you see a ceasefire, either being accepted or imposed?

LANCRY: As soon as possible and I do hope that Chairman Arafat can get something useful in this perspective. It's suffice that Chairman Arafat declared that he's condemning and orders the cessation of suicide bombings and I think we will enter the logic of the ceasefire and the withdrawal of the Israeli troops.

(CROSSTALK)

ZAHN: ... your fellow Ambassador shaking -- rolling his eyes.

AL-KIDWA: He did that. He did that. And that let to a completely different situation for three weeks. Mr. Sharon refused to use these three weeks to improve the situation and to get out of this problem. Let's implement immediately the resolution and that includes both ceasefire and the Israeli withdrawal from the Palestinian cities immediately.

(CROSSTALK)

LANCRY: Please. Putting the resolution, a call for cessation -- and immediate cessation of suicide bombings, you will get the positive Israeli answer. I can promise you that.

(CROSSTALK)

AL-KIDWA: Which resolution?

ZAHN: All right. We're doing a little negotiating right here on AMERICAN MORNING. We love to have you come back and do that with us every morning, unfortunately, we've got to move on. Ambassador Nasser Al-Kidwa thank you for your time. Ambassador Lancry thank you for yours as well. We'll be keeping a close eye on U.N. activities in the days to come.

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CNN

**SHOW:** CNN WOLF BLITZER REPORTS 17:00

**April** 2, 2002 Tuesday

Transcript # 040200CN.V67

**SECTION:** News; Domestic



**LENGTH:** 7410 words

**HEADLINE:** Bloodshed at Bethlehem Church; Middle East Conflict Intensifies

**GUESTS:** Anton Salman, Ken Woodward, Alon Pinkas, Nasser Al-Kidwa, Tim Dumas

**BYLINE:** Andrea Koppel, Christiane Amanpour, Michael Holmes, Patty Davis, Susanna Martinez, Barbara Starr, Deborah Feyerick, Caroline Lowe, Richard Quest, Lou Dobbs

**HIGHLIGHT:**

After an all-night battle, a Palestinian security headquarters lies in ruins as Israel takes away hundreds for questioning.

**BODY:**

THIS IS A RUSH TRANSCRIPT. THIS COPY MAY NOT BE IN ITS FINAL FORM AND MAY BE UPDATED.

ANDREA KOPPEL, GUEST HOST: Now on WOLF BLITZER REPORTS: A developing story, bloodshed at the birthplace of Jesus.

(GUNFIRE)

KOPPEL: After an all-night battle, a Palestinian security headquarters lies in ruins, as Israel takes away hundreds for questioning.

Yasser Arafat is offered a way out.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

ARIEL SHARON, ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER: It is going to be a one- way ticket.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

KOPPEL: Not a good idea, in the U.S. view.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

COLIN POWELL, SECRETARY OF STATE: He is recognized, whether we approve of it or not, as the leader of the Palestinian people.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

KOPPEL: After a quarter-century, a day many thought would never come: A Kennedy cousin goes on trial for the murder of his teenage neighbor.

And if you toss and turn at night, and you're tired and troubled during the day, you are not alone, unless you live out West.

Good afternoon. We begin this evening with breaking news out of Jerusalem, in Bethlehem actually, at the Church of the Nativity. I'm joined on the phone now by Anton Salman, who is inside the Church of the Nativity. Mr. Salman, what can you tell us sir? Good evening.

ANTON SALMAN, HEAD, ANTONIOUS SOCIETY OF BETHLEHEM: Good evening. What I can tell you -- I can tell you that in the hours of the day and in the beginning of the night, there was big talks here and there in Bethlehem concerning the people as they entered to the church. The governor of Bethlehem asked to go inside the church to see what was going on exactly and to stop all the rumors (UNINTELLIGIBLE). So he asked me to be with him. And we entered with difficulty the church because it was surrounded by tanks and Israeli soldiers.

(CROSSTALK)

KOPPEL: Sir, why did you want to go into the Church of the Nativity?

SALMAN: Because we want to know what's going on because there were several rumors talking about difficulties that are facing the priest inside the church (UNINTELLIGIBLE) running from the Israeli soldiers.

So we entered the church and we saw a contrary story. We saw a young man lying on the ground of the church, tired, without food, without water, just waiting for their life, looking for the Church of the Nativity as a safe way and looking that the church will protect them from the killing of the Israeli soldiers that was running after them.

KOPPEL: Anton Salman, who is inside the Church of the Nativity right now in Bethlehem, I thank you, sir, for joining us.

As the fighting rages throughout much of the West Bank, let's begin with an overview of the situation. CNN's Christiane Amanpour joins us this evening live from Jerusalem -- Christiane.

CHRISTIANE AMANPOUR, CNN SENIOR INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENT: Well, Andrea, that situation that you were just talking about from Bethlehem is what is the ongoing operation. We've obviously been asking the Israeli defense force spokesmen about their view of what is going on, and they won't discuss it, saying that they don't discuss operations that are underway.

But certainly as the gentleman was telling you, there were two incidents today, according to those Palestinian sources, in which people did try and did run into the church seeking sanctuary. As you know, there have been -- Bethlehem is now under control of the Israeli army soldiers, tanks, armored vehicles and aircraft and helicopters overhead. There has been quite a lot of gun battles and quite a lot of shooting going on.

From Palestinian sources, we understand that not only is this ongoing situation inside the church, but also as they went, the Israelis house to house there we are told, four people were killed. We are told by Palestinians that they were on the most wanted list. Apparently they were members of the Al Aqsa Martyr Brigade, which is that militant organization that is associated with Yasser Arafat's organization.

Also in Ramallah, there has been a day of more tension, more widening of not only isolation of Yasser Arafat, but also, as you've been reporting over the last 24 hours, the compound of the preventive security chief there had been breached and people had been inside taking refuge. In a complicated set of negotiations, eventually, they all -- most of them came out and are being questioned by the Israelis.

Today, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon of Israel offered what may have been a personal view and his own personal views of what he would like to see done with Yasser Arafat, saying that he can leave if he wants and international visitors could go see him as long as they take him out and keep him out, that he would not be allowed to return. As you can imagine, the Palestinian officials dismissed that as a non-starter -- Andrea.

KOPPEL: Another long night ahead for you and others. Christiane, thank you so much.

Are the Holy Land's holy places in danger? Religious shrines have been occasionally violated over the years, but does the battle in Bethlehem mark a turning point? Joining me now live in New York is Ken Woodward, the religion editor for "Newsweek." Mr. Woodward, how unusual is it to have and, in fact, unprecedented is it, to have a holy site like this taken over by armed gunmen?

KEN WOODWARD, RELIGION EDITOR, "NEWSWEEK": Well, it certainly is unusual, but that particular church, the Church of the Nativity, has been fought over for centuries and centuries and centuries. The building you're looking at right now goes back to the Sixth Century. And a lot of people, Crusaders, Muslims, Christians of all sorts have tried to control that church.

Even inside, you have got the Greek Orthodox, the Armenian Orthodox, the Roman Catholics in the form of the Franciscans competing, if you will, for space. They have got their own chapels. They have got down in the grotto, where it's said that Jesus was born. You have three different altars there. So, it is very divided. It is like the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. It is very divided.

KOPPEL: Well, that gets to my next question then. Why do you think these individuals, these Palestinians, chose the Church of the Nativity? And they apparently entered there, forced their way in and made the priests there accept their presence.

WOODWARD: Well, I mean, if they were being pursued by Israelis, conceivably, they could be invoking the ancient law of sanctuary. For a long time, churches provided sanctuary for people who were hunted by the society outside. That doesn't seem to be the case. I mean, it can be a very provocative kind of thing to do too. Who, after all, is going to go into a church and, in some sense, desecrate it and -- I don't know, I'm not there. Perhaps they were inviting the Israelis to do that and therefore it provoked the outrage that would certainly follow.

KOPPEL: It certainly seems to be an act of desperation obviously. I understand that it is forbidden, this is probably true of many holy sites, but that it is forbidden to enter the Church of the Holy Sepulcher with weapons?

WOODWARD: Well, it may very well be. It certainly wouldn't be -- certainly wouldn't be unusual at all. You know, Bethlehem has been a place of great unrest for a long, long time. The Muslims for years wanted to build a mosque right next door to the church, cheek by jowl.

And the Christians and the Muslims fought over that for a long time. When John Paul II went to Israel on pilgrimage in March of 2000, the jubilee year, the mosque that he set outdoors in nativity square right out in front of the church was interrupted by the call to prayer from the mosque.

KOPPEL: Well, it is certainly a very different place today. Ken Woodward, of "Newsweek" magazine, I thank you, sir, for joining us.

WOODWARD: You bet.

KOPPEL: We just want to recap for you this developing story: Dozens of armed Palestinians in uniform have reportedly shot their way into Bethlehem's Church of the Nativity, the tradition birthplace of Jesus. The Associated Press cites witnesses as saying they forced priests to grant them sanctuary from Israeli troops who were laying siege outside.

In the West Bank town of Ramallah, where Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat remains confined to his offices, a fierce battle was fought for another key Palestinian compound. CNN's Michael Holmes was there as the smoke cleared.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

MICHAEL HOLMES, CNN CORRESPONDENT (on camera): After a night of heavy shelling and after dawn, rockets being fired from Israeli helicopters into the preventive security headquarters here in Ramallah, we approached the compound. We gained access to it and a scene of devastation. The buildings in this compound rendered all but useless by this heavy assault.

Israelis say that there was return fire from in the compound, but Israeli military might was quite clear. Three hundred people who were inside were later allowed to leave. They were taken into Israeli custody, taken to an Israeli military facility. There they are being questioned. Israel says those who are not terrorists will be allowed to leave.

At Ramallah hospital today, a U.N. convoy bringing in urgently needed medical supplies including blood. Also the mortuary overflowing, full, and a mass grave prepared over the road in a car park to take some of those bodies and allow room for more bodies to come in.

The curfew that has been imposed here for nearly five days lifted temporarily two and a half-hours. The Palestinians had to leave their homes and buy the essentials. They were saying that they were missing milk, food, water, even bread. And there was a shopping spree in Ramallah for two and a half-hours. Just at dusk, however, warning shots rang out and the curfew was reimposed.

Michael Holmes, CNN, Ramallah.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

KOPPEL: Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon says Yasser Arafat is welcome to leave his Ramallah headquarters, as long as he leaves the West Bank, too. Sharon suggested that the Israeli forces surrounding Arafat would be willing to lift their siege long enough for Arafat to get aboard a helicopter and fly into permanent exile.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

SHARON: I suggested and I told them that if they would like, that we will bring him somewhere or they will come with helicopter and will take him from here. But first of all, I will say that three things. One, I have to first bring it to the cabinet to be approved. Second, he

cannot take anyone with him because they are wanted and murderers around him there. And the third thing, it is going to be a one-way ticket. He will not be able to return.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

KOPPEL: Arafat aides are rejecting the notion of exile. Joining us to discuss today's developments are Alon Pinkas, the consul general for Israel in New York; and Nasser Al-Kidwa, the Palestinian observer to the United Nations.

Mr. Pinkas, I'd like to begin with you and ask you, sir, what Israel hopes to gain by this?

ALON PINKAS, ISRAELI CONSUL GENERAL: To gain by what, Andrea?

KOPPEL: To gain by offering Yasser Arafat a one-way ticket out of Ramallah, the West Bank?

PINKAS: Well, he seems to think that he's the story. He's mistaken about it. He seems not to do what people expect him to do and he's mistaken about that. And if he still seems to think that he is the story and that the entire operation is about him, we offer him a way out of this mess if he thinks he's being inconvenienced.

But truthfully, it doesn't matter if he stays or if he goes. The thing is very simple. He still has the power. He still has the ability. He still has the tools of power with which he could stand up and do what both Secretary Powell today, or this morning rather, and President Bush yesterday have implored him to do or are expecting him to do, and that is stand up, denounce violence, renounce violence, call for a cold-turkey cease-fire. Lay down your weapons, and then we could perhaps resume a political process.

KOPPEL: Nasser Al-Kidwa, I'd like to ask you what you think the Israelis are up to in the sense that Chairman Arafat has already said publicly that he would prefer to die a martyr than to leave?

NASSER AL-KIDWA, PALESTINIAN OBSERVER TO UNITED NATIONS: I think what we heard today is another mad, Sharonic statement which reflects the thinking of this dangerous man, who obviously believes that Ramallah is part of Israel and that the Palestinian people are his subjects.

I mean, this is the crux of the problem we are faced with. I mean, this is the leader of a government who refuses to recognize the rights of the Palestinian people, who wants to continue their atrocities with their war crimes, with their state terrorism against the Palestinian people, refusing the implementation of security council resolution 402 which could provide a way out of this problem, refusing the implementation of Tenet and Mitchell proposals, and refusing, above all, refusing to accept the principle of ending the Israeli occupation and building the Palestinian state as the real solution of the problem we are faced with.

KOPPEL: Do you think that Chairman Arafat, Mr. Al-Kidwa, would consider any possible offer of exile anywhere in the Arab world or Europe? Is that anything that's on the table?

AL-KIDWA: This is absolutely ludicrous. It doesn't even merit consideration, neither by President Arafat nor by any Palestinians. The Israelis went as far as removing some of the

Palestinian police members from West Bank to Gaza, indicating that this is not the same place and maybe preparing the ground for further atrocities, such as moving some Palestinians from the Palestinian territories to the outside world and so on.

This is a going back to the same ugly mentality of occupation which will ensure only taking the whole region down the drain to the abyss. And that requires the serious intervention of the international community, a change in the position of the United States that will ensure, really, the end of this tragedy.

KOPPEL: So what do you want the United States to do, Mr. Pinkas?

PINKAS: What do I want the United States to do is to listen carefully to this endless list of cliches that you have just heard from Mr. Al-Kidwa and decide from themselves if Israel can seriously negotiate with these people.

Look, we don't think for one second that Ramallah is part of Israel nor did we ever nor will we ever. What the big question here, Andrea, is whether or not Ramallah is part of the civilization as we see it. And at this point, it is not. What we expect the United States to do is exactly what the United States is doing, and that is applying pressure on this corrupt regime called the Palestinian Authority to stop the incitement, to stop looking at homicidal maniacs as some kind of role models for an entire society, to lay down their weapons and to seriously think back on why they rejected the offer made to them by then President Clinton and then Prime Minister Barak at Camp David.

Think again if they're not on the verge of making another mistake and not repeat, as they often do or as they frequently do, make every possible mistake, miss every possible opportunity and more or less preclude themselves from being a part of the civilized world.

KOPPEL: Nasser Al-Kidwa, I ask you the same question, sir. What do you want the United States to do? We've heard them mouthing the common expressions recently to abide by Tenet, to abide by Mitchell. But what specific steps do you want the United States the take?

AL-KIDWA: We want to see a more balanced and objective position taken by the U.S. administration so that they can be the honest broker. In light of the current position, frankly, it is getting more and more difficult. What we want to see, the way out of this situation is, one, the immediate implementation of security council resolution 1402, which was supported by the United States. And two, acceptance of the idea of third-party presence in the territory. And three, to take the approach, a comprehensive approach, one which deals with the security dimension as well as the political dimension as well. You can't deal with security alone. You have to indicate to the Palestinian people that there is hope, that there is a future, that their rights could be restored in a peaceful way. And this is what is missing in the current American position.

KOPPEL: Nasser Al-Kidwa, the Palestinian representative to the United Nations, thank you. And, Alon Pinkas, the consul general for Israel in New York, I thank you both.

And for an in-depth look at the situation, join Christiane Amanpour for LIVE FROM JERUSALEM. That's tonight at 8:00 Eastern, 5:00 Pacific.



Federal authorities are investigating two incidents involving homeland security. One was a breach of security at the airport in Tampa, Florida early this morning. The other, a breach of the air space near the White House. We begin there with CNN's Patty Davis.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

PATTY DAVIS, CNN CORRESPONDENT (voice-over): Frontier Airlines Flight 819 should have banked sharply to the left as it took off Monday evening from Reagan National Airport. Instead, the FAA says Frontier pilots continued straight, just skirting restricted air space over the National Mall, about a mile from the White House. They turned after realizing their mistake.

The Frontier jet is the fifth aircraft since September 11 to stray into the restricted air space. Security experts say it once again highlights the mere seconds it would take for a terrorist bent on a suicide mission by air to target the White House or the U.S. Capitol.

NEIL LIVINGSTONE, GLOBALOPTIONS: Virtually any major government building or national monument is a sitting duck for a terrorist that has taken over an aircraft and wants to fly that aircraft into that target.

DAVIS: That's why federal security officials say pilots who use Reagan must pass extensive background checks, thorough airport screening and receive special training. Sources say an air marshal was on board the Frontier flight.

In addition, combat air patrols are constantly patrolling Washington skies. Ready to shoot down a civilian aircraft is a last resort. The Frontier flight wasn't considered a threat and fighter jets were waved off. A leading congressman on aviation issues says there are significantly fewer incursions into Washington's restricted air space now than before September 11.

REP. JAMES OBERSTAR (D), MINNESOTA: I think the safest air space in the United States right now is the air space over our nation's capital.

DAVIS (on camera): A government source says the same Frontier pilots were diverted to another airport earlier the same day when they failed to identify themselves properly upon approach to Reagan. They have been removed from active duty while the FAA investigates.

Patty Davis, CNN, Washington.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

KOPPEL: Now to Tampa, where authorities are still looking for a man who tried to go through airport security there with a gun. A major terminal was evacuated and hundreds of passengers delayed. At the airport now is Susanna Martinez with our affiliate Bay News 9. Good afternoon Susanna.

SUSANNA MARTINEZ, BAY NEWS 9 CORRESPONDENT: Hi, Andrea. Right now, that man with the bag and the possible weapon is nowhere to be found. And passengers here are still feeling a ripple effect from that security breach that happened here at Tampa International Airport so very early this morning. It was really a chaotic scene.

We'll take you back around 5:30 in the morning. A baggage screener saw what appeared to be a firearm in a bag on the baggage screening screen, and she alerted her supervisor. They



obviously thought it was enough of a risk to tell the federal agents that were there. And that is when they decided to shut down air side A.

What they had to do is take passengers off of planes that were already boarded and take their luggage off. So it was quite an ordeal. There were about 3,000 passengers that were kind of displaced through all of this. They had the tough task of bringing them all back from air side A to the terminal here at Tampa International Airport.

Once they made sure that that air side was completely secure, then they had to get everybody back on the shuttle and take them back over and rescreen everybody. We're talking about passengers, employees, pilots, flight attendants, everyone.

So as it stands right now, they still are not sure if that man was possibly carrying a weapon and where he is right now. We spoke with FAA officials out of Atlanta, Georgia. They tell us there is no active search for that person and they do have some video surveillance, but they are not releasing it to the media because they fear the security breach and security reasons would put them at some jeopardy to do so. So right now, they're not sure where he is. They don't know if he was able to get back through, get on a plane and get out of here. We're just not sure.

KOPPEL: Susanna Martinez, thank you so much, reporting tonight from Tampa.

With the crisis in the Middle East, the defense secretary goes on the offensive, launching his most furious criticism yet of countries supporting attacks against Israel.

And a significant day for a Kennedy cousin. Why his trial will take a while.

And later, it's the ultimate in luxury. What a couple of million bucks will get you on this cruise.

But first, the "News Quiz." First, today's "News Quiz": Which vessel currently in operation is the world's longest cruise ship? The Carnival Triumph, the SS Norway, the Disney Magic, or the Voyager of the Seas? We'll have the answer when we come back.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KOPPEL: After months of focusing on Afghanistan, the Taliban and al Qaeda, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld is shifting some of the rhetoric to the Middle East. CNN Pentagon correspondent Barbara Starr has been looking into that and she joins us now. Barbara, he's focusing in particular on several key countries, isn't that right?

BARBARA STARR, CNN PENTAGON CORRESPONDENT: He is, Andrea. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld has made it very clear that there's no intention ever of sending U.S. military peacekeepers into the Israeli situation. But that doesn't mean that the Pentagon is not paying very close attention to what's going on there right now.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

(voice-over): Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld is on the frontline, launching furious criticism of three countries that he says are now actively supporting attacks against Israel.

DONALD RUMSFELD, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE: States like Iran, Iraq and Syria are

inspiring and financing a culture of political murder and suicide bombing.

STARR: Rumsfeld says Iraq's Saddam Hussein is offering large cash payments to families of suicide bombers. Syria continues to allow Hezbollah terrorists to move from Damascus into Lebanon, using the Bekaa Valley to launch attacks. Iran is supporting both Hezbollah and the Palestinians with financial and military assistance.

The Pentagon believes Tehran was deeply involved in the shipment of weapons to the Palestinians earlier this year. The ship, Karin A, was seized by the Israelis, loaded with weapons that U.S. intelligence believes were destined either for the Palestinians or Hezbollah.

Defense officials say all of these countries' activities means a peace agreement with just the Palestinians will no longer be enough to guarantee an end to the violence. And the U.S. still must deal with all three countries in the war on terrorism. Political pressure on Syria remains high, and the U.S. continues to signal possible future military action against Iraq. But officials increasingly believe that Iran is the most dangerous threat, far beyond its support for suicide bombers.

RUMSFELD: There is no question but that al Qaeda have moved in and found sanctuary in Iran. And there is no question but that al Qaeda have moved into Iran and out of Iran, to the south, and dispersed to some other countries.

STARR: A senior military official tells CNN that al Qaeda operatives have taken shelter in Iran with the support of the hard- liners in the government.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

(on camera): Andrea, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld privately is very sober in his current assessment of the region at the moment. His public saber-rattling does very little to hide the fact there are no easy military options at the moment -- Andrea.

KOPPEL: Barbara Starr at the Pentagon. Thanks so much.

STARR: You're welcome.

KOPPEL: Uncle Sam is giving a tax break to dieters. We'll tell you about it.

But first, a Kennedy cousin is on trial. Why it took more than 25 years to get him there.

And why were these guys trading punches at an airport?

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KOPPEL: Checking our "News Alert": Fighting continued today between Israeli troops and Palestinians. Palestinian security sources and hospital officials say at least a dozen Palestinians were killed. Many of the deaths occurred near the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem in the West Bank. Bethlehem's governor says many Palestinians have taken refuge in the holy site.

Aides to Yasser Arafat are rejecting an Israeli offer to let the Palestinian leader go into exile. Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon said troops surrounding Arafat's Ramallah headquarters would let Arafat leave if he got into a helicopter for a one-way ride out of the West Bank. Arafat aides say the Palestinian leader would rather die than go into exile.

The conflict spread to Orly Airport in Paris today when pro- Israeli and pro-Palestinian demonstrators exchanged insults and punches. The scuffle was touched off by the arrival of a French activist who was detained and deported by Israel after he met with Arafat. After a series of attacks on Jewish synagogues, French leaders said today their country must not become a battleground for Middle East passions.

Jury selection is under way in Connecticut in the trial of Michael Skakel. A nephew of the late Robert F. Kennedy, he is accused of killing his neighbor, Martha Moxley, 26 years ago. Both were 15 years old at the time. If convicted, Skakel could face life in prison.

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**GUESTS:** Alon Peled, Mustafa Barghouti, Daniel Ayalon, **Nasser Al-Kidwa**, Yehuda Lancry, Stephanie Koury

**BYLINE:** Bill Hemmer, Ben Wedeman, Major Garrett, Mike Hanna

**HIGHLIGHT:**

Middle East on the brink of all-out war.

**BODY:**

THIS IS A RUSH TRANSCRIPT. THIS COPY MAY NOT BE IN ITS FINAL FORM AND MAY BE UPDATED.

ANNOUNCER: Today more suicide bombings rock Israel. The latest, a restaurant in the town of Haifa.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

AMRAN MITZNA, MAYOR OF HAIFA: We are still trying to identify those who

(UNINTELLIGIBLE) in the restaurant. We're (UNINTELLIGIBLE) of our citizens.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ANNOUNCER: Israeli and Palestinian citizens. The reaction, a declaration of war on terrorism from Israel.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

ARIEL SHARON, ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER (through translator): The state of Israel is in a war, a war against terrorism. It's a war that is being imposed upon us. It's not one that we have chosen to undertake. It's a war for our home.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ANNOUNCER: And from the Palestinians ...

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: They had mentioned that the (UNINTELLIGIBLE) had wrote the names, what could they have done with our people? We have done the same, which the (UNINTELLIGIBLE) have done for them.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ANNOUNCER: The Middle East is on the brink. The U.S. and the U.N. are calling for a cease-fire. What's next? War or peace?

LIVE FROM JERUSALEM, Bill Hemmer.

BILL HEMMER, CNN ANCHOR: And good evening once again. Live in Jerusalem, new evidence again today on Easter Sunday, but the situation here in the region will get worse before it gets better. Two more suicide bombings today and the Israeli government Ariel Sharon indicating that there will be no cease-fire until the infrastructure of terrorism is uprooted -- his words earlier tonight to the Israeli people.

How long that takes is anybody's guess, but right now the Israeli military on the move, on the map you see right here in the town of Qalqilya right along the green line in the West Bank an Israel proper, dozens of tanks, possibly as many as 100 on the move hours ago, also military activity in Bethlehem taking place as well. It is called Operation Protective Wall.

Sources told us earlier today that the campaign would widen and apparently it has. In fact, a few moments ago behind me the old city, we spotted five Israeli tanks on the move on the back of tractor trailers, not clear where they're headed, but obviously they are on the move tonight. All this now against the back drop of two more suicide bombings, the worst hitting what was considered an integrated neighborhood in the coastal town of Haifa. It is said that Israeli-Arabs and Israeli-Jews both liked to go to a particular restaurant and today that restaurant was the scene of bloody carnage. Ben Wedeman, up late tonight, joining us from the scene from there.

Ben, good evening.

BEN WEDEMAN, CNN CORRESPONDENT: Yes, good evening Bill. We are outside the

restaurant, the Matza Center Restaurant, a very popular neighborhood restaurant where according to hospital sources, at least 14 people dead in addition to the suicide bomber. More than 30 wounded, seven critically. All of these people who were killed in the restaurant were simply ordinary people going about their ordinary lives.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

(voice-over): They had come for a simple midday meal in a neighborhood restaurant. The bomb went off at 2:45 p.m. The restaurant crowded with lunchtime customers. The victims included Israeli-Jews and Arabs. The blast shocked this mixed Jewish-Arab city, a city that has traditionally prided itself on communal harmony. The restaurant manager, an Israeli-Arab, was just down the street when he heard the explosion.

NIKKI MATZA, STORE OWNER: (UNINTELLIGIBLE) that maybe something happened, with that electricity, the (UNINTELLIGIBLE) bomb. I couldn't imagine that a bomb could actually come to this place, but terror doesn't know Arabs and Jews, so.

WEDEMAN: Hamas claimed responsibility for the bombing. The bomber reportedly came from the Palestinian town of Janin. Haifa residents echo the rising calls for harsher action against Israel's enemies.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Israel has to take matter to his hand in the strictest force possible and do anything possible just to eliminate anybody who has to do anything with this kind of -- can you see people come to eat and they blow them up.

WEDEMAN: Security has been severely tightened here since the outbreak of the Palestinian uprising.

MITZNA: National police, the local police issued already instructions that in a restaurants, bars, cafes and in shopping center we will have security personnel checking those who are coming in.

WEDEMAN: In this case, however, there was no security guard on duty outside the restaurant not for the first time nor probably the last. Young Israelis light candles for those killed without a moment's warning.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

WEDEMAN: Now many Israelis after the two suicide bombings today are worried that such bombings, Bill, are about to become a daily occurrence.

Now joining me right now is one of those young Israelis you saw in the -- around those candles holding a vigil. I'm with Alon Peled. He's a 17-year old student here, and he's come here because one of his friends (UNINTELLIGIBLE) also 17 was killed in that blast.

Alon, there is such a danger these days just going out. Why do people still go to restaurants, go to cafes, go to supermarkets?

ALON PELED, FRIEND KILLED IN BLAST: Well, I think that if we have fear in our hearts, then they actually win. I mean they strike terror in us, so if we don't go anywhere and just stay home afraid all of the time, we lose. That's the only reason, I think. We have to keep our

hopes up. I mean just that's it.

WEDEMAN: Now how do you feel in the wake of this bombing? You lost a good friend, a place where you told me that you were going to come here until you heard this bombing took place. How do you feel living in a city that until now with the exception of one bus bombing, has been relatively peaceful?

PELED: Well, it's frightening. I mean the only thing that happens here you hear in Jerusalem, (UNINTELLIGIBLE) all the -- all these other places, but now we think it's here actually. Well now I know it's here. It's like very frightening. I can't describe it actually.

WEDEMAN: Now you're 17 years old. In October you told me you will go into the Army, are you worried that you're going to have a career in the Army that is going to be one of fighting, of putting your life on the line and possibly this could go on for many years to come.

PELED: Well there's always that fear that something might happen to me. But I know that the chances are less than I'm actually going to get hurt. But it can happen. That's funny. I mean I think everybody has this fear in them of going to the Army and getting hurt. I mean it's like a fear that every parent fears that his child will actually die. It's something that we can't imagine actually.

WEDEMAN: Now just two years ago the peace process was still alive. Things were moving ahead. There were complications. Did you think just two years ago that the situation would come to this?

PELED: Never that I thought it would be this bad and it's horrifying.

WEDEMAN: All right, thank you very much. That was Alon Peled, a 17-year old student who spent the evening, in fact the night here to pay respect to a lost friend. Back to you Bill.

HEMMER: Ben, thank you. Ben Wedeman on the scene late tonight there in Haifa. I mentioned another suicide bombing earlier. It took place in the town of Efrat not too far from our location here in Jerusalem, not nearly as bad as Haifa. Nonetheless, four injuries reported there, one fatality, that of the suicide bomber dead on the scene. In total that is five bombings now in five-days time and Palestinian militants showing Israeli that they can hit just about anywhere any day of the week.

On Wednesday it was Netanya, Friday Jerusalem, Saturday Tel Aviv, and on Sunday Efrat in the town of Haifa. Meanwhile several hours ago the Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon went on national television to address his people. It was a brief address, lasted about four minutes time, but it was very direct and very to the point.

Ariel Sharon says right now his country is not looking back when it comes to uprooting what he calls the infrastructure of terrorism now operating, he says, in Gaza and in the West Bank. He made it quite clear that his country right now is locked in a struggle for survival.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

SHARON (through translator): The state of Israel is in a war, a war against terrorism. It's a war that is being imposed upon us. It's not one that we have chosen to undertake, the war for our

home. The state of Israel under my leadership has made every effort in order to achieve a cease-fire. Every single moment since I was elected in the midst of the way for Palestinian and terrorism, we have set for ourselves the goal of achieving peace and quiet in order to be able to undertake political, diplomatic negotiations.

We have cooperated with the American emissary Zinni and we've received terrorism in return. We've cooperated with Vice President Dick Cheney and we've received terrorism in return.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

HEMMER: Ariel Sharon again earlier tonight the Israeli prime minister addressing his people here on national television. Meanwhile the Palestinians quickly after that address simply addressed it out of hand saying Ariel Sharon right now does not have, in their words, credibility, and they also indicate that they feel Ariel Sharon has been waiting for this very conflict.

Meanwhile Yasser Arafat, day three now, holed up inside of what remains of that besieged compound in the West Bank town of Ramallah. Only three rooms left, we are told. But on Sunday, Easter Sunday, some visitors did arrive there. Michael Holmes reports now from Ramallah.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

MICHAEL HOLMES, CNN CORRESPONDENT (voice-over): It began before dawn, gunfire, then Israeli soldiers took a Palestinian man from his home, made him show them he was unarmed and then forced him to accompany them to a Palestinian police station -- the police already gone. Later more gunfire, another search, this time of the Ramallah municipal offices. At times heavy fighting, tanks shells and machine guns in various suburbs. Large numbers of troops in the city center, roads to Arafat's compound barricaded. But the barricades did not prevent this bizarre sight. Palestinian doctors, behind them dozens of foreigners, members of a fairly new group calling itself Grass Roots International Protection for the Palestinian People -- mainly Europeans, some Americans, one Israeli.

They carried white flags and a perhaps whole hearty determination. The group didn't break stride as they walked across the compound past stunned Israeli troops and towards Arafat's building. Israeli soldiers fired warning shots well away from the group. One shrugged as we entered the besieged building as if to say what are you doing. Then only about 40 steps away from those Israeli soldiers, we walked past equally perplexed and heavily armed Palestinian security officers.

One of them asked us for cigarettes. Everyone seemed stunned. Nobody searching the backpacks many in this uninvited group carried into Arafat's building. Within a minute a guard called from upstairs, CNN come. We did and others followed. All of us searched for the first time on the way upstairs. Then into a conference room of amused and smiling Arafat waiting with advisers. No questions they said, but I asked anyway.

Do you feel ...

YASSER ARAFAT, PALESTINIAN LEADER: And the most important thing is not what I



am facing because for me it is not the first time. He has to remember what happened in 18 (ph) days in Beirut, but the most important what our people are facing -- are facing day by night.

HOLMES: Of the group of perhaps 40, maybe 25 or 30 elected to stay. To them, their safety not the issue.

UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: This is not (UNINTELLIGIBLE) and we are here, a group of international people in solidarity with the Palestinian people against this aggression, against this oppression.

HOLMES: This woman, an Israeli-Jew married to a Palestinian.

UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: What Sharon is doing is devastating not only for the Palestinian people, but also for the Israeli people. He's pushing the Palestinians to the point beyond despair. He's out to destroy the leadership that's willing to make peace with him and leave -- and live side by side in a Palestinian state next to Israel. He wants Hamas jihad suicide bombings. He knows that his policy is increasing that, so then he can say to the world these are terrorists.

HOLMES: And this from a Palestinian doctor who's been inside the compound for days.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: I am afraid of the Israeli soldiers, because these three days we've faced a lot of problems (UNINTELLIGIBLE) they don't know (UNINTELLIGIBLE) I am a doctor, don't allow to take the wounded people from the other side to here to make (ph) an operation for him.

HOLMES: It was an extraordinary site as the group simply marched past tanks, armored personnel carriers and gunshot to walk into this place. Inside these men say they're not going anywhere. And then a group of us left, gingerly following a white towel, again past two bewildered Israeli troops. They politely searched us and we left.

Yasser Arafat's still isolated, but obviously void by an extraordinary house call.

Michael Holmes, CNN, at the Palestinian Authority compound, Ramallah.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

HEMMER: In a moment we're going to go back to Ramallah. It is late in the night. We're going to be joined by a Palestinian doctor who says the Israeli military entered a hospital hours ago, locked all the doctors behind doors and searched that hospital. We'll talk to him on that in a moment.

Also from the Israeli perspective, has the Middle East right now reached a point of no return. That and more when our coverage continues LIVE FROM JERUSALEM in a moment.

ANNOUNCER: Coming up, emotions flare on both sides of the crisis. From the Israelis ...

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: The last time an incident we stopped (UNINTELLIGIBLE) because we wanted to give (UNINTELLIGIBLE). This time we're going all the way and we're going to destroy the military and terrorist infrastructure that he built around himself because he failed to destroy it. He will be fully protected. We're not going to touch him.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ANNOUNCER: And the Palestinians ...

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: The international community has to tell Sharon that he cannot continue, go on the rampage, target every Palestinian man, woman and child, enter people's towns, villages and homes, kill and destroy Israel, humiliate and (UNINTELLIGIBLE) and threaten everybody and expect to have peace and security and tranquility.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ANNOUNCER: What can be done to stop the violence? LIVE FROM JERUSALEM is back in two minutes.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

ANNOUNCER: Young Israeli men and women are required to dedicate a portion of their lives to their country's military. The men are required to serve for three years. The women are required to serve for two years.

HEMMER: Ramallah in the West Bank has been a flashpoint for three and a half days right now. Yasser Arafat again holed up inside of his compound. Israeli tanks and troops surrounding that area, but we're also getting indications, words that the Israeli military has gone into a hospital in Ramallah as well.

Dr. Mustafa Barghouti works at that hospital. He joins us now by telephone in Ramallah. Doctor, if you can hear me OK, tell us what happened several hours ago based on the reports we were getting through Palestinian officials.

DR. MUSTAFA BARGHOUTI, MEDICAL RELEASE ASSOCIATION: Well what's happened is that the Israeli Army is not only imposing a curfew (UNINTELLIGIBLE) about 72 hours now since they are not allowing any person out of their houses. Anybody who tries to go out of the house is shot at and killed or injured. Seventy-two hours of complete curfew day and night. More than that, they are invaded buildings, invading houses and now invading hospitals. They invaded the Arab Medical Peer (ph), they forced the doctors, the nurses into one room and prevented them from attending to the patient, even those who will need Intensive Care.

More than that, they're attacking young people everywhere and at least up until now six people have been killed in cold blood and most recently they injured people and did not allow us, the ambulances to get to the injured people. They are arresting even injured people, and some of the injured are bleeding to death because they are not allowed to receive medical care. On top of that, they are establishing ...

HEMMER: Doctor, let me ask you this because the Israeli government believes that in certain hospitals throughout the West Bank there is suspected terrorists hiding out there. They also believe that there could be weapons hidden as well. Are there terrorists or weapons inside of the hospital you were just talking about sir?

BARGHOUTI: There are no terrorists here. This is a lie. This is a big lie. They can say

(UNINTELLIGIBLE) so every Palestinian according to the Israeli Army is a terrorist until proven otherwise. What kind of legal system is that? Why are they establishing now a blackout? Why are they pushing journalists out of the country? Because Sharon is planning another massacre like he did in (UNINTELLIGIBLE) in 1982. It is so unacceptable that the civilized world is allowing this to happen. How long can the world be silent about these massacres and trends that are happening here?

Why would Israel does not allow journalists even American journalists to be here? Why do the Israelis arrest Europeans including (UNINTELLIGIBLE) the French activist and put them in jail? Why are they doing that? Because they are conducting a massacre, because they are breaking every humanitarian law, an unacceptable manner. Sharon must be stopped. He is a war criminal and he's going to destroy the future of Palestinians and Israelis. He's destroying the potential for peace in this region by his crime, he and his army.

HEMMER: All right, Doctor, thank you for your time tonight. We're going to find out some answers to those very questions you're raising. Dr. Mustafa Barghouti works at that hospital in Ramallah, again, as we were talking about a short time ago. Israeli reaction to this right now coming in quite quickly. Daniel Ayalon, Chief Foreign Adviser for the Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, is now our guest this evening. It is late tonight here in Jerusalem. You're hearing the reports out of Ramallah, what he is saying right there, the doctor on the scene, is that all young people on the street are being shot. Some people are being shot and left to die on the streets, in his words, "in cold blood". Is this indeed the case there in Ramallah?

DANIEL AYALON, ARIEL SHARON'S CHIEF FOREIGN POLICY ADVISER: No, these are again blatant lies. More lies are being spewed by the Palestinians. On the contrary, what we are doing, we are not going there against the Palestinian people. We are there just to uproot terror. Israel has been under attack, the most cruel and gruesome attack. We have tried our best to bring about cease-fire, but all the answers by them is more terror.

HEMMER: Did your military, sir, go into a hospital in Ramallah and lock doctors in a room earlier today?

AYALON: I cannot go into operation of details. But I can tell you that we are going only after terrorists and terrorist centers and their infrastructure.

HEMMER: You say that you want to uproot that infrastructure, to a lot of people tonight in the Middle East, it appears that this situation is on the brink of reaching the point of no return. How long does it last for this uprooting process?

AYALON: No I don't think we're in the point of no return. I don't think there's any interest here of escalation. I don't see here a major regional conflict, although the Palestinians would like to do it with the terror -- the Palestinian terror, which is a part of an international web. They're attacking us. They're attacking everything that we believe in, our values, and not just us, and 9/11 was just a gruesome and a tragic reminder what happens if you don't fight the terror.

Now we, on the other hand, tried everything to bring about peace. The latest time -- the last time we did it was before the Passover. Short of begging, we did everything in our power to cooperate with General Zinni and to offer a cease-fire. The answer was the Passover massacre.

They target every Israeli. They concentrate on children, on people who go to the restaurants, as we showed before, and this cannot go on.

HEMMER: We talked about the military movement in Qalqilya upwards of 100 Israeli tanks moving through there several hours ago. Bethlehem, apparently there's some activity as well. Where else in the West Bank in Gaza is it being carried out tonight?

AYALON: Well again, Bill, I cannot go into operational details, but all I can tell you is that we have to do what we have to do in self-defense. In this type of situation of cruel attack there are two choices. Either you surrender or yourself or you go on the defense and uproot the terror. And if we surrender, this is not a choice because then the world will no longer be as we know it because you know how they advance and attack everywhere with all their might, or three -- do -- is fight the terror as we have to because and we -- and we will win because history is on our side and justice is on our side.

HEMMER: You're going to win in which time? A week? Month?

AYALON: Well again, there are no magic solutions, but if we go constantly and we go after the sources of terror and the sources of terror are in the Palestinian Authority under Arafat's leadership.

(CROSSTALK)

HEMMER: Is the Israeli people, then sir, ready for even more suicide bombers to come into your cities?

AYALON: No, no one can be ready for any suicide bombers. Nobody can be ready ...

(CROSSTALK)

HEMMER: What will be the response then?

AYALON: Well the response -- it's not a response. Let me tell you that we didn't go into Ramallah. Israeli tanks are not falling into the West Bank before the suicide attacks happened. First we had the terror and then in self-defense we are reacting. There's no really a cycle of violence here. There is a brutal Palestinian terror and we act in self-defense.

HEMMER: Daniel Ayalon, thanks for coming out tonight, chief foreign policy adviser to Ariel Sharon. We shall talk many times in the near future sir.

In a moment here the White House right now finding itself knee deep in the Middle East situation. Again from Crawford, Texas today the president was talking about this issue and there is widespread reaction all across the U.S. Major Garrett is in Crawford, Texas. We will check in on his report when our coverage continues, once again LIVE FROM JERUSALEM.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

HEMMER: If you've been with us tonight, there are serious allegations being leveled by the Palestinian side about what is happening right now in the West Bank town of Ramallah. Nonetheless, the violence does continue again today. Two suicide bombings, and the Israeli military once again on the move tonight. We have seen tanks roll by here a short time ago, and

certainly, as we mentioned earlier, Qalqilya and Bethlehem, a point of military movement again tonight.

All this with a backdrop of a U.S. envoy Anthony Zinni still in the region. The White House still hopeful and optimistic that they might be able to forge some sort of communication between the two sides; White House strictly not willing to give up on Anthony Zinni at this point.

Nonetheless, the Americans say for him to leave might amount to another small-time failure. He's been here two other times. From Crawford, Texas now, Major Garrett, tracking the administration's next move here in the Middle East.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

MAJOR GARRETT, CNN WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENT (voice-over): Dawn near the president's Crawford, Texas ranch. And as he headed into church with his father and mother to celebrate Easter, this, fresh evidence from Israel about the limits of continued U.S. denunciations of Palestinian terrorism. Death, injuries and anguish in Haifa and in a Jewish settlement in the West Bank, a bloody rejoinder to this urgent request of Yasser Arafat from the president on Saturday.

GEORGE W. BUSH, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: They've got to make it absolutely clear that the Palestinian Authority does not support these terrorist activities and uses its security forces to prevent them from happening.

GARRETT: But that didn't happen. When Arafat met with supporters and reporters on Sunday, the issue was the Israeli occupation, which Arafat compared to the brutality of the Nazis.

YASSER ARAFAT, PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY CHAIRMAN: We're in need of urgent sending international forces to stop this aggression and this escalation, military escalation, against our people, against our cities, against our towns, against our refugee camps.

GARRETT: But the White House opposes international security forces, especially involving U.S. troops. And the immediate security concern is protecting Americans in the Middle East, who may fall victim to future suicide attacks. State Department sources tell CNN a security review is under way.

The Israeli leader Ariel Sharon said his nation is at war, and that even when a cease-fire was close, the Passover massacre left negotiations in ruins.

SHARON (through translator): The only thing we've had in return for our efforts has been terrorism, terrorism and more terrorism.

GARRETT: As the death toll rises and political desperation deepens, calls increase for the president to dispatch Secretary of State Colin Powell to the region.

DENNIS ROSS, FORMER U.S. MIDEAST ENVOY: I believe the Bush administration is going to have to raise the level of its involvement. It is not going to be able to stay involved in a way that does not politically engage us. This is not something where diplomacy can work on the cheap.

GARRETT (on camera): But the White House argues the issue is Palestinian terrorism, not

whether Powell or presidential envoy Anthony Zinni lead cease-fire talks. What's more, the White House fears dispatching Powell now would reward the very acts of terrorism the president has repeatedly tried to discourage.

Major Garrett, CNN, Crawford, Texas.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

HEMMER: Major Garrett again, reporting with the president there in Texas.

In a moment here, what is the U.N.'s role, and is it past the point of helping out the Middle East crisis? In a moment, live to the U.N. on the East Side of Manhattan when our coverage continues here in Jerusalem.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

HEMMER: Once again, welcome back. LIVE FROM JERUSALEM. It's late in the evening here, well past 4:30 in the morning. Easter Sunday was yesterday here in the Middle East, and Jerusalem is far from a holy place, and so too is the rest of the region.

There are a number of questions tonight, including many from the United Nations, it was about 48 hours ago when the U.N. Security Council passed a resolution urging the Israelis to pull their tanks back away from Ramallah and Yasser Arafat's compound. Clearly, that has not happened, and it appears on both sides tonight that the Middle East situation continues to escalate further and further into more violence.

Let's talk about this now. Live from New York with us, two representatives for the United Nations, first Yehuda Lancry, Israeli ambassador to the U.N. and with him also is Dr. Nasser Al-Kidwa, the Palestinian representative to the U.N. as well.

Gentlemen, I really appreciate your time tonight on this Sunday evening back in the U.S. And I want to know, I guess, from both of you, your perspective tonight, because quite clearly in the region it looks like both sides are reaching a point of no return. Dr. Kidwa, do you believe we're at that point right now?

AMBASSADOR NASSER AL-KIDWA, PALESTINIAN REP. TO U.N.: I'm afraid that we are very close to that point, and I think the way out is very clear. We need to immediately implement the provisions of Security Council resolution 14-02, we need a third party presence to bring the situation under control, and we need thirdly a road map toward the final settlement between the two sides.

HEMMER: You mentioned at the beginning of your answer that you believe you might be quite close to it. Ambassador Lancry, do you believe we're at that point?

YEHUDA LANCRY, ISRAELI AMBASSADOR TO U.N.: I always believe that thanks to the mutual recognition between the Palestinians and Israelis, contracted in Oslo during the Oslo agreement, we are in a position, but we can always overcome such a huge tragedies, despite the quite concerning situation where we are, and I do believe that the way out is really to renew the spirit of negotiations and the acceptance of each other.

HEMMER: Ambassador, I think a lot of people from different -- a lot of different parts of the



world, excuse me, would like to see the same thing, but Ariel Sharon said tonight in his own words, "there is no cease-fire until they uproot the infrastructure of terrorism." How long that takes is anybody's guess, but clearly the Israeli government has made a decision right now to forge forward on that front, ambassador.

LANCRY: The statement of Prime Minister Sharon is fully in accordance with the provisions of the Oslo agreements. Don't forget that Chairman Arafat took two major commitments, the mutual recognition, but also the commitment to renounce to any form of terrorism or violence in order to achieve these political objectives.

So we'd like, really, to renew the spirit and the letter of the Oslo agreement. It will take some time, maybe, for us to dismantle the infrastructure of the Palestinian terrorism, but Chairman Arafat is now, I think, in a crucial turning point. He can be either the really actor, the statesman of the Palestinian cause or its destroyer, its grave digger.

HEMMER: Dr. Kidwa, your reaction to that, and also what advice would you give to Yasser Arafat right now, when you consider the fact that he has a substantial amount of impact in this part of the world, yet we have heard him for the past several days saying he would like to be a martyr, he talks about young Palestinian boys and girls when they are raising the flag over mosques and churches. Clearly, this is the talk of a man who is inviting this conflict, to a certain degree.

AL-KIDWA: First, the response. I think the statement made by Prime Minister Sharon today is tantamount to a complete rejection of the Security Council's resolution 14-02. And actually what Mr. Sharon is doing, in my opinion, is trying to destroy the Palestinian Authority, trying to actually kill any potential for peace in this region, committing, by the way, all kinds of atrocities, including executions of Palestinians in cold blood. CNN ran -- ran some footage of about five Palestinian policemen who were executed yesterday.

Now with regard to President Yasser Arafat, I can only -- I can only as a Palestinian can suggest that he has to continue his present steadfastness. And what he said about martyrdom was in the face of clear (UNINTELLIGIBLE) by Mr. Sharon and by the Israeli side against his well-being. Now when it comes to ...

(CROSSTALK)

HEMMER: Please go ahead. I apologize (UNINTELLIGIBLE) satellite, but what I want to know from you is that you are making accusations that the Israeli government flatly dismisses. They say these Palestinian policemen were caught in a gunfire.

You mentioned at the beginning of your response here a couple of minutes ago, that it's time for a third party. Where is the third party? Is it the U.N., is it the United States? Or knowing that resolution passed in the U.N. yesterday morning and nothing was done upon it or reacting to it, is there a third party that is viable right now?

AL-KIDWA: Yeah, but let me -- let me just one second to finish my first answer. When it comes to flags over Jerusalem, we have never hidden the fact that we want indeed to have the occupied East Jerusalem liberated as the capital of Palestine.



Now when it comes to the third party presence, we accept any kind of third party presence. We accept U.N. observers, we accept U.S. presence, we accept European presence. And frankly, we have never understood why, if the Israelis want only peace, why they do reject third party presence. By the way, we are going back to the Security Council to demand immediate implementation of Resolution 14-02. And in light of the fact that this resolution was not implemented and was even rejected by Prime Minister Sharon.

HEMMER: Ambassador Lancry, we have just a short time left here. I want to give you a final response, and I also want to know from you right now, is the U.N. rendered useless in this Middle East conflict, given what we have seen on the ground here?

LANCRY: Yes, I would like to say the fact that the Palestinian side, also, didn't implement the 14-02 resolution, which calls first and foremost for an immediate and meaningful cease-fire. Instead of this, we got today two suicide bombings, particularly deadly in Haifa, with 16 people killed. And I regret the fact that my Palestinian colleague notes only the losses in the Palestinian side, without any word about the suicide bombings.

AL-KIDWA: We condemn that as well.

LANCRY: I think that a third party, U.N. party in this case, would be acceptable only after both sides achieve final status, a final peace, in order to monitor the peace between them. Right now, the U.N. force has no efficiency, has no efficiency, no effectiveness. This force couldn't inspect the headquarters of Hamas, of Jihad, couldn't prevent the suicide bombings of Al Aqsa Brigades. That is, in short, an additional shield that will allow Mr. Arafat to continue to monitor his terrorist campaign.

HEMMER: Gentlemen, we're out of time. Appreciate your time tonight. Yehuda Lancry and Dr. Nasser Al-Kidwa, both live in New York tonight.

And quite obviously, there are a number of questions still to be answered, and we do not have all the answers tonight. In fact, we're quite short on them at this point.

In a moment here, Israeli opinion. What do the people think with the continued violence in Israel proper? Are they now changing their opinion about the military action? That's coming up. Also I mentioned it is Easter Sunday in the Middle East, far from it today. It was a dark Easter here in the Holy Land. Back in Jerusalem in a moment.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

HEMMER: Once again, back live here in Jerusalem. It was Easter Sunday about five hours ago well into the dark night here in Jerusalem. In the old city earlier today, about 95 percent of the shops have been closed. There has been a three-day strike ever since the siege on Ramallah began, and even if the stores were open, there would be very few tourists to shop there. We saw very few people in the old city today. I asked one Arab store owner if he wanted to talk business, and he said, it would be a very short conversation because there is hardly any business. A Norwegian tour guide tells me that he is lucky to have a group today; 95 percent of the tour operators in his company have lost their jobs in the past year.

With that, Holy Easter and Easter Sunday here today was a bit of a dark day. Mike Hanna

now with a look now at the Holy Land, on what should be a holy weekend.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

MIKE HANNA, CNN CORRESPONDENT (voice-over): The traditional Easter procession takes place against a stark backdrop of violence. A bomb disposal unit, a matter of steps away from Christianity's holiest site, the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. This is the day, according to the calendar of the Western Christian churches, that Jesus Christ rose from the dead and ascended into heaven. But what should be a time of celebration dampened by what is happening all around.

Among those attending the early Easter Mass, Special U.S. envoy, Anthony Zinni, who is attempting to press ahead with his cease-fire efforts in the face of ever escalating violence.

Among those with him, an old friend who has worked in Jerusalem for nearly two decades.

REV. PETER VASKO, FRANCISCAN MONK: When he came to mass this morning 8:30 in the tomb of our Lord, he was a bit somber. And I think he had a lot of things on his mind. I don't think he rules out that there is no hope what so ever. I think there is hope, but it's very, very thin hope for peace in this land. It's a very difficult situation that they put him into, especially when one side agrees and the other side doesn't agree. It must be very difficult for General Zinni on this point.

HANNA: Difficult for Zinni and difficult for all Christians, Muslims and Jews. The great sense of hope that Easter symbolizes undercut, if not destroyed, by the violence that rages in the Holy Land.

On the Mount of Olives above the old city, the Church of Dominos Levit (ph), Latin for the Lord wept. It's built in the shape of a tear, which the Disciple Luke says fell from Jesus' eyes as he foresaw the fate of Jerusalem.

Mike Hanna, CNN, Jerusalem.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

HEMMER: Before we leave you tonight, I want to take you back to the town of Ramallah in the West Bank. There is a U.S. citizen right now holed up inside of her home. Her name is Stephanie Koury. She's an attorney; she's been working in Ramallah. And Ms. Koury, if you can hear me tonight, give our viewers a perspective about your situation right now.

STEPHANIE KOURY, AMERICAN CITIZEN: Yes, well, we've been in our homes in my neighborhood for about three days now under kind of full curfew. Our electricity was cut on Friday, when a tank knocked down a pole. And we've just been pretty much confined to our homes, trying to follow the news.

HEMMER: Tell us, if you could, and describe for us the situation on the streets as you've been able to see it, please?

KOURY: Well, from my window, all I see is pretty much tanks moving up and down. People

aren't going outside because they are afraid they will get shot. And they just pretty much stay in their homes. It's really tank movement, non-stop.

HEMMER: Are you hearing much exchange of gunfire from either side or between the two sides?

KOURY: I do, I do on a fairly regular basis. You know, when it is happening. Right now it is quiet, but maybe two hours ago there was exchanges of fire, and you hear explosions at times. You can hear it, pretty much, where it's happening from different parts of the city.

HEMMER: If you don't mind me asking, what brought you to Ramallah, as a U.S. citizen?

KOURY: I came back to Ramallah. I'd been living in Gaza doing community development work, and came to Ramallah to do advocacy work based on enforcement of international humanitarian Law, working with a non-governmental organization, that brought me to Ramallah about a year and a half ago -- two years ago. And then I am now serving as a legal adviser to the final status negotiations on Israeli settlements, illegal colonies in the occupied territory.

HEMMER: Given that, and your background and the work you are doing right now, some believe we're at the point of no return, or possibly quite close to it. Do you believe that?

KOURY: No, I never believe there is a point of no return. I think we need to look at, though, how once third-party states are intervening and trying to deal with the issue. And what they need to do is bring appropriate rules of behavior back to the game. You know, hold both sides accountable and responsible.

HEMMER: Possibly easier said than done. We shall see. Stephanie Koury, a U.S. citizen right now holed up inside her home in the West Bank town of Ramallah. We appreciate your time tonight.

Final note here right now. A former Middle East negotiator earlier today said there is no peace process right now. The only process at work here is a war process. Watch a couple of things again when the sun comes up in about 90 minutes' time here in the Middle East. Watch and see how far the Israeli military moves, not only in the West Bank or in Gaza, and see how effective those movements are.

In the other side, watch and see how strong the response is from Palestinian militants. Once again, the Middle East, sitting on the brink tonight. We'll be here to watch it.

So long now from Jerusalem. I'm Bill Hemmer. Thanks for watching and do not leave our network. We will keep you abreast of all the movement here in the Middle East. Good night now from Jerusalem.

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CNBC News Transcripts

**SHOW:** Hardball with Chris Matthews (9:00 PM ET) - CNBC

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**LENGTH:** 2675 words

**HEADLINE:** George Fletcher, from The New York Times, and **Nasser Al-Kidwa**, Palestinian observer to United Nations, discuss legality of Israel's invasion of Palestine

**ANCHORS:** CHRIS MATTHEWS

**BODY:**

CHRIS MATTHEWS, host:

Welcome back to HARDBALL. This half hour, Senator Orrin Hatch on the violence in the Mideast, and on President Bush's overall foreign policy.

But first, the HARDBALL DEBATE. Is Israel's occupation of Palestinian territory illegal? UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan last week demanded that Israel end it's, quote, "illegal occupation," close quote, of those lands. But in today's New York Times, international law specialist George Fletcher writes, quote, "In this time of crisis and forgetfulness, using the term 'illegal' is destructive and dangerous. For the uninformed, the discussion will start with the secretary-general's labeling of the occupation as a violation of law. Those who pay attention to the details of history know better."

George Fletcher joins us now. He's also the author of the forth-coming book, "Romantics at War: Glory and Guilt in the Age of Terrorism." Also with us US--Ambassador, rather--Ambassador **Nasser al-Kidwa**, the permanent observer of Palestine to the United Nations.

Now, gentlemen, we're--we're going to debate an issue here--you two are going to debate it, let's stick to the particular language of Kofi Annan, the secretary-general of the UN when he said that the Israeli occupation of West Bank and Gaza is illegal.

Make your case, Professor Fletcher.

Professor GEORGE FLETCHER (International Law Specialist): Fine, Chris. To say that it's legal is not to say that it's desirable. Of course, I would prefer to see a negotiated settlement. I would prefer to see an arrangement, a peace settlement on the West Bank and in Gaza. But there's no basis for Kofi Annan's claim that this is a violation of international law. And I think his heart is in the right place. He wants to facilitate the peace process, but he just made a mistake.

MATTHEWS: Mr. a--Mr. Al-Kidwa, what is your position on the legality or illegality of the Israeli occupation?

Mr. **NASSER AL-KIDWA** (Palestinian observer to UN): Well, the Israeli occupation is perfectly illegal, of course, under international law.

Prof. FLETCHER: Perfectly illegal, you say?

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Illegal, yes.

Prof. FLETCHER: Uh-huh.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: International law is very clear on at least two points: The en--inadmissability of the acquisition of territory by force, that's one, and two, the prohibition on the transfer of the citizens of the occupying power to the occupied territory.

Prof. FLETCHER: Well, let's be clear about some facts.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Wait--wait...

Prof. FLETCHER: Israel has not annexed the West Bank. You're not essentially suggesting that it has.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Wait a minute. Annexed--annexed parts of--of the occupied territory, and

Prof. FLETCHER: Well, not--you're...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: ...it--it continues--let me--let me finish, OK?

MATTHEWS: OK. Let--let's--let's use definitions that we can use in a high school debate, both gentlemen.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Yes.

MATTHEWS: If you say the word--if you say inadmissibility, isn't that a swift way, a clever way of saying annexed. And Israel has not annexed the West Bank, has it?

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Yeah, it did. It did annex east Jerusalem.

MATTHEWS: Yes.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: And Israel continued in--in--in trying to change the legal status and the demographic composition of the occupied territory as a whole by transferring more than 400,000 Israeli settlers. And that...

Prof. FLETCHER: Well, I concede in the argument. Now I can--look...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: ...that--that--that is completely prohibited under international law...

Prof. FLETCHER: The Geneva Convention talks...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: ...precisely--precisely to prevent...

Prof. FLETCHER: The Geneva Con--excuse me, but the...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: ...precisely to prevent the...

Prof. FLETCHER: OK.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: ...the o--the recurrence of the calamities of the Second World War specifically to colonialism.

Prof. FLETCHER: The Geneva Convention refers to deporting...

MATTHEWS: OK.

Prof. FLETCHER: ...and transferring. Now, the question is, does--is--did Israel transfer its population? It didn't instruct anyone to live in the West Bank or in Gaza.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Now, that's absolute--come on. That's just ludicrous.

Prof. FLETCHER: People moved voluntarily.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Be more serious. I mean...

Prof. FLETCHER: People moved voluntarily to the settlements.

MATTHEWS: OK, gentlemen, one at a time.

Prof. FLETCHER: Fine.

MATTHEWS: One at a time. First of all, I'm going to let...

Prof. FLETCHER: So...

MATTHEWS: I'm going to let Professor Fletcher make the case.

Delineate exactly what you think is legal and what you think may be illegal with regard to Israel's occupation.

Prof. FLETCHER: Fine. I think that the question of the settlements is debatable. I think that the ambassador has a point that it's arguable whether or not the Israeli government was complicitous in the voluntary decision by many people to move to the West Bank exactly in the same way that Arafat's government is complicitous in the suicide bombings.

MATTHEWS: But was it entirely optional, or rather, voluntary? I remember Golda Meir, one of the impressive prime ministers of Israel, saying that the settlements constituted what she called 'new facts.' In other words, they were useful to Israel in its negotiations.

Prof. FLETCHER: I understand that. But...

MATTHEWS: In other words...

Prof. FLETCHER: Right.

MATTHEWS: In other words, she was positively inclined to the point of claiming that as a diplomatic advantage. You say that the government of--of Israel, under Likud governments and Labor governments, was--under Likud, especially--was not advancing the cause of the settlements?

Prof. FLETCHER: Well, until 1977, the government flatly opposed any settlements. After the Begin government came to power in '77...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Come on.

Prof. FLETCHER: ...there was a beginning of some tolerance for the settlements. But I--the thing that's very important, to distinguish the question of...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: That's--that's not true. That is not true.

Prof. FLETCHER: Look, let's distinguish the question of the settlements from the legality of

the occupation. I think that the question of the settlements is debatable, and I concede in the article...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: It's not debatable.

Prof. FLETCHER: I concede in the article that under a peace agreement it would be desirable to repeat what Israel did in the settlement with Egypt. That is to dismantle the settlements.

MATTHEWS: OK.

Prof. FLETCHER: They did it before and they can do it again. So the question of the settlements...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: International law...

Prof. FLETCHER: ...is not the same question...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Now, wait a minute.

Prof. FLETCHER: ...as the legality of the occupation.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: International laws...

MATTHEWS: OK, Mr. Kidwa...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: International law...

MATTHEWS: ...take a minute, take a breath, we'll--you'll be on in a minute.

Prof. FLETCHER: OK.

MATTHEWS: Go ahead.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: International law is very clear.

Prof. FLETCHER: Ah-ha.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: There is a clear prohibition on the transfer of the citizen. And the occupying power has...

Prof. FLETCHER: Can we distinguish--Ambassador...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: ...occupying power--let me speak, please--occupying power...

MATTHEWS: Go ahead. Speak.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: ...the responsibility there. And it's not true to say that it didn't have anything to do with this. Let me remind you that in the first few years, the Israeli government said that settlements are security measure.

Prof. FLETCHER: Right.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: And did not--did not mean to--to increase the Israeli population in the occupied territory. It was only later on...

Prof. FLETCHER: Ambassador, I want to find common ground with you. I want to find common ground with you.



Mr. AL-KIDWA: Listen--listen--listen...

Prof. FLETCHER: Can we distinguish between the question of the settlements and the question of the occupation? I admit that the question of the settlements is debatable.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: It is not debatable.

Prof. FLETCHER: We're talking about the legality of the occupation. Can we make that distinction?

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Let me--let me--let me meet you half step. It is not debatable. It is not completely illegal.

Prof. FLETCHER: Leave it...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: However--however--however...

MATTHEWS: OK. Let's talk about the--the article.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: However...

MATTHEWS: Let's--gentlemen, the focus of tonight's debate, to elucidate an issue which is very tricky for people who are neither Israeli nor Palestinian. Please address your remarks to those people watching the show.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Yes. Exactly.

MATTHEWS: Explain--no, Mr. Kidwa. Don't change the subject. Talk about the occupation. Which UN resolution that you can cite declares that the Israeli forces moving into the West Bank is illegal?

Mr. AL-KIDWA: The Security Council, responding to the illegal measures and practices of Israel, the occupying power, adopted 26 resolutions--26. Not one...

Prof. FLETCHER: There's not a single--no, that's false.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Not one or two...

Prof. FLETCHER: False.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: All of them address...

Prof. FLETCHER: There's not...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: ...the illegality of Israeli actions.

Prof. FLETCHER: No. That's false.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Now, wait a minute. Wait a minute. The problem is...

Prof. FLETCHER: This is not a single resolution...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: I'll--I'll tell you why the--the--the Israeli occupation is illegal. Not because it took place during a war. It is illegal because it has been transformed into a form of colonialism.

Prof. FLETCHER: Well, this is--this is not legal language.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: It's--it--it is expansion.

Prof. FLETCHER: This is--this is just--this is just political talk.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: But this is...

Prof. FLETCHER: Look, I agree with you, Ambassador. Look...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: This is the legality of the matter.

Prof. FLETCHER: Ambassador, I agree with you. This is ultimately a political question. The question--the problem is, does it help the political solution to inject this provocative language of illegal occupation?

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Ah-ha. That's...

Prof. FLETCHER: I claim that this hurts our search for common ground.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: That's different matter.

Prof. FLETCHER: Well, first of all, it's false...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: That's--that's different matter, and let me respond to that.

Prof. FLETCHER: It's false and destructive of the peace process.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: That's--that's different matter, and let me respond to that. I think it helps for one simple reason: because the Israelis and the Israeli government need to put their finger on the cracks of the matter. They should see...

Prof. FLETCHER: If the occupation is false.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: The should see that ending the occupation...

Prof. FLETCHER: Look...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: ...is the only way forward to reach a settlement between the two sides. And as such, I think...

Prof. FLETCHER: Oh, this is great!

Mr. AL-KIDWA: I think--yes, of course, because we accept...

Prof. FLETCHER: This is great. I agree with you.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: We ac--well, agree with us. That's great.

MATTHEWS: OK. Let--let's--let's break this up.

Prof. FLETCHER: That's beautiful.

MATTHEWS: I want the next 20 seconds to go to the professor, then back to you, Mr. Kidwa.

Prof. FLETCHER: I agree. We should try to negotiate a settlement. This is why we had Camp David, this is why we have repeated efforts on the part of the Israelis and the good--services of the Americans to propose settlements. I want--I'm waiting, I'm eager to hear a

Palestinian peace proposal, how it would look, how it would work, how the Palestinians would recognize Israel's right to exist. We're waiting for that.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Look...

MATTHEWS: OK. Let's go to Mr. Kidwa right now.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: We did that...

MATTHEWS: In terms of--in terms of the legality, you have pointed out tonight on this program very effectively and forcefully that Israel has no right to annex the Golan Heights, it has no right to--you argue, to--to annex any part of Jerusalem...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Jerusalem.

MATTHEWS: ...it didn't occupy before the '67 war. Are you arguing that the other territorial occupation, beyond the Golan Heights, beyond--beyond Jerusalem, is that illegal? Are you saying that as well?

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Yes. That is illegal.

MATTHEWS: Under what resolution?

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Under many resolutions...

Prof. FLETCHER: There is no resolution.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: ...including those--including those which prohibit the transfer of civilians, prohibits settlements and calls on Israel to dismantle settlements.

Prof. FLETCHER: It's a sh--really a shame, Ambassador, that you can't recognize the difference...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: There isn't such a resolution?

Prof. FLETCHER: ...between the settlements and the occupation. We're supposed to be debating...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Again--again, the occupation...

Prof. FLETCHER: ...the legality of the occupation.

MATTHEWS: OK, let me ask you--I feel like a side...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: ...was not a temporary phenomenon.

MATTHEWS: Mr...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: It was meant to continue and meant to--to degate \*\*\**(as spoken)*\*\*\* the existence of the Palestinian people and their right to self-determination.

Prof. FLETCHER: If--if the occupation were illegal--look, this is...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: That is why it is illegal.

MATTHEWS: OK. Mr.--Mr.--Mr. Kidwa, if the Israeli government--if the IDF continued to occupy the West Bank but eliminated all the settlements on the West Bank, would that be legal?

Mr. AL-KIDWA: In retrospect, probably.

Prof. FLETCHER: Oh!

Mr. AL-KIDWA: But it should--it should end, but without annexation, without illegal settlements, probably that would have been a completely different kind of occupation.

MATTHEWS: Let me ask Professor Fletcher, I'm going to give you a chance in a few seconds to explain why you wrote this article. Why is it dangerous to have the secretary-general use the word illegal in this regard?

Prof. FLETCHER: It's very important to recognize that we have a political problem here, and I'm a f--what--what worries me is that the use of this language of illegality will make the Palestinians intransigent and self-righteous in their resistance to reaching a peaceful settlement.

Look, if I thought myself that the occupation were illegal, I would be on the ambassador's side in this debate. I would think that it would be outrageous. But in fact, it is not illegal, and Israel, is holding on as any...

MATTHEWS: OK.

Prof. FLETCHER: ...occupying power would, until it can negotiate a peace settlement. That's a perfectly reasonable thing to do.

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Why did they settle it?

MATTHEWS: Mr. Ambassador, why do you think the secretary-general re--retreated from his statement of--of--of the other day? Why's he saying he didn't quite mean it was illegal? What'd he mean by that? What do you take it?

Mr. AL-KIDWA: He did not retreat. That's not true. I mean, he was asked by--by--by the press next day and he explained that Security Council and General Assembly repeatedly indicated a position on the illegality of the Israeli occupation...

MATTHEWS: On the settlements.

Prof. FLETCHER: I think the...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: ...the illegality of the settlements, the illegality of the Israeli actions and Israeli rulers.

MATTHEWS: Right. I think you agree, actually, gentlemen. Ironically, I think both of you are arguing from different points. I think you do agree, actually. Anyway, thank you...

Prof. FLETCHER: I think we do, too.

MATTHEWS: ...Ambassador Nasser al-Kidwa...

Mr. AL-KIDWA: Thank you.

MATTHEWS: ...and George Fletcher of Columbia University.

Up next, should Vice President Cheney meet Yasser Arafat? Good question. I'm going to ask Senator Orrin Hatch when we come back. You're watching HARDBALL.

(Announcements)

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**Nasser Al-Kidwa**

**HIGHLIGHT:**

Another suicide bomber in Jerusalem put an end to Israeli- Palestinian talks, and the bomber is reported to have been a former Palestinian policeman, jailed by the Palestinian authority last month after Israel provided information he was planning an attack. Today "The New York Times" reports that American troops may pursue al Qaeda fighters into Pakistan. Chris Matthews discusses terrorist attacks committed by the Al Aqsa Brigade with Palestinian representative Hasan Abdel Rahman.

**BODY:**

THIS IS A RUSH TRANSCRIPT. THIS COPY MAY NOT BE IN ITS FINAL FORM AND MAY BE UPDATED.

CHRIS MATTHEWS, HOST, HARDBALL: A Palestinian suicide bomber strikes downtown Jerusalem, bringing truce talks to a halt. Is Yasser Arafat to blame? And an update from inside Afghanistan. How many al Qaeda are left, and where does the fight go from here?

I'm Chris Matthews. Let's play HARDBALL.

Here's what's happening tonight. A Palestinian suicide bomber linked to Yasser Arafat's al Fatah movement strikes in Jerusalem, killing two, wounding over 60 and derailing truce talks. A car bomb kills nine outside the American embassy in Peru days before President Bush is scheduled to arrive in the country. The commander of ground forces in Afghanistan says that U.S. troops may pursue al Qaeda fighters across the border into Pakistan.

Those headlines, plus the big story tonight: Is Yasser Arafat unwilling or unable to control the terrorists that struck Israeli civilians again today? And the HARDBALL debate. Columbia Law professor George Fletcher argues that Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza is perfectly legal, while the Palestinian representative to the U.N. says it's a crime. And Senator Orrin Hatch will be here with his take on President Bush's Mideast policy.

We begin with this report on today's Palestinian terror attack from NBC correspondent Dana Lewis.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

DANA LEWIS, NBC CORRESPONDENT (voice-over): In the heart of Jerusalem, pandemonium, another suicide bomber on a street filled with shoppers. Police search parked cars, fearing a second bomb, and round up Arabs.

UNIDENTIFIED ISRAELI: And blood. And no good.

LEWIS: This Israeli man was working in a bakery when the bomb went off a few feet away. We found him an hour and a half later, still shaken.

UNIDENTIFIED ISRAELI: What I do? What I do? In the country no help to the people.

LEWIS: Israeli authorities say the bomber was a former Palestinian policeman, jailed by the Palestinian authority last month after Israel provided information he was planning an attack. But last week, when Israeli forces swept into Palestinian areas, he was released.

(on camera): The pressure is tremendous on the Israeli government to do something to protect its citizens, but in the government, confusion over what to do to stop this wave of terror.

(voice-over): Tonight's Israel's police minister blamed Yasser Arafat and called for an end to cease-fire talks.

UZI LANDAU, ISRAELI POLICE MINISTER: It's a prescription for much more terrorism in the future. We just simply have to uproot it. Don't negotiate with it.

LEWIS: U.S. mediator Anthony Zinni carried an urgent message to Arafat, repeated by President Bush today.

GEORGE WALKER BUSH, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: Mr. Arafat must do more to stop the violence in the Middle East.

LEWIS: After two suicide bombings in as many days, only tonight did Arafat speak out, promising to put an end to the attacks. Israeli Prime Minister Sharon canceled talks scheduled for tonight. And as Israel tries to recover from this latest bombing, security sources are warning of more possible attacks tomorrow.

Dana Lewis, NBC News, Jerusalem.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

MATTHEWS: For more on today's attack in Israel, we're joined from Jerusalem by Jeff Barak of the "Jerusalem Post."

Jeff, I've noticed a pattern here. Yesterday it was Islamic Jihad. Today it Al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade, very closely associated with Yasser Arafat himself.

JEFF BARAK, "JERUSALEM POST": To be honest, for most Israelis, it's really quite irrelevant who's behind these attacks. What's quite clear is that Yasser Arafat and the Palestinian authority are not making any effort to stop them.

MATTHEWS: Well, does that tell you he has a policy that he doesn't care if there's a cease-fire? He doesn't care if the Israeli government tries to stop him from going to the Arab League summit in Beirut?

BARAK: That's right. I don't think he does care. I think his calculation is he can continue with the violence, basically, for as long as he wants. He doesn't think Israel is prepared to overthrow him. And until he really believes that his rule is in jeopardy, I think we're going to see this pattern just continuing.

MATTHEWS: Well, it seem like, ironically, his popularity within the Palestinian world seems to grow with the more he's mistreated, you might say, by the Israelis. What incentive is there for him to stop the violence, if you think about it?

BARAK: I think the only incentive for him to stop the violence is to realize that if he doesn't, he'll -- he will just be kicked out of the Palestinian areas and that his leadership of the Palestinian people will end. Otherwise, I really don't see an incentive for him.

MATTHEWS: But if the Israelis decapitate this man, either assassinate him or dump him out of the country unceremoniously, doesn't that make him a hero and doesn't it make any chance of a cease-fire cease to exist?

BARAK: Well, to be quite honest, I can't see much chance for a cease-fire at the moment. Ever since Vice President Cheney left the area, we had one suicide bomb yesterday killing seven people, another one today in the center of Jerusalem. There really doesn't seem to be much option for a cease-fire as long as Yasser Arafat is in charge of the Palestinian authority.

MATTHEWS: Do the people of Jerusalem, the people of Israel -- do they take note of the fact of which terrorist group each of these terrorists come -- suicidal terrorists come from? Do they note that one's from the Islamic Jihad, one's from Hamas and one's from Al Aqsa Brigade? Does that matter to the Israelis?

BARAK: No. From now on, it really doesn't matter. This whole thing is coming from the Palestinian authority, and no Israeli cares who is responsible. The question is, what can Israel do to prevent such things in the future?

MATTHEWS: Do you think there's any chance that Arafat will be kept from going to the Islamic -- or the Arab summit or the Arab League in Beirut this week?



BARAK: I think there's every chance, or there's a chance that he might be let to go to Beirut but he won't be let back into the areas after the summit is over.

MATTHEWS: So you believe that's the policy of the government right now, of Israel, to keep -- if he makes the mistake of going there, you will shut the door behind him.

BARAK: I think there's quite a likelihood of that. I don't think anybody gains from Yasser Arafat being in Ramallah. And so if he wants to go to Beirut, I think the feeling might be, "Well, let him go to Beirut and then stay there."

MATTHEWS: OK, thank you very much for joining us from Jerusalem, Jeff Barak of the "Jerusalem Post."

This morning, another reminder of the threat to Americans overseas. Nine people were killed and thirty injured when a car bomb exploded near the American embassy in Lima, Peru. The blast came days before President Bush is expected to visit Peru. And while no one has claimed responsibility, intelligence suspects that the Maoist Shining Path terror group is responsible.

President Bush had this reaction.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BUSH: Two-bit terrorists aren't going to prevent me from doing what we need to do, and that is to promote our friendship in the hemisphere. Our neighborhood is important to us. Peru's an important country. President Toledo has been a reformist. You know, obviously, work within the democratic system. And you bet I'm going.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

MATTHEWS: Well, unfortunately, the Shining Path is a very frightening terrorist group, not a two-bit group.

More word from Afghanistan that hundreds of -- if not thousands of al Qaeda fighters are slipping away from the country and the grasp of U.S. forces. And "The New York Times" reports that American troops may pursue those fighters into Pakistan. Here's the quote. "Major General Franklin Hagenbeck of the 10th Mountain Division said that chasing al Qaeda and the Taliban into Pakistan would be a last resort carried out with the approval of Pakistani leaders."

NBC military analyst Bill Arkin is in Kandahar, Afghanistan. Earlier today, I asked him about the possibility of U.S. troops crossing that border into Pakistan.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

WILLIAM ARKIN, NBC NEWS MILITARY ANALYST: Well, it seems to me that that would be something that would have to be worked out with the Pakistani government. But I would also imagine that that would be the end of Musharraf. I can't imagine U.S. forces operating inside Pakistan. But I think it's also an admission on the part of the general that, certainly, Operation Anaconda has not been the success that they've made it out to be, that hundreds, if not thousands, of al Qaeda and Taliban have gotten away, as they have for other operations, and that we'll be seeing more in the future.

MATTHEWS: Where are they?

ARKIN: Where are they? Who knows, Chris. I think that the answer to the question, partially, is that the Taliban have completely blended into Afghan society. But the hard-core al Qaeda, who are mostly foreigners -- Pakistanis, Chechnyans, Arabs -- those people, I think, are either hiding in the mountains still -- and there are various pockets in Afghanistan, not just in the east but also in the central part of the country. And I think after that, you have to also consider that there is a very porous border between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

And I don't imagine that U.S. forces are going to be crossing that border, but I do think that there's going to be increasing pressure upon the Pakistani government to take military action against al Qaeda and against the Taliban who might be going across the border. But then I think you're really talking about a higher level of military activity than we've seen to date.

MATTHEWS: What about a possible link-up, a joint operation by -- joint maneuvers and border controls by the United States, working with the Pakistanis? General Tommy Franks mentioned that in the wire stories this morning.

ARKIN: Well, you know, I just came from Pakistan, Chris, and I just can't imagine that that there's going to be much more military presence in the border areas than there already are without a full-scale war.

The fact of the matter is, what is it exactly that you're expecting that the Pakistanis are going to be going after? Al Qaeda is a very amorphous, decentralized body. The whole Pakistani border area is essentially an area that's under tribal control, that's very lawless, that is including all sorts of groups that may or may not be associated with the Taliban or al Qaeda and may just be natural enemies of the Pakistani government.

Are we going to be basically making the Pakistanis then, therefore, giving them free reign to conduct military operations in this area under the name of a war against terrorism? I don't think that that's very likely.

So in fact, I think the statements by General Franks and the statements by General Hagenbeck don't make any sense. I don't think the U.S. is going to be operating inside Pakistan, and I don't imagine that the Pakistani government is going to be taking up arms against this entire Baluchi state, of which they have very tenuous control over and don't want to particularly fracture any further than it already is.

MATTHEWS: Let's talk about the discussion that began the other day, when Thomas Friedman of "The New York Times," who's gotten a lot of respect for his commentary this year during the war, suggests that we have to put troops both in the Palestinian territories adjoining Israel to keep peace there, but he also suggested we have to put a permanent deployment of troops in Afghanistan.

What is your sense as to the advisability of the United States becoming a permanent military garrison in Afghanistan?

ARKIN: Well, first of all, Chris, it's just not going to happen. No one in the Defense Department leadership wants U.S. forces cemented into this country. In fact, I think one of the

reasons why they have described the U.S. mission as being circumscribed to topping the Taliban and going after al Qaeda is because when that mission, that defined and confined mission is finished, they want to be out of Afghanistan.

So Tom Friedman can say it from his desk in New York, but I think on the ground here there's a great desire not to get embroiled into the future of this country on the part of the United States. And I think for right now, you see people basically biding their time, waiting to see what's going to happen in Afghanistan, and before they declare their loyalties, before they declare which way they're going to go. I don't think the U.S. military is going to have any influence over that.

I know that everyone says that there has to be security in order for there to be prosperity and change in Afghanistan. But I think that probably the United States should let the international community, let the NGOs, let the international world work on developing Afghanistan economically, changing the society in Afghanistan, improving the position of women in Afghanistan.

We've done as much as we can do with the military forces that are already here. Fighting down to the last al Qaeda guy is just not going to accomplish very much more. It seems that what Afghanistan needs is a makeover, and the military is just not going to be the force to achieve it.

MATTHEWS: OK, thank you very much, Bill Arkin, MSNBC military analyst, who's in Kandahar, Afghanistan.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

Those are the headlines tonight, but the big story coming back on HARDBALL: A Palestinian suicide attack derails truce talks in the Mideast. Has Yasser Arafat missed his last chance to stop the terror? And later, the HARDBALL debate. Columbia law professor George Fletcher argues that Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza is perfectly legal. The Palestinian representative to the United Nations says it's not. And Senator Orrin Hatch will be here with his take on how America should deal with the Mideast.

You're watching HARDBALL.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

MATTHEWS: The big story tonight: Palestinian violence derails cease-fire talks. Israeli officials canceled the latest round of truce talks scheduled for today after a Palestinian suicide bomber killed 2 and wounded at least 60 people in the heart of Jerusalem. The Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, a militia linked to Yasser Arafat's Fatah movement, claimed credit for the bombing.

President Bush had some stern words for the Palestinian leader.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BUSH: Set some strong conditions, and we expect Mr. Arafat to meet those conditions. I frankly have been disappointed in his performance. I'm hopeful, however, that he listens to what the vice president told him and said that in order for us to have influence, in terms of achieving any kind of peaceful resolution, he must -- he, Mr. Arafat -- must do everything in his power to stop the violence.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

MATTHEWS: Raanan Gissin is a senior adviser to Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon, and Hasan Abdel Rahman is the Palestinian representative here in the United States.

Let's go to Mr. Gissin, who's in Jerusalem. Mr. Gissin, what will be the impact of this latest -- latest atrocity in the streets of Jerusalem on the talks?

RAANAN GISSIN, SHARON SENIOR ADVISER: Well, I'm afraid that Yasser Arafat is quickly reaching that moment of truth where there will be no return. We've seen him take no action whatsoever, not a declaration for a cease-fire, not issuing orders to his troops. And Tanzim, by the way, is not just associated with Arafat, it's an organization that is on his payroll, that is paid by him, directed by him, controlled by him. And there's been no attempt to stop the vilifying incitement that brings those young people to the streets to commit these heinous murders.

MATTHEWS: Let's go to Mr. Rahman, who's here with me as a spokesman for the PLO. Does your organization accept responsibility for the behavior today of the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, which apparently one of these people committed suicide, killed 2 Israelis and injured 60?

HASAN ABDEL RAHMAN, PLO REPRESENTATIVE TO U.S.: Of course not. And as we've always indicated, we are opposed to any violence against civilians. But we hold responsible for those acts the Israeli government and the behavior of the Israeli army, which is pushing those young people to desperation.

If Mr. Gissin would just reflect on the behavior of the Israeli army when they strip men half naked, detained people in concentration camps behind barbed wires, when they are still imposing a siege on 3.2 million Palestinians, starving them literally. He must reflect on this behavior by Israel, which is leading those young men to become suicide bombers. Those young men were not born suicide bombers. They are pushed to become suicide bombers because of the conditions under which they live.

(CROSSTALK)

MATTHEWS: Mr. Gissin, do you want to respond to that, sir?

GISSIN: Yeah. I mean, this kind of duplicity and -- and you know, saying that the Israeli army -- how did we get there, in the first place? We didn't want this war. It was imposed on us 18 months ago. And the Palestinians have sent suicide bombers time and again, before there was any action by the Israeli army. Ten cease-fires -- we agreed for ten cease-fires. Yasser Arafat did not comply with even one, neither did the Palestinian leaders. And now they are exonerating and condoning and hailing those suicide bombers. Now, when a society is engaged in that, I think it is a society that's on the verge of losing any semblance of civility, just like human animals!

RAHMAN: I believe that the behavior of the Israelis against the Palestinians was characterized by no other than the secretary general of the United Nations, which he said it bordered almost -- almost -- on war crimes in the territories. When Israel moved in and killed the 300 Palestinians, arrested 3,000 -- and by the way, Mr. Gissin, this conflict did not start 18

months ago. It's been going on...

GISSIN: Oh, of course not!

RAHMAN: ... for 35 years, since Israel occupied the territories![tilde]

(CROSSTALK)

RAHMAN: And three generations -- let me finish because I waited for you to finish. Thirty-five years of occupation, illegal military occupation, in which you moved 300,000 Jewish settlers into the heart of the Palestinian towns, making the life of the Palestinian people miserable, stealing their land, their livelihood and their dignity.

You turned our people into suicide bombers, Mr. Gissin, by the way you behaved towards them. You have to take responsibility for your actions.

MATTHEWS: Mr. Gissin, let's talk about the whole question of how to deal with -- from your perspective as an Israeli, how do you deal with the fact that Yasser Arafat has limited control, apparently, over these terrorists? He has some control over the people associated with al Fatah movement, like the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigade. There are others, like the ones who committed the crime yesterday. You had the Islamic Jihad suicide. Did you -- is that why you changed your reaction? Yesterday you went ahead with the talks...

GISSIN: No, no!

MATTHEWS: ... because it was done by somebody outside the orbit. This time because it's somebody inside the orbit of Yasser Arafat.

GISSIN: No. You're taking an assumption and making it a truth, and it's nonsense because Yasser Arafat has full control over this organization. This man that conducted today's terrorist attack, five days ago was arrested by the security forces of Yasser Arafat upon our request. And they said, "We need to transport him from Tulkarm to Ramallah." And we allowed them, thinking, "Very well, they'll put him in prison" because he was wanted. He was a ticking bomb.

And then he was released from prison, and the first time he appeared -- the next time he appeared was on the street of Jerusalem, with this heinous crime of killing innocent civilians. So Yasser Arafat could have stopped this particular man. And there are ample examples, many examples of this kind of duplicity, speaking about peace but acting acts of terror, continuing to condone terror, to incite to terror.

I'm sorry. We had enough of it. This land is also our land. It's my ancestral homeland, and I have a right to defend the citizens of Israel who are living on that land. We want peace because peace is our natural choice. But if the Palestinians decide that the way that they are going to conduct their business with us is with terrorism, then we will respond in kind.

MATTHEWS: Let's talk about the response. You start, Mr. Hasan. Does Yasser Arafat still want to go to the Arab League meeting in Beirut?

RAHMAN: He wants to. But Israel cannot treat Yasser Arafat as a prisoner in his house and expect him to behave like a president. When Israel in the last 18 months destroyed every single police station, every single vehicle, targeted policemen, targeted Palestinian leaders and killed

them, what does Israel...

MATTHEWS: Well, if...

RAHMAN: ... expect?

MATTHEWS: Let me just ask you...

RAHMAN: Yasser Arafat...

MATTHEWS: I'm not -- look...

RAHMAN: ... wants to go to the summit. And he wants to push...

MATTHEWS: Well, why didn't he stop the terrorists today?

RAHMAN: He cannot!

MATTHEWS: Why can't he stop a guy from the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, who...

RAHMAN: That's absolutely...

MATTHEWS: ... is under him?

RAHMAN: ... nonsense, what Gissin said.

MATTHEWS: Well, is the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigade part of the al Fatah movement or not?

RAHMAN: Yes!

MATTHEWS: Well, then why can't he control his own movement?

RAHMAN: Those are local groups. They are disconnected. You see, the West Bank has been dissected into 64 zones by the Israeli army. If Mr. Gissin, with the 30,000 policemen and the army and the 450 tanks, could not protect Jerusalem, he cannot expect Yasser Arafat from his prison in Ramallah to protect Jerusalem.

MATTHEWS: OK, Mr. Gissin, will the government of Ariel Sharon permit Mr. Arafat to go to the Arab League meeting in Beirut this weekend?

GISSIN: If he complies with the demands and with the requirements. On the basis of reciprocity -- we weren't there 18 months. Eighteen months ago, there was a possibility of peace. There was a political horizon. And Israel made more concessions than the Palestinians ever received from any Arab country.

MATTHEWS: Right.

GISSIN: But Arafat has chosen a strategy of terror!

(CROSSTALK)

GISSIN: And now we have to bear the consequences.

(CROSSTALK)

GISSIN: ... that strategy!

MATTHEWS: Both gentlemen, we have just -- less than a minute. Is there going to be an

agreement along the lines of General Zinni's notion? He's our diplomatic -- our mediator in your countries. Is there going to be some sort of bridging proposal accepted by both sides? You, Mr. Rahman.

RAHMAN: We want him to succeed. We are ready to work with him. But we want Israel to cooperate, in order to change the miserable conditions...

MATTHEWS: But the...

RAHMAN: ... under which the Palestinians live today.

MATTHEWS: But your demand that the government -- or the IDF withdraw its forces from the occupied territories is, in fact, being done, isn't?

RAHMAN: No! It is not. The army is still circling the cities and towns. My family cannot move from one street to the other!

MATTHEWS: OK.

RAHMAN: My nephews cannot go to school because the Israeli army makes it impossible for them to arrive there.

MATTHEWS: Mr. Gissin, is the government of Ariel Sharon, which you advise -- are they, in fact, moving to withdraw their troop from the occupied territories -- from the Arab territories?

GISSIN: I'm sorry! It's a bunch of lies! We have moved our forces from area A, where we didn't want to be, in the first place, were forced by the Palestinian...

RAHMAN: But you are encircling the cities...

GISSIN: ... terror!

RAHMAN: ... Mr. Gissin!

GISSIN: And therefore -- and...

(CROSSTALK)

GISSIN: If you would have reciprocated -- this is a decision that the Palestinian people have to take.

RAHMAN: But then what you are saying...

GISSIN: We are willing to...

MATTHEWS: What have you done to...

(CROSSTALK)

GISSIN: But they have not done anything!

RAHMAN: On the one hand, he's saying that "We will do," and on the other, he said "You have to reciprocate in order to do."

MATTHEWS: Yeah.

RAHMAN: That's nonsense!



GISSIN: No!

MATTHEWS: Well, there has to be...

GISSIN: You have a leader that you elected and selected...

(CROSSTALK)

RAHMAN: Of course!

(CROSSTALK)

GISSIN: He bears responsibility for your actions!

RAHMAN: They invaded the cities. They imposed the...

MATTHEWS: OK, we got to -- we got to...

(CROSSTALK)

MATTHEWS: Thank you very much for joining us, Mr. Rahman. It's great to have you -- Hasan Abdel Rahman, who speaks for the PLO. And it was great to have Raanan Gissin, who is a close adviser to Ariel Sharon, the prime minister of Israel. Please, both of you, come back.

Up next, the HARDBALL debate. I think we already had one. Is Israel's occupation of the Palestinian territory illegal? That's what U.N. secretary general Kofi Annan called it. We'll hear from both sides when we return on HARDBALL.

You're watching it.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

MATTHEWS: Welcome back to HARDBALL.

This half hour: Senator Orrin Hatch on the violence in the Mideast and on President Bush's overall foreign policy.

But first the "HARDBALL Debate": Is Israel's occupation of Palestinian territory illegal? U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan last week demanded that Israel end its -- quote -- "illegal occupation" -- close quote -- of those lands.

But in today's "New York Times," international law specialist George Fletcher writes -- quote -- "In this time of crisis and forgetfulness, using the term 'illegal' is destructive and dangerous. For the unformed, the discussion will start with the secretary general's labeling of the occupation as a violation of law. Those who pay attention to the details of history know better."

George Fletcher joins now. He is also author of the forthcoming book "Romantics at War: Glory and Guilt in the Age of Terrorism." Also with us, Ambassador Nasser al-Kidwa, the permanent observer of Palestine to the United Nations.

Now, gentlemen, we're going to debate an issue here. You two are going to debate it. Let's stick to the particular language of Kofi Annan, the secretary general of the U.N., when he said that the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza is illegal.

Make your case, Professor Fletcher.

GEORGE FLETCHER, INTERNATIONAL LAW SPECIALIST: Fine, Chris.

To say that it's legal is not to say that it is desirable. Of course, I would prefer to see a negotiated settlement. I would prefer to see an arrangement, a peace settlement on the West Bank and in Gaza. But there's no basis for Kofi Annan's claim that this is a violation of international law. And I think his heart is in the right place. He wants to facilitate the peace process, but he just made a mistake.

MATTHEWS: Mr. Al-Kidwa, what is your position on the legality or illegality of the Israeli occupation?

NASSER AL-KIDWA, PALESTINIAN OBSERVER TO UNITED NATIONS: Well, the Israeli occupation is perfectly illegal, of course, under international law.

FLETCHER: Perfectly illegal, you say?

AL-KIDWA: Illegal, yes.

International law is very clear on at least two points: the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. That's one. And two: the prohibition on the transfer of the citizens of the occupying power to the occupied territories.

FLETCHER: Well, let's be clear about some facts. Israel has not annexed the West Bank.

(CROSSTALK)

AL-KIDWA: It annexed parts of the occupation territory.

(CROSSTALK)

MATTHEWS: Let's use definitions that we can use in a high school debate, both gentlemen.

If you say inadmissibility, isn't that a swift way, a clever way of saying annexed? And Israel hasn't annexed the West Bank, has it?

AL-KIDWA: Yes, it did. It did annex Jerusalem. And Israel continued in trying to change the legal status and the demographic composition of the occupied territory as a whole by transferring more than 400,000 Israeli settlers.

(CROSSTALK)

AL-KIDWA: That is completely prohibited under international law precisely to prevent the recurrence of the calamities of the Second World War, specifically the colonialism.

FLETCHER: The Geneva Convention refers to deporting and transferring. Now, the question is: Did Israel transfer its population? It didn't instruct anyone to go live in the West Bank or in Gaza. People moved voluntarily.

(CROSSTALK)

AL-KIDWA: Be more serious.

(CROSSTALK)

MATTHEWS: One at a time.

First, I'm going to Professor Fletcher make the case. Delineate exactly what you think is legal and what you think may be illegal with regard to Israel's occupation.

FLETCHER: Fine.

I think that the question of the settlements is debatable. I think that the ambassador has a point that it's arguable whether or not the Israeli government was complicitous in the voluntary decision by many people to move to the West Bank, exactly in the same way that Arafat's government is complicitous in the suicide bombings.

MATTHEWS: Well, was it entirely optional or rather voluntary?

I remember Golda Meir, one of the most impressive prime ministers of Israel, saying that the settlements constituted what she called new facts. In other words, they were useful to Israel in its negotiations.

FLETCHER: I understand that.

MATTHEWS: In other words, she was positively inclined to the point of claiming that as a diplomatic advantage.

You say that the government of Israel, under Likud governments and Labor governments -- under Likud especially -- was not advancing the cause of the settlements?

FLETCHER: Well, until 1977, the government flatly opposed any settlements. After the Begin government came to power in '77, there was a beginning of some tolerance for the settlements.

AL-KIDWA: That's not true.

(CROSSTALK)

FLETCHER: Let's distinguish the question of the settlements from the legality of the occupation.

I think that the question of the settlements is debatable. And I concede in the article that, under a peace agreement, it would be desirable to repeat what Israel did in the settlement with Egypt: that is to dismantle the settlements. They did it before and they can do it again. So, the question of the settlements is not the same question as the legality of the occupation.

(CROSSTALK)

MATTHEWS: OK, Mr. Kidwa, take a minute. Take a breath. You'll be on in a minute.

Go ahead.

AL-KIDWA: International law is very clear. There is a clear prohibition on the transfer of the citizens. And occupying

(CROSSTALK)

AL-KIDWA: Let me speak, please.

Occupying power has the responsibility there. And it's not true to say that it didn't have

anything to do with this. Let me remind you that, in the first few years, the Israeli government said that settlements are security measure. It did not mean to increase the Israeli population of the occupied territories.

(CROSSTALK)

FLETCHER: I want to find common ground with you.

Can we distinguish between the question of the settlements and the question of the occupation? I admit that the question of the settlements is debatable.

AL-KIDWA: It is not debatable.

FLETCHER: We're talking about the legality of the occupation. Can we make that distinction?

AL-KIDWA: Let me meet you half step. It's not debatable. It is completely illegal. However

(CROSSTALK)

MATTHEWS: Gentlemen, the focus of tonight's debate: to elucidate an issue which is very tricky for people who are neither Israeli nor Palestinian. Please address your remarks to those people watching the show.

AL-KIDWA: Yes, exactly.

MATTHEWS: No, Mr. Kidwa, don't change the subject. Talk about the occupation. Which U.N. resolution that you can cite declares that the Israeli forces moving into the West Bank is illegal?

AL-KIDWA: Security Council, responding to the illegal measures and practices of Israel's occupying power, adopted 26 resolutions, 26, not one or two.

FLETCHER: No, that's false, false.

(CROSSTALK)

AL-KIDWA: All of them addressed the legality of the Israeli actions. I will tell you why the Israeli occupation is illegal: not because it took place during a war. It is illegal because it has been transformed into a form of colonialism.

FLETCHER: Well, this is not legal language. This is just political talk.

Look, I agree with you, Ambassador.

AL-KIDWA: But this is the legalities of the matter.

FLETCHER: Ambassador, I agree with you. This is ultimately a political question.

The problem is: Does it help the political solution to inject this provocative language of illegal occupation? I claim that this hurts our search for common ground.

AL-KIDWA: That is a different matter. And let me respond to that.

FLETCHER: First of all, it's false and destructive of the peace process.

AL-KIDWA: That's a different matter. And let me respond to that.

I think it helps for one simple reason: because the Israelis and the Israeli government need to put their finger on the crux of the matter.

FLETCHER: If the occupation is false.

AL-KIDWA: They should see that ending the occupation is the only way forward to reach a settlement between the two sides. And, as such...

FLETCHER: This is great.

AL-KIDWA: Yes, of course.

FLETCHER: I agree with you.

(CROSSTALK)

MATTHEWS: Let's break this off. I want the next 20 seconds to go to the professor, then back to you, Mr. Kidwa.

FLETCHER: I agree. We should try to negotiate a settlement. This is why we had Camp David. This is why we have repeated efforts on the part of the Israelis and the good services of the American to propose settlements.

I'm waiting. I'm eager to hear a Palestinian peace proposal, how it would look, how it would work, how the Palestinians would recognize Israel's right to exist. We're waiting for that.

MATTHEWS: OK, let's go to Mr. Kidwa right now.

In terms of the legality, you've pointed out tonight on this program, very effectively and forcefully, that Israel has no right to annex the Golan Heights. It has no right, you argue, to annex any part of Jerusalem it didn't occupy before the '67 war. Are you arguing that the other territorial occupation, beyond the Golan Heights, beyond Jerusalem, is that illegal? Are you saying that as well?

AL-KIDWA: Yes.

MATTHEWS: Under what resolution?

AL-KIDWA: Under many resolutions...

FLETCHER: There is no resolution.

AL-KIDWA: ... including those which prohibit the transfer of civilians, prohibit settlements, and calls on Israel to dismantle these settlements.

FLETCHER: It's really a shame, Ambassador, that you can't recognize the difference between the settlements and the occupation. We're supposed to be debating the legality of the occupation.

(CROSSTALK)

AL-KIDWA: Again, the occupation was not a temporary phenomenon. It was meant to continue and meant to negate the existence of the Palestinian people and their right to self-

determination.

(CROSSTALK)

MATTHEWS: Mr. Kidwa, if the Israeli government, if the IDF continued to occupy the West Bank, but eliminated all the settlements on the West Bank, would that be legal?

AL-KIDWA: In retrospect, probably.

It should end, but without annexation, without illegal settlements. Probably that would have been a completely different kind of occupation.

MATTHEWS: Let me ask Professor Fletcher. I'm going to give you a chance in a few seconds to explain why you wrote this article. Why is it dangerous to have the secretary general use the word illegal in this regard?

FLETCHER: It's very important to recognize that we have a political problem here. And what worries me is that the use of this language of illegality will make the Palestinians intransigent and self-righteous in their resistance to reaching a peaceful settlement.

Look, if I thought myself that the occupation were illegal, I would be on the ambassador's side in this debate. I would think that it would be outrageous. But, in fact, it is not illegal. And Israel is holding on, as any occupying power would, until it can negotiate a peace settlement. That's a perfectly reasonable thing to do.

(CROSSTALK)

MATTHEWS: Mr. Ambassador, why do you think the secretary general retreated from his statement of the other day? Why is he saying he didn't quite mean it was illegal? What did he mean by that? What do you take it?

AL-KIDWA: He didn't retreat. That's not true.

He was asked by the press the next day. And he explained that the Security Council and General Assembly repeatedly indicated a position on the illegality of the Israeli occupation.

MATTHEWS: On the settlements.

AL-KIDWA: On the illegality of settlements, illegality of

(CROSSTALK)

MATTHEWS: I think you agree, actually, gentlemen. Ironically, I think both of you are arguing from different points. I think you do agree, actually.

FLETCHER: I think we do, too.

MATTHEWS: Anyway, thank you, Ambassador Nasser Al-Kidwa, and George Fletcher of Columbia University.

Up next: Should Vice President Dick Cheney meet Yasser Arafat? Good question. I'm going to ask Senator Orrin Hatch when we come back.

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SHOW: THE NEWS WITH BRIAN WILLIAMS 21:00

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**BYLINE:** Forrest Sawyer; Tom Aspell; Jim Miklaszewski; Jane Watrel; Katie Couric; Jim Kosek; David Gregory

**GUESTS:** Bernard Trainor; Mark Regev; **Nasser Al-Kidwa**; Warren Bass

**HIGHLIGHT:**

Operation Anaconda, the harshest battle of the Afghan war so far, a battle that left eight United States troops dead, has now ended. Military officials confirmed today the Bush administration has decided to cut back on protective combat flights over America, which have been the norm since September 11. The vice president arrived in Israel prepared to make a push for peace, and he met with the Israeli prime minister, Ariel Sharon.

**BODY:**

THIS IS A RUSH TRANSCRIPT. THIS COPY MAY NOT BE IN ITS FINAL FORM AND MAY BE UPDATED.

FORREST SAWYER, GUEST ANCHOR: The next phase of the Afghanistan war begins. The bloodiest battle so far is over tonight. But once again, too many enemy fighters may have gotten away.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

GENERAL TOM FRANKS, U.S. CENTRAL COMMAND COMMANDER: I won't talk to you about numbers of casualties and I won't talk to you about body counts. But I will say that the



area around Shah-E-Kot is a completely different area than it was two weeks ago.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

SAWYER: Plans to scale back security in the skies over New York and other big U.S. cities. Is it time, or is it too soon?

Vice President Cheney in Israel to push for peace, as the Israeli army makes a big concession to the Palestinians. Is there reason for hope?

And tonight, an in-depth look at the terror tactics in the Middle East. Are months of suicide bombings actually giving the Palestinians the advantage?

Also, the government breaks open an on-line child pornography ring they say involved thousands of predators, including police officers and clergy members.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

JOHN ASHCROFT, ATTORNEY GENERAL: It is clear that a new marketplace for child pornography has emerged in the dark corners of cyberspace.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

SAWYER: And a look at the car that has the dubious distinction of getting stolen in the U.S. more than any other vehicle.

Good evening. Operation Anaconda, the harshest battle of the Afghan war so far, a battle that left eight United States troops dead, is now officially over. But the effort to search for and destroy reforming groups of al Qaeda and Taliban resistance is still very much under way. It is a near certainty that more tough fights are ahead.

As General Tommy Franks put it, battles that may well be the size of Anaconda. Franks also called Anaconda an unqualified success. But the size of the success is far from clear. How many of the enemy were actually killed? How many got away? How effective was the battle in breaking the spirit of resistance? These are questions still to be answered.

But today for the U.S., it was a time to honor the country's warriors. Our coverage begins with NBC's Tom Aspell.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

TOM ASPELL, NBC NEWS CORRESPONDENT (voice-over): The commander of the war in Afghanistan, General Tommy Franks, at Bagram air base this morning, declaring Operation Anaconda over, giving out bronze stars for bravery to soldiers of the 10th mountain division.

FRANKS: You are so special. Thanks a lot for being who you are and doing what you do for all these people.

ASPELL: Franks called Anaconda an unqualified success. But how big a success remains somewhat unclear. Backed by massive air support, 1,200 American soldiers and their coalition allies were helicoptered 10,000 feet up into the mountains of eastern Afghanistan to flush out al Qaeda and Taliban fighters dug into caves and bunkers around the Shah-E-Kot valley.

Eight Americans were killed and 50 wounded in the opening days of the battle, but even back then U.S. commanders were confident their men in the mountains had the upper hand.

MAJ. BRYAN HILFERTY, U.S. ARMY: We observed them through different intelligence sources and we brought firepower to bear on them. We think we killed several hundred of them.

ASPELL: But today, Franks would offer no such estimate.

FRANKS: I won't talk to you about numbers of casualties and I won't talk to you about body count. But I will say that the area is a completely different area than it was two weeks ago.

ASPELL: And today, the Pentagon preferred to concentrate on the overall mission against al Qaeda and the Taliban.

VICTORIA CLARKE, PENTAGON SPOKESPERSON: Rooting out the al Qaeda and the Taliban, clearly we are doing that. Getting them on the run. Making it difficult for them to work and coordinate with one another. Clearly, the objectives we've laid out are being accomplished.

BRIG. GEN. JOHN ROSA JR., JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF: Anaconda was important for a couple of reasons. No. 1, it showed the Taliban and the al Qaeda that the American folks were serious. Our troops are up to the task.

ASPELL: Operation Anaconda may have destroyed another al Qaeda and Taliban sanctuary in Afghanistan's eastern mountains, but there's still no sign of their leaders.

LEE HAMILTON, WOODROW WILSON INT'L CENTER FOR SCHOLARS: I don't think we can ever declare victory, or even a partial victory, unless we get the top leaders of al Qaeda. And we've not succeed in the doing that yet.

ASPELL (on camera): The military says there will be more operations like Anaconda, perhaps in southeastern Afghanistan, next. And they're giving every indication that American troops will be here for at least a year. Tom Aspell, NBC News, Kabul.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

SAWYER: So you see, it is not clear just how successful Operation Anaconda really was, or what steps the U.S. should take next. Let's get a military point of view. We're joined by retired Marine Lieutenant General Bernard Trainor. He's a veteran of the Korean and Vietnam wars and he is a senior fellow at the council on foreign relations and, we're proud to say, an MSNBC analyst.

General, as you look at what has been coming out of the Pentagon, first comments about large numbers of bodies. And now, well, we're not going to talk about bodies. What do you make of that?

LT. GEN. BERNARD TRAINOR, RET., U.S. MARINE CORPS: I have to tell you, Forrest, I think the Pentagon is starting to lose its credibility. There's great anticipation for victories from the briefings that you get. We're going to give it to them at Tora Bora. They're not going to escape.

First of all, it's unrealistic to think that you're going to seal off anything along that Pakistan-

Afghan border up in the mountains. But Tora Bora did all the bombing and so forth. And what do we find? Virtually nothing. We found caves.

Then we talked about Anaconda. We're going to constrict them. I mean, we're going to choke them to death. So what happens? We start off the operation. The first thing that happens, we get ambushed and lose eight people. After that we have fierce fighting, in which we take virtually no casualties, neither did the Afghans.

And in the end, what do we find? We find no evidence of any sort of victory. And if you take an empty cave on a mountaintop, it's a repeat of Tora Bora. And they're going to lead us a merry chase forever out there. I mean, we've got to do something, yet if we're not doing what we had hoped to do, they should not raise our expectations and call this marvelous success.

SAWYER: You and I have been talking about this since the very beginning. Here's another way of looking at it. Some analysts said, look, the Taliban are going to give up the cities anyway. They can't control them against a hierarchical power like the United States.

They're going to move into the hills, they'll disperse. They'll begin to form and reform, and constantly be on the move. And they will hope to wear down the United States over years, and hope to build up resistance to a foreign force among the Afghan population. Does that sound like a good idea?

TRAINOR: Sure it is. I mean, the key is we've got to kill these people, most of all their leadership. But we have no evidence that we've done that. And yet we get these stories that we're doing swimmingly well.

Forrest, it reminds me of the early days of the Vietnam War, with the 5:00 briefings in Saigon, which became known as the 5:00 follies, where everybody said we're doing very well. There's a light at the end of the tunnel. Well, it turned out the light at the end of the tunnel was a train coming towards our forces. And that the reporters in the field were able to see what the truth was, as opposed to what they were getting out of the 5:00 follies. There's a certain element of that here.

SAWYER: Let's look at it from the administration's point of view. I heard this talk way back at the beginning of this fighting, when people said, you know what, they're not going to take Mazar-e Sharif until sometime around June. They're going to be stuck up there in those cold mountains. It's going to be a long, ugly battle. But in fact, a lot of cave-in happened very, very fast, and we were all surprised.

TRAINOR: Well, it's true, in terms of the cities. But we're in the mountains and the cold weather right now. So apparently, some of those predictions are coming true. What I'm saying is, look, the administration shouldn't be putting such a glowing color and light on the thing. They should be talking about the realities.

The American people are not stupid and they're not naive. They understand this is a very difficult war and that it's going to go on for a very long time. They're not afraid to take casualties. They've already taken 3,000 casualties. So they shouldn't be giving us these glowing stories. They should be a little more realistic about what's happening. You get the contradictory stories

from the people in the field.

SAWYER: I got your point. About 30 seconds left. Can this war actually be won in Afghanistan?

TRAINOR: Oh, surely. I think it can. If we put the effort into it, have a decent strategy and put the resources to it, and that may be ground forces. Surely, it's going to be won.

It's not going to be easy. You're going to manage this thing. You're never going to completely conquer the situation. You can reduce it to manageable proportions.

SAWYER: General Bernard Trainor, always good to talk to you.

TRAINOR: All right, Forrest.

SAWYER: And from the Pentagon tonight, word that the military is going to stop its around the clock combat air patrols back in the U.S. over major cities, including New York, that have been in place since September 11th. We've got details now from NBC News Pentagon correspondent, Jim Miklaszewski.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

JIM MIKLASZEWSKI, NBC CORRESPONDENT (voice-over): When President Bush took off from the White House today, U.S. fighter planes were circling high overhead, well out of sight for protection. But almost all of these combat air patrols were about to be grounded.

Military officials confirmed today the Bush administration has decided to cut back on protective combat flights over America.

CLARKE: It is very appropriate to take a look at the combat air patrol plan and say: what's appropriate at different times?

MIKLASZEWSKI: The proposed changes would end the round-the-clock patrols over New York City and at least a half-dozen other cities chosen at random each day, but would continue 24 hours per day, seven days a week, over Washington, D.C.

Instead, the number of combat planes on strip alert, sitting on runways prepared to scramble in an emergency, would be increased. With the real possibility one of these pilots may have to shoot down any plane that poses a threat.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: If my country tells me that this is something I have to do, there won't be any hesitation.

MIKLASZEWSKI: But Pentagon officials now argue that with improved security at airports, and hardened cockpit doors on airliners, the potential threat has been reduced.

(on camera): But there's another reason for the cutback. The combat air operation has put tremendous stress on the Air Force, both in manpower and money.

(voice-over): Since September 11, the Air Force has used more than 11,000 personnel, 250 aircraft, at an estimated cost of **\$800 million**.

**ROSA: Over time, as we become more efficient and we learn more about the threat, we**

want to become the better stewards of the taxpayers' dollar.

**MIKLASZEWSKI:** In addition, while the Air Force has intercepted or reacted to more than 300 in-flight emergencies, almost all have been minor.

**DAVID STEMLER, AIR TRAVELERS ASSN.:** Airline passengers should be relieved that these fighter planes are not up there, because they were really there to shoot down passenger planes.

**MIKLASZEWSKI:** Still, some members of Congress think it's too early to cut back combat flight.

**SEN. CHARLES SCHUMER (D), NEW YORK:** And if a little after six months, we're letting our guard down in this very significant way, I worry about the future.

**MIKLASZEWSKI:** Tonight U.S. warplanes are flying combat patrols over seven U.S. cities. But perhaps not for long. Jim Miklaszewski, NBC News, the Pentagon.

**(END VIDEOTAPE)**

**SAWYER:** And there is this bit of news. The State Department warning tonight, Americans may be facing more attacks against U.S. interests abroad. The warning comes after yesterday's grenade attack on a church in Pakistan near the U.S. embassy compound in Islamabad. Five people killed. That includes two Americans.

With security increased at official U.S. facilities abroad for months now, the State Department is saying that attacks are becoming more likely in other places where Americans gather, for instance, this church. An American missionary who survived the church attack talked about her experience today.

**(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)**

**DIANE SHERBECK, GRENADE ATTACK SURVIVOR:** I just heard a loud noise. I turned around quickly to see what it was, and I saw a man standing there throwing these grenades. I've never seen a grenade before, but there were these three balls. And I knew right away what it was. I ran behind the piano. And I had a lot of bleeding from my head here, coming down into my face. But we just stayed there and prayed.

**(END VIDEO CLIP)**

**SAWYER:** The two Americans who were killed in the attack were an embassy employee and her teenage daughter.

Now to the Middle East. The Israeli Army is pulling out of Bethlehem. That's a key Palestinian precondition for a cease-fire. But the move has not brought an end to the fighting. And that is not good news for Vice President Dick Cheney, who arrived in Israel today. He met this evening with Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. Correspondent Jane Watrel has our report.

**(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)**

**JANE WATREL, NBC NEWS CORRESPONDENT (voice-over):** The vice president

arrived in Israel prepared to make a full court press for peace.

**CHENEY:** Our goal is clear: to end the terror and violence, to build confidence between Israelis and Palestinians, that peace is not only possible but necessary.

**WATREL:** The vice president's visit comes during the first real movement in weeks toward a cease-fire. Israel has started to pull its troops out of an area near Bethlehem, a primary demand of the Palestinians. And PLO officials are hoping additional withdrawals will come.

**SAEB EREKAT, CHIEF PALESTINIAN NEGOTIATOR:** I really hope that in the next few hours, we will see the Israelis deploying from areas...

**WATREL:** The Israelis aren't ruling out additional withdrawals, but only, they say, if Palestinians stop suicide attacks and other acts of violence. On Sunday a Palestinian gunman opened fire in a Tel Aviv suburb, killing an 18-year-old high school student. And a suicide bomber blew himself up in front of a bus. In the West Bank town of Bethlehem, an armed Palestinian was killed in an exchange of fire with Israeli troops.

Prime Minister Ariel Sharon told Cheney Israel wants peace in the region and is investing every effort to reach a cease-fire. After months of warring, both sides have met several times with U.S. envoy Anthony Zinni, who arrived in the region last week.

Cheney is considering a possible meeting with Yasser Arafat. Aides say that would happen only if a cease-fire were at hand.

**CHENEY:** President Bush has outlined a vision in which two states, Israel and Palestine, can live together in peace and security.

**WATREL (on camera):** At the White House, Jane Watrel, NBC News.

**(END VIDEOTAPE)**

**SAWYER:** Even the smallest step toward peace in the Middle East is a painful one. In our second half-hour tonight, we're going to have our in-depth look at the desperate search for a cease-fire. That includes the tactics of terrorism. Why some are saying that terrorism may be working to Yasser Arafat's benefit.

Other news, the FBI is celebrating a victory in another battle. When we come back, federal agents break up a major child pornography ring. Dozens of arrests, including nurses, a teacher's aide and members of the clergy. We'll show you how the agents made their case.

And Andrea Yates, back in a Texas courtroom. Tonight, her husband on the case, on his children, and on his future.

**(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)**

**RUSSELL YATES, ANDREA'S HUSBAND:** I know I did all could I for Andrea and the children. I don't second-guess my decisions along the way. I know I did all I could.

**(END VIDEO CLIP)**

**(COMMERCIAL BREAK)**

**SAWYER:** The FBI is saying tonight it has broken up a major child pornography ring. A ring that flourished on the Internet. But investigators are even more outraged by the kinds of people they say were involved. We have the story tonight from NBC News justice correspondent, Pete Williams.

**(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)**

**PETE WILLIAMS, NBC NEWS CORRESPONDENT (voice-over):** In Houston today and in 20 other states, FBI agents arrested members of an Internet Web site that traded in sexually explicit pictures of children. Investigators say many of the 40 people arrested so far had jobs that put them in positions of protecting and helping young people.

**BRUCE GEBHARDT, FBI:** They include members of the clergy, law enforcement officers, a nurse, a teacher's aide, a school bus driver and others entrusted with protecting, nursing and educating the American youth.

**WILLIAMS:** The FBI says two of the clergy members were Catholic priests, both arrested previously. Also involved, law enforcement personnel in West Virginia and California, a camp counselor in Arizona, a handyman in Missouri. The FBI says they all used a Web site called the Candyman to exchange graphic child pornography.

The site, now shut down by investigators, was patronized by more than 7,000 users worldwide, about 2/3 of them in the U.S. Federal agents subpoenaed the site's unwitting host to get names of its users and track them down one by one. And investigators say 27 of those arrested have also admitted molesting three dozen children.

**ASHCROFT:** When we pursue child pornography, the path often leads to evidence of real sexual predators who have abused real children.

**WILLIAMS:** Today's arrests involved the discovery of an existing child porn exchange site. But federal and state agents also worked the Internet undercover, posing as young people, watching out for adults who try to find children willing to have sex. And FBI agents say it's impossible to know the true extent of the danger.

**UNIDENTIFIED MALE:** I mean, we're dealing with children. I would like to see a sweep a day, if we could, until we get them all out of there.

**WILLIAMS (on camera):** Federal agents say more arrests in this case are coming in the days ahead. Some of the Web site's users, the FBI says, don't even know they were under investigation and may soon be next. Pete Williams, NBC News, Washington.

**(END VIDEOTAPE)**

**SAWYER:** Other legal news tonight in California, closing arguments in the case of a woman who was mauled to death by her neighbor's dogs. Prosecutors held up casts made from one of the dog's jaws and asked if the jurors held to dog owners responsible for the killing. Defense attorneys called this an unforeseeable accident. If convicted, dog owner Marjorie Knoller could face 15 years in prison and her husband, up to four years.



A final step today in another highly-publicized trial. A judge in Texas has formally sentenced Andrea Yates to life in prison for drowning her five children. Now, she will not be eligible for parole for 40 years, when she will be 77 years old.

Now that the gag order has been lifted on the case, some of Yates' relatives are coming forward to say her husband did not do enough to help her cope with mental illness. Rusty Yates appeared on "The Today Show" this morning with Katie Couric to address those accusations.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

**YATES:** When something like this happens, people have to understand, you know, why did it happen? People want to understand why it happened. And unfortunately, what happens in most cases is people try to explain it in terms of things that they understand. You know, so if they don't understand the biochemical nature of Andrea's illness, then they're going to look to other things that they do understand.

So they'll say there must have been something else going on in that household. Or there must have been this or that. And it's all false. If you look at -- I mean, everywhere we went, we got this, you know, our family was complimented. Our children were beautiful. Andrea wasn't overwhelmed. You know, go to my Web site and look at our videos. I mean, there was no mounting pressure in our family or anything like that.

**KATIE COURIC, NBC NEWS ANCHOR:** You say she wasn't overwhelmed. But so many people think five children at home, home schooling them. A small home. That is an awful lot of pressure to put a woman under.

**YATES:** But like I said, you can see for yourself. Go look at the videos. We managed fine. I mean, there's too great a leap from where we lived and what our family lived like to what happened. There's no rational explanation for what happened, other than the fact that Andrea was psychotic.

And as far as not being attentive, I mean, I worked so hard to get medical treatment for her. I mean, unbelievably hard. We just couldn't get it.

**COURIC:** Do you ever look back, though, Rusty, and say if only I had done this? If only I had done that, then this tragedy might not have happened?

**YATES:** I've thought about that before. And I even said that the first day in my front yard. And obviously, that's like saying 20/20 hindsight, I could go back and change something, obviously I would. Obviously I would have stayed home that morning. It's almost the same as saying, do I wish my children were still here? Well, of course I do.

But I know that I did all I could for Andrea and the children. I don't second-guess my decisions along the way. I mean, I know that I did all I could.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

**SAWYER:** That's Rusty Yates speaking with Katie Couric this morning on "The Today Show."

When we come back on this Monday night, the hot list. Which cars on the road are also most often stolen? And where on the list is your car?

And the National Guard called up in several southeastern states after creeks and rivers spill over their banks. Is more rain headed that way?

**(COMMERCIAL BREAK)**

**SAWYER:** Some consumer news, certainly not the kind of recognition the folks at Toyota were looking for. For the fifth year in a row, the Camry is the No. 1 stolen vehicle in the nation. Now, the 1991 Camry was the most common. That was followed by last year's leader, the 1989 Camry. And then there's the top three, the 1990 Toyota Camry.

The list compiled every year by a group that tracks trends in vehicle theft for the insurance industry. A little good news over all. Nineteen of the top 25 most stolen cars unfortunately are Toyota Camrys, Honda Accords, Civics of varying years. All top seven believe they're stolen for their parts. But the good news is that overall last year vehicle thefts fell 2.7 percent.

How are the stocks? Next day on Wall Street, investors awaiting an announcement from the Federal Reserve tomorrow on interest rates. Most expecting them to stay right where they are. The Dow fell 29 points to close at 10,577. The Nasdaq gaining just a little bit more than 8 points, to close at 1,877.

Now we turn to the southeastern United States. The National Guard has been called in after massive flooding in Kentucky, in Tennessee and in Virginia. In some places, the flooding is being called the worst in 25 years -- as much as 7 inches of rain falling in just 36 hours. That forced hundreds to evacuate.

In Tennessee, the storm is being blamed for at least five deaths. Let's take a look at where that storm is tonight. We're joined by meteorologist Jim Kosek in the weather center. Jim, you have some good news out there at all?

**JIM KOSEK, NBC NEWS CORRESPONDENT:** We do for tonight, Forrest. But you really have to be humbled when you take a look at some of those pictures, there. You mentioned some of the hardest hit areas. Tennessee, an average of 4 to 8 inches across that state since this past weekend. But also, areas of Kentucky, West Virginia and Arkansas got in the act of the heavy rain.

Now, the good news for Tennessee, at least for tonight, the heavy rain has shifted to the north and to the west, as we can see on the latest Doppler radar, from Dallas-Fort Worth on northeast. The reason for that, a strong area of low pressure, or an upper level trough, if you will, coming through the great basin.

Now, the wind flow around low pressure is counterclockwise, so it's lifting all this subtropical moisture northward, at least for the time being. So rightly so, flash flood watches out in effect for no less than parts of 11 states during the course of the night. I wouldn't even be surprised if the area was expanded as we head into Tuesday.

The reason why? More and more moisture, not just out of the subtropics. From the Gulf of Mexico as well, and that allows the rain to expand from north Texas all the way off to the northeast. So it's kind of a good-news, bad-news scenario. Bad news is, flood and rains across Texas, the Ozarks, over into the Ohio valley during the course of Monday night. But on into portions of the Mid-Atlantic during the course of Tuesday. It's needed rainfall, Forrest, but it could be too much, too fast.

**SAWYER:** Jim Kosek, thanks very much, Jim.

And coming up next, tactics of terror: our in-depth look at the crisis in the Middle East. And a dangerous question: Just how effective a weapon is terrorism? (COMMERCIAL BREAK)

**SAWYER:** Vice President Cheney walking a diplomatic tightrope tonight in the Middle East, with political advantage appearing to shift to the Palestinians. How much are the tactics of terror hoping to shape the latest push for peace?

Welcome back.

After almost 18 months of fighting between Israelis and Palestinians, there may -- and I underscore "may" -- be a chance for a cease-fire tonight, in part because Palestinian violence has pushed the Israeli government into a painfully difficult political position. Even as Israeli troops were pulling out of Bethlehem, meeting a Palestinian demand, there have been more attacks on Israeli civilians, which raises a harsh question: Are such tactics working?

That's our in-depth topic tonight. But we begin with NBC News White House correspondent David Gregory, who is with Vice President Dick Cheney in Israel.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

**DAVID GREGORY, NBC WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENT (voice-over):** Mr. Cheney arrived in Israel with high hopes that his visit would coincide with the announcement of a cease-fire, but tonight, no deal, despite the initial optimism of the administration's special envoy, Anthony Zinni, whose shuttle diplomacy has included meetings with Prime Minister Sharon and Chairman Arafat in recent days, as well as a critical session today on laying the groundwork for a truce.

But, even as Israel began to withdraw troops tonight from Palestinian territories seized in recent weeks, U.S. officials familiar with the talks say the Palestinians are demanding more: total Israeli withdrawal from territories seized since the uprising began 17 months ago. Undermining the negotiations: more violence -- today the funeral for an 18-year-old Israeli girl killed yesterday outside Tel Aviv by a Palestinian gunman.

Before his meeting with Prime Minister Sharon, the vice president attempted to keep the pressure on.

**DICK CHENEY, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:** Our goal is clear: to end the terror and violence, to build confidence between Israelis and Palestinians that

peace is not only possible, but necessary.

**GREGORY:** For his part, Prime Minister Sharon, who the White House has criticized for ratcheting up the violence in recent weeks, today attempted to justify his aggressive stand against Palestinian terrorists by using the very words Mr. Bush has uttered to justify the war against al Qaeda.

**ARIEL SHARON, ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER (through translator):** A terror which knows no mercy. Therefore, the terrorists that dispatch themselves, who sponsor them, should not enjoy immunity or refuge.

**GREGORY:** Mr. Cheney says he wants to make a contribution to the peace process, perhaps even meeting with Yasser Arafat, but tonight still no decision on whether such a bold move will be taken.

**(on camera):** The ongoing violence is a setback to Mr. Cheney's larger effort during this trip: securing support for a war against Saddam Hussein, a prospect most Arab leaders will not back until the U.S. does more to end the fighting here.

David Gregory, NBC News, Jerusalem.

**(END VIDEOTAPE)**

**SAWYER:** With pressure mounting on Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon to end the violence, more than a few people in the region are saying the tactics of terror have indeed been effective.

Some perspective now from Jerusalem-based "Newsweek" correspondent Dan Efron in this first-person account.

**(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)**

**DAN EPHRON, "NEWSWEEK":** On both sides, really, there's been a surge in violence. And I think each side says the other began with this surge. But, for the Palestinians, more violence, more bombings, more shootings has really meant, in some respect, a success.

It has put more pressure on the Israeli prime minister. For Israelis, as the level of Palestinian violence goes up, there is a greater urgency for a cease-fire and even a greater willingness to compromise. For Yasser Arafat, it has meant more international attention, more recognition, and finally this American truce mission, which Arafat has wanted for some months.

The Palestinians say openly that they have been inspired by the Hezbollah, by the militants in Lebanon, that the militants managed, through violence, through inflicting pain on Israelis, to get the Israelis to get up and withdraw. Militants in Lebanon killed about 25 Israeli soldiers per year in the last years of Israeli occupation in South Lebanon. The Palestinians have killed nearly 350 Israelis in the last year and a half alone. So, if the strategy worked for the militants in Lebanon, Palestinians certainly see it as something that could work for them.

What could be said is, the way Arafat has employed violence in the last couple of months has certainly produced gains for the Palestinians. It has brought about international decisions that are good for the Palestinians. And it brought American attention. I would imagine that the signal that gets sent is that, in certain scenarios, violence is effective. It does work.

I think we'll probably see in the next couple of days some kind of cease-fire, which in itself is an achievement. I think, if anyone talked a couple of weeks ago, or even a week ago, about Zinni coming and managing to pull these two sides together and to get them to announce a cease-fire, it would have looked very unrealistic.

The question is: How long can this cease-fire, if it is achieved, how long can it hold? And here you have to get at the interests of the Palestinians and the Israelis. I'm sure that Sharon has an interest in lowering the level of violence in terms of his own popularity. I'm not sure that, for Arafat's domestic and international interests, that lowering the level of violence serves him.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

SAWYER: That is "Newsweek" correspondent Dan Efron from Jerusalem tonight on the tactics of terror in the Middle East conflict.

And we are joined by prominent spokesmen for both the Palestinians and the Israelis. Nasser Al-Kidwa is the Palestinian observer to the United Nations. Mark Regev is a spokesperson for the Israeli Embassy in Washington. And also joining us is Warren Baas, director of a terrorism project at the Council on Foreign Relations.

We want to learn a little more about all of these issues. We will hear their views on what has been happening and what may lie ahead when we come back. (COMMERCIAL BREAK)

SAWYER: Now we continue our look tonight at whether terrorism may actually be helping Palestinians in their fight to establish a Palestinian state in the Middle East.

We are joined tonight by Nasser Al-Kidwa. He's the Palestinian observer to the United Nations, joining us from New York; and from Washington, Mark Regev, the spokesperson for the Israeli Embassy; and from New York, Warren Bass, a director of the Terrorism Project at the Council on Foreign Relations.

Mr. Regev, it was not so very long ago that observers were saying that Yasser Arafat was effectively finished as the leader of the Palestinian people. Ariel Sharon himself said it. Now we see concessions from Israel, conciliatory tones from the United States. It appears that the advantage has shifted to the Palestinians. What happened?

MARK REGEV, ISRAELI EMBASSY SPOKESPERSON: Well, Forrest, I wouldn't say Mr. Arafat has come back on to center stage quite yet.

What we've done is, we want this peace option that General Zinni and the vice president are giving us. We want to give every chance to help that so that will work. We

want the cease-fire to stick. And that is why we are redeploying.

But might I say that our strategy to the Palestinians is twofold. On the one hand, if they want to return to negotiations, if they want to renounce terrorism and come back to talks, we're open to that, and we're willing for tough negotiations, and we're willing for some serious compromises. But if they keep to this strategy of terrorism, if they keep to this strategy of violence and murder that they've had over the last few months, they're going to get nothing.

You can't give in to terrorism, because giving into terrorism is like giving into blackmail. You're just asking for more terrorism down the road.

SAWYER: Well, Mr. Regev, you've said that before, but, in fact, you are pulling out of Bethlehem, which has been a precondition by the Palestinians. And it does appear that there is increasing pressure on Mr. Sharon from the Israeli people because of the Palestinian violence.

REGEV: Well, I wish there was an easy answer and a magical fix.

But can I say this? If terrorism persists from Bethlehem, if we do have more terrorist bombers, suicide bomber entering Israel from Bethlehem, we'll have to go in again. We don't go in there because we want to go in. We don't in there to recapture the city. We go in there to deal with those murderous terrorist gangs that do the suicide bombings that kill our civilians.

And may I remind you, you talked about that poor 18-year-old woman who was killed just yesterday in Israel. She was killed by a terrorist who was loyal to Chairman Yasser Arafat, one of his loyalists from the Fatah movement.

Now, we've got no illusions about Arafat. We want a deal. It will have to be transparent, because we don't trust him. Unfortunately, he's lied in the past about wanting peace and ending terrorism. He's unfortunately committed himself to the terrorism. And he won't get a single political concession from Israel as long as he is a terrorist.

SAWYER: Dr. Al-Kidwa, there are at least some people who believe that the Palestinian people, a large majority, actually would like the violence to continue and that there's not much chance of a cease-fire holding for very long. Is that true?

NASSER AL-KIDWA, PALESTINIAN OBSERVER TO THE UNITED NATIONS:  
Rubbish, of course.

Let me first say that it's very unfortunate that nobody mentioned the eight Palestinians who were killed today and yesterday. Likewise, nobody mentioned that the overwhelming majority of the people killed or injured during the 17th month of the bloodshed were Palestinians. The Palestinian people were subjected to a huge military campaign conducted by the Israeli side.

Let's also not forget that the origin of all the problems is the existence of the occupation. And what we are looking for is ending this occupation and reaching a settlement between

**Palestine and Israel.**

**SAWYER:** Thank you, sir. And I appreciate your pointing that out. The question was: Do you believe that a cease-fire could actually hold? Could Arafat himself actually stop the fighting if he wanted to?

**AL-KIDWA:** Well, that, of course, is also linked with giving hope to the people.

The Palestinian people must be convinced that there is a light at the end of the tunnel. It's not a matter of stopping resisting the Israeli aggression and then there's no future for them. The security process must be conducted in the context of the political process. Otherwise, it will be very difficult to maintain any situation of calm, especially while the Israeli side is conducting its military operations against our people.

**SAWYER:** Mr. Bass, from an analytical point of view, put this in perspective. You hear both sides claim that the other has engaged, effectively, in terrorist tactics, as you heard Mr. Al-Kidwa say, that it's the Palestinian people who have been abused. And, as you hear Mr. Regev say, it is actually the Israelis who have been struggling against terrorism. How do you see it?

**WARREN BASS, COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS:** Well, I think, just as a basic matter of definition, most of us who are foreign policy wonks on this issue think of terrorism as something that's done by nonstate actors, not by states. So, whatever human rights violations Israel may have committed in its dealings with the Palestinians, most foreign policy experts wouldn't actually call that terrorism.

But I think what do you hear from both sides is a sort of rising tide of self-pity and an insistence that each side has an exclusive claim on victimhood. And I think what's important for the two sides is to find some way to get past some of this and actually get back to the table. There was a reasonably good deal that was put forward. It wasn't perfect. There are all kinds of flaws with it. But I think you look at both sides and say, God, don't you wish you had that deal now rather than what your peoples are going through on both sides?

**SAWYER:** Well, Mr. Bass, some analysts are saying: Look, this has actually shifted in favor of the Palestinians. And so Yasser Arafat, and others who are not specifically with Yasser Arafat, have no great incentive to stop the violence at this point.

**BASS:** Well, I think over the short term, that's probably right. I think Arafat has embarked upon a pretty short-sighted strategy. He would have been a lot better off just staying around the negotiating table. The offers that the Israelis were talking about at the Camp David summit a few years ago are a whole lot better than any of the stuff that is being discussed now.

But, even so, I think it's important to recognize that there really aren't military answers to this and the two sides, somehow or another, are going to have to find their way back into some sort of a political process. What they're getting locked into now is something that increasingly resembles a war of attrition. And Israeli history sort of tells us that those don't



go terribly well for the Israeli. And 1,000 dead Palestinians surely has to tell the Palestinian leadership right now that this isn't going very well for their side either, whatever short-term tactical advantages they may think they've got.

**SAWYER:** Mr. Regev, is it possible, just picking up on what you had said earlier, that if the violence continues, that the violence on the Israeli side, the response will escalate?

**REGEV:** Well, I don't think Israel would ever target innocent civilians the way the Palestinians do. We'll strike and we'll strike hard against Palestinian terrorist targets, against the infrastructure of terror. And we'll also make a maximum effort to avoid civilian casualties. We don't want that. It's not in our interests. And we morally want to avoid that.

But can I say, the whole peace process which we used to have talked about land for peace. We give land. The Palestinians get their autonomy, their independence, and we have peace by them. Unfortunately we've given back, through the peace process, some 40 percent of the West Bank, and we're willing to give back much more in the framework of negotiations, but the land we've given back has become bases for terrorism. They attack us from this land. This land has become safe havens for terrorists.

And, unfortunately, you can't be expecting the Israeli government to be considering giving up more land to the Palestinians as long as land that has already been given back is being used to harbor terrorists and to attack Israelis.

**SAWYER:** Mr. Al-Kidwa, in fairness, you should be able to respond to that. The Israelis often say that they do not target civilians, whereas the Palestinians do.

**AL-KIDWA:** That's not true. I mean, the overwhelming majority of the Palestinian killed and wounded were civilians as well. The mere use of heavy weaponry, including tanks, in heavily populated areas will lead definitely to heavier casualties among civilians.

And, anyway, let me also respond to another point. The problem, the real problem is the fact that Prime Minister Sharon doesn't want a settlement. And he actually said that: that he doesn't want a final settlement. He wants only an agreement of lack of belligerency, some kind of another transition which will lead the Palestinian people to nowhere, no independence, no real independence, at least, no future, no prosperity.

That is the problem. And the rest emanates from this fact. The moment the Israeli side says, "OK, we are ready to proceed for a final settlement to implement Security Council Resolution 242 and 338," I think then the two sides will be able to go to a completely different situation, a completely different level of dealing with each other.

**SAWYER:** Mr. Bass, Just a few minutes left here. Make sense out of this. Hearing this conversation, it doesn't appear that hopes for a cease-fire and legitimate talk that would actually be substantive seems very strong tonight.

**BASS:** Well, I think, in some ways, one of the reasons that you're more likely to get a cease-fire now actually doesn't have to do with the Israeli-Palestinian arena. It has to do with Iraq.

And Vice President Cheney has been touring around Middle East capitals for the past 10 days. And everywhere he goes, he gets an earful about how the intifada is out of control, how Sharon is going too far. And Arab leader after leader has been saying: "Where are you guys? Where's the administration? You have to step in on this. And you can't think that we're going to be able to be there for you on Iraq unless you're able to tamp this thing down between Israelis and Palestinians. There's just such so much the traffic will bear."

So that actually puts a whole shift into this dynamic. You can hear our other two guests sort of bicker back and forth, but the reality is, it's a wider world out there. And this is a small regional conflict that fits into it. The reality is that, in some way or another, this has to be circumscribed in the U.S. national interest, simply because, if it goes too far, there's just real limits as to what the administration can do, either in terms of uprooting al Qaeda, in terms of dealing with some of the underlying problems in Arab politics that produced Osama bin Laden in the first place, and in even thinking about moving on to Saddam Hussein.

SAWYER: Warren Bass, Mark Regev of Israel, and Nasser Al-Kidwa of the Palestinian people, I thank you, all three, for joining us tonight.

And when we come back, we're going to be having our first look at what's making headlines in tomorrow morning's newspapers -- just after this. (COMMERCIAL BREAK)

SAWYER: All right, we've got your sneak peek at tomorrow morning's headlines.

Let's start with "USA Today": Big businesses employ more Americans than small ones, this for the time ever. More Americans are working for big companies than small ones, this from the Small Business Administration. These are companies that have 500 or more workers. Experts say it's both good and bad news, because big companies offer better health benefits and retirement plans, most of them, but small businesses tend to have higher productivity and more loyal workers.

"The Boston Globe": Here you go: American and Continental -- you knew it was going to happen -- matching a move by Delta to stop paying base commissions to U.S. travel agents. The cut applies to domestic and international travel and tickets sold on the Internet. That could drive smaller travel agencies out of business. It could be consumers are going to be paying more to fly as airlines shift their costs and agents add fees.

And from the "L.A. Times": another Incan city found in Peru, the first major Inca find in four decades. Explorers have uncovered the ruins of a town that may have been one of the Incas' last refuges before they finally conquered by the Spanish in the 16th century, an ancient settlement 11,000 feet up on the slopes of a mountain peak near Machu Picchu. There you go.

Next on MSNBC: the broadcast "A REGION IN CONFLICT." Tonight, Ashleigh Banfield reports from Jordan.

But that is our broadcast for this Monday night. I'm Forrest Sawyer, sitting in for Brian Williams. And for all of us here at NBC News, we thank you for joining us and we wish you

**a very good Monday night.**

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**HEADLINE:** Will U.N. Security Council's Passage of a U.S.-sponsored Mideast Resolution Promote Peace?

**GUESTS:** **Nasser Al-Kidwa**, Yehuda Lancry, Afsane Bassir Pour, James Bone

**BYLINE:** Richard Roth

**HIGHLIGHT:**

Will the U.N. Security Council's passage of a U.S.-sponsored Mideast resolution succeed in promoting peace in the region? <spec: United Nations; Politics; Government; World Affairs; Violence

**BODY:**

THIS IS A RUSH TRANSCRIPT. THIS COPY MAY NOT BE IN ITS FINAL FORM AND MAY BE UPDATED.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

GEORGE W. BUSH, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: Sometimes these resolutions just get a life of their own, and sometimes we have to veto them and sometimes we can help the message.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

MIKHAIL WEHBE, SYRIAN AMB. TO U.N.: We believe such a resolution is a weak resolution.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: We have a thirst, a need to know who it was who ordained that our children should be slaughtered in this way.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

RICHARD ROTH, HOST: There was a great "Hardy Boys" detective book once called "What Happened at Midnight."

Hello, I'm Richard Roth. Welcome to DIPLOMATIC LICENSE.

With little hint of what was to come as the clock neared the 12:00 a.m. hour earlier this week, the United Nations Security Council voted on some words previously not put down on paper before.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

(voice-over): On the political sidelines, the United Nations jumped squarely back into the Mideast fray, a charge led by Secretary-General Kofi Annan, who requested a special meeting of the Security Council to hear his direct appeal.

KOFI ANNAN, U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL: At this time Mr. President, I feel I must speak directly to the people and leaders of both sides.

ROTH: And after Kofi Annan harshly rebuked both Israel and the Palestinians, especially their leaders, the U.N. Security Council on the same day surprising diplomats and reporters alike, passed a U.S.-sponsored Mideast resolution. This new international law for the first time affirms the vision of a Palestinian state and a region of two states -- Israel and Palestine living side by side within secure and recognized borders.

BUSH: If it was a message that tried to isolate or condemn our friend, I'd vetoed it. In this case it was a universal message. It could lead to a more peaceful world and so we supported it. As a matter of fact we helped -- we helped engineer it.

ROTH: Thirteen other countries on the Security Council voted in favor, but the main Arab voice on the panel, Syria, abstained.

WEHBE: The resolution fails to deal with the root causes of the problem namely the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

ROTH: Still the U.S.' quick move on this resolution marked a startling turnaround. Washington has long insisted the Security Council is no place to settle the Middle East. The resolution was also put together, it appears, in less than a day. Also impressive our two guests here both praised it. Why is that newsworthy? Well our guests are Israel's ambassador to the U.N. Yehuda Lancry and the Palestinian observer with ambassador rank, Dr. Nasser Al-Kidwa.

Welcome to both of you. Dr. Al-Kidwa, what does this resolution do now for any negotiating?

DR. NASSER AL-KIDWA, PALESTINIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE U.N.: Well it helps in trying to solve the situation on the ground reaching a cease-fire and in implementing both Mitchell and Tenet, but also I think it provides a basis for what's next. That is the political solution by affirming the vision of the Security Council for the first time in the history of the United Nations, a vision based on the existence of two states, Israel and Palestine.

ROTH: All right Mr. Lancry, Ambassador Lancry, is negotiations now closed on certain areas now that these words are down on paper?

YEHUDA LANCRY, ISRAELI AMBASSADOR TO THE U.N.: I'm sure that this resolution contributes to the progress toward negotiations. I would endorse the definition of President Bush about the universal message. I think that it begins with escape of reconciliation with the two state's solution within the recognized borders and it calls for two measure aspects -- first to seize immediately violence, terrorism, incitement and so on. Second, to enter an immediate cease-fire and the phases Tenet and Mitchell toward negotiations.

ROTH: So we can't get, it seems, to Tenet and Mitchell and Secretary- General Annan had that on his mind. Let's hear Secretary-General Kofi Annan's strong message to the Palestinians and then we'll hear Dr. Al- Kidwa's response.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

ANNAN: To the Palestinians I say you have the inalienable right to a viable state within secure internationally recognized borders. But you must stop acts of terror and all suicide bombings. The deliberate and indiscriminate target on civilians is morally repugnant.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ROTH: Dr. Al-Kidwa.

AL-KIDWA: Well we agree, but he correctly also made it clear that those actions are being committed by groups, and that's one of the main difference between what is happening on the Palestinian side and what's happening on the Israeli side, which is being done by the Israeli Army in implementation of the official policy of the Israeli government headed by Mr. Sharon.

ROTH: All right, well Israel might disagree with that, but Kofi...

LANCRY: Yes, of course, I might disagree.

ROTH: All right.

LANCRY: I refute completely this...

AL-KIDWA: That's what he said, not my -- not my...

(CROSSTALK)

LANCRY: But your comment about the groups.

AL-KIDWA: Yes, that's what he said, what the secretary-general said.

LANCRY: I think that he's now in the Palestinian side, the division of labor between the Palestinian Authority and the say, Hamas and Jihad. The whole Palestinian forces are involved in

this campaign. But in reality the Tanzim, 417, the presidential guard, all of them are involved.

ROTH: And they've been targeted by Israel, but speaking of Israel, Kofi Annan directed more forceful language to Israel, the strongest since he's been in office.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

ANNAN: To the Israelis I say, you have the right to live in peace and security within secure, internationally recognized borders; but you must end the illegal occupation. More urgently, you must stop the bombing of civilian areas, the assassinations, the unnecessary use of lethal force, the demolitions and the daily humiliation of ordinary Palestinians.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

LANCRY: Honestly, there is an amount of criticism that you can accept, that in the case we have to be attentive to remarks of Secretary- General Kofi Annan, a leader of vision and inspiration.

(CROSSTALK)

ROTH: Is the occupation illegal?

LANCRY: I do believe that in this statement, this concept of illegal occupation, he was less inspiring. I feel that this kind of statement could be used to fuel the worst energies to ignite the negative impulses among the Palestinian side to seize it as justification for every terrorist action.

AL-KIDWA: That's of course wrong, because the occupation is the source of all -- of all problems and without saying that clearly, we will fail to find a solution -- that's number one. Number two, I think also that Mr. Annan was correct in his criticism. Now I recognize the softness of the ambassador and the softness response -- the soft response of the ambassador.

However, what we need to see is a clear position by the Israeli government with regard to both the statement made by Secretary-General Annan and, more importantly, with regard to Security Council Resolution 1397. We need to hear from the Israeli government readiness to implement the provisions of the resolution, otherwise they will be in violation...

ROTH: Diplomats are saying both of you -- both sides aren't implementing this resolution, which was cheered, but the killings went on.

AL-KIDWA: Cheered by the -- by the Israeli side, it was -- it was, I think, lack of clarity. We heard some reservations. We heard some lukewarm welcome. What we need to see is clear position by the government saying clearly that we are ready to implement the provision of the resolution and that will facilitate greatly the mission of Mr. Zinni.

(CROSSTALK)

ROTH: Mr. Ambassador said it was a novel, new balanced resolution.

LANCRY: Let me respond to this concern and maybe this anguish of Ambassador Al-Kidwa. Not only I first welcomed a live session, the rare and remarkable resolution, its balance, its spirit and so on. But immediately after that our foreign minister issued an official statement which welcomes the resolution.

ROTH: And Ambassador Lancry, what should Annan's role be? He's gone as far deep in this as he has so far. He was a lot closer, it seemed to the Israeli government a few years ago. What's his role now, for both of you to take this question -- go ahead. Where does he go from here with this?

LANCRY: With the resolution or...

ROTH: No, in his role. I mean he says he wants to do it with all the other parties -- the European Union, the Russians, the U.S. But what should his role be now that he's spoken out to this point? Should he be mediating between the two sides?

LANCRY: I think that the track is clear, since we signed the Oslo agreement in 1993. We are working on a bilateral track, bilateral negotiations. We achieved some remarkable political achievement through this entering phase. We have to continue. We can ask some facilitators like the United States, the European Union, Russia, the United Nations to assist, to facilitate, but not to come instead of both sides.

ROTH: We've got a lot of topics still to go here. Were you surprised at this resolution and were you disappointed that Syria, the main Arab voice on the Security Council, didn't go along with a piece of paper that says "vision of the Palestinian state." How do you explain it?

AL-KIDWA: The answer for the first question is yes, I was surprised. And secondly, yes I am disappointed at the abstention by Syria. We agree with them that the resolution could have been stronger, of course. I mean there is no doubt about that, but we disagree on the -- on the conclusion. We think that the resolution -- the resolution should have been supported and I believe that this is the general feeling among all members of the Arab League.

ROTH: Surprised because it was a big change for Washington...

AL-KIDWA: Absolutely. This is the first time in the history of the United Nations that the -- that the United States support a resolution on the Palestinian question. One time during Carter administration the U.S. supported a resolution and next day it withdrew its positive -- its positive vote. So...

(CROSSTALK)

AL-KIDWA: No. No. No. No.

(CROSSTALK)

AL-KIDWA: This was a resolution on the legal Israeli settlement. They voted in favor -- next day they withdrew their vote, and that was the only time that was -- they got close to supporting -- to supporting something. So we have a positive vote. We had an introduction of the resolution and more importantly, we had the most important language on the Palestinian state.

ROTH: I've got to wrap it up. You know the thing that the Security Council Resolutions 242, 338. There are different interpretations when it says Israel must withdraw from territories.

LANCRY: Yes.

ROTH: Very briefly, which is going to be impossible here, what is -- is Israel going to accept



those resolutions and finally implement them and what's the interpretation on withdrawal?

LANCRY: Yes our interpretation is that...

ROTH: Jerusalem? Everywhere?

LANCRY: ... we have to withdraw, but through a process of negotiations and not necessarily automatically to the 1967 borders. We have to...

ROTH: Well that's what the Saudi...

(CROSSTALK)

LANCRY: ... agree -- to agree with the Palestinian side about some difficult issues to solve, and I think that two years ago, under the Barak government some understandings began in this question between the Israelis and Palestinians.

ROTH: Final word Dr. Kidwa.

AL-KIDWA: 242 requires full withdrawal from occupied territories because irrespective of, as you say, with some vagueness, there is the principal and resolution on the illegality of the acquisition of territory by force, by war. So as such, no occupation is allowed. No acquisition of territory is allowed, and withdrawal should be complete.

ROTH: All right, I've got to withdraw from this conversation. There's still a lot left on the table here. The Saudi Crown Prince telling CNN Rula Amin in an interview that the Saudis say they're going to come to the Security Council with their peace plan if the Arab Summit signs onto it in Beirut -- still a lot of open questions on that plan.

I thank both of our guests for joining us here together. This is not the first time that our Palestinian-U.N. observer has sat in this studio with an Israeli ambassador. It was extremely rare then, but the Oslo accord was picking up steam. The furniture, my glasses, and the Israeli ambassador at the time, Gandhi Kobi (ph) were different; and eight years ago after Arafat and Rabin shook hands, the hopes for peace are still unfulfilled.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: And I believe that very soon we will face a completely new situation on the ground and I think that both parties will understand the benefits of this very promising and new hope for all of us.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: This progress made in the peace process with tangible results on the ground, with peaceful atmosphere spreading in the area, the situation will be different. That's on both -- on both sides.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BUSH: We were a part of the process and as to the timing, I don't -- I don't know the timing. All I know is the thing started showing up on my desk.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ROTH: Well a Texas Rangers baseball schedule and what's this, a U.N. Security Council Mideast resolution. Now we know who will show up during this segment of DIPLOMATIC LICENSE. With me here "Le Monde"'s Afsane Bassir Pour and at the U.N. from the "Times of London" James Bone.

Afsane, Middle East.

AFSANE BASSIR POUR, LE MONDE: Middle East, Beirut the next meeting is in Beirut on the 27th of March, that is where the Arab group has to endorse the initiative -- the Saudi initiative of normalization, you know, in exchange for peace. Now the question is will the Arabs stick to a strong resolution or will they follow the Syrian lead who is trying really to water down this resolution. This will be very important, and if they do have a strong resolution, then we're likely to see the Prince and the Security Council, if this is indeed historical.

ROTH: James Bone.

JAMES BONE, "TIMES OF LONDON": Well I mean I want to step back a little bit and say what's really going on here, and one of the things that's going on, not the only thing, but one of the things is that the Americans have got to tamp down all this fighting in Arab-Israel conflict if they're going to do it against Iraq. Vice President Dick Cheney is going around the Middle East trying to drum up support for a regime change in Iraq, and in the meanwhile, all the leaders in the Middle East are furious about the Israelis fighting with the Palestinians.

So we're seeing an American effort to kind of clear the deck, to put a lid on this one, and that, well you could expect to lead to some pressure on the Israelis. We saw President Bush speaking out in harsher terms against the Israelis. Kofi Annan, the U.N. secretary-general is following the lead really and speaking out also in harsher terms against the Israelis. So I think you have to watch Iraq strangely, even though it's not a direct party to this at the moment.

ROTH: And that happened in 1990, '91, the Gulf War...

BONE: But any time you have a West against Iraq war, you have to somehow take Arab-Israel off the table because otherwise you'll have a kind of generalized Middle East war.

BASSIR POUR: Back to the Middle East, the Americans will tell you that you know don't get your hopes up. It's true, that for the first time we have sponsored a resolution, but the United Nations Security Council is not going to be involved in this, and there won't be an immediate involve (ph) for Kofi Annan.

BONE: Well I mean Kofi Annan, you know I think has actually damaged his mediating role because his use of that phrase "illegal occupation" first of all, is entirely tortologious (ph). I mean when is an occupation not an illegal occupation? And it was really an emotional and I think somewhat ill advised comment that he was very mealy mouthed and very unconvincing in trying to justify by basically saying because there had been illegal acts such as settlements within the occupation, therefore the entire occupation...

BASSIR POUR: Well apart from the illegal...

(CROSSTALK)

BASSIR POUR: ... I thought secretary-general prepared the ground for this resolution extremely well. You know, he was really, really -- he used strong language to both sides. I thought he did a really good job, and I don't even know if he knew about the resolution. But he was -- the ground was well prepared by Kofi Annan.

ROTH: What happened, James, briefly with this resolution? I mean it just came up suddenly. I mean what...

BONE: Well you know this is something that the European members of the Security Council, some of them have been trying to convince the Americans, oh, for a year and a half now basically to seize back the technically initiative. And what you had was you had a Palestinian-Arab sponsored draft on the table, put forward by Syria, which was the -- which is the Arab voice on the Security Council. And the Americans finally late at night decided that they would seize back the initiative. The State Department's been quite willing to do that for a while, but I think the resistance has come from the White House and the National Security Council. And I think basically the National Security Council gave the "thumbs up" this time...

ROTH: OK.

BONE: ... and the Americans got the initiative back.

BASSIR POUR: And the loser was Syria on this.

ROTH: All right.

(CROSSTALK)

BONE: Well Syria...

(CROSSTALK)

BASSIR POUR: They looked pathetic abstaining on this resolution really.

ROTH: All right, well despite the high-level Iraqi statements this week that weapons inspectors from the U.N. won't be allowed to return to Iraq, here's Secretary-General Annan's view at his Wednesday news conference as he looks ahead to the next visit by Iraq in mid April to the U.N.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

ANNAN: And next month when they come, my objective is clear, that its compliance and a return of the inspectors and so I will focus on what their envoy tells me when we meet and not what is being said in the papers.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

ROTH: Home for at least the next 20 years for Libyan Abdel Baset Al- Megrahi. His appeal denied in the Lockerbie bombing trial conducted in the Netherlands earlier, with a former Libyan intelligence agent was immediately flown to Glasgow and the top Barlinnie Prison, the Bar-L as it's known. He will be kept in a separate cell apart from the other prisoners.

Afsane, does this close the matter for the U.N. Security Council?

BASSIR POUR: Well it's sort of a closure for the families to begin with. You know it's not exactly what they wanted, but at least there's a closure and we will be talking money not compensation. As for the Security Council, yes, they should lift the sanctions against Libya because all the conditions have been met. Now when they'll do it, we don't know yet.

ROTH: U.S. sanctions...

BONE: I...

ROTH: ... you got it James.

BONE: I actually disagree with Afsane on just about every count there. I...

BASSIR POUR: As usual.

BONE: ... was at Kennedy Airport, you know, when that plane that was bombed was meant to arrive, and I remember all the families arriving. I remember one woman learning that her teenaged daughter had just been killed, and she just collapsed on the floor in palpitations...

ROTH: I was there. She screamed "my baby, my baby."

BONE: "My guinea pig, my guinea pig," she screamed, which is words that have haunted me -- kind of slightly puzzling words that have haunted me since then.

I mean the idea that there's closure is absolutely ridiculous because they all want the -- you know the real offers of the scheme indicted...

BASSIR POUR: But that is not going to happen...

(CROSSTALK)

BASSIR POUR: ... James as well as I do.

(CROSSTALK)

BONE: That's why there is no closure. And also the question of compensation is still open and also it's wrong that when Afsane says that all conditions are met. The acknowledgement of responsibility by Libya and the compensation have not been met, although the sanctions are suspended, and they won't be lifted...

BASSIR POUR: They will be lifted.

(CROSSTALK)

BONE: ... until...

(CROSSTALK)

BASSIR POUR: The sanctions will be lifted.

BONE: ... there -- until there -- until there is a agreement on Libya paying compensation...

(CROSSTALK)

BASSIR POUR: Well we'll talk about this again.

(CROSSTALK)

BONE: ... of some 2 to \$10 billion to the families. So...

ROTH: OK.

(CROSSTALK)

BASSIR POUR: All right.

ROTH: All right, let's try another topic then. The U.S. it appears is going to get back on the U.N. Human Rights Commission next year after its stunning loss last year. It had never been on -- not been on this panel, this prestigious group. It sits in Geneva -- Afsane.

BASSIR POUR: Yes they got in -- they put a lot of pressure on the Europeans, so Spain and Italy withdrew their candidacy so the U.S. can get insured of a seat. Now actually it's -- in a way, it's not bad for the U.S. not to be in the Commission because usually they're the ones who push resolutions on China, on Chechnya and everything. And this year considering the fact that the Russians are in, you know, in fighting terrorism with the U.S., maybe it's better that they're not on the commission.

BONE: I think, first of all, it's a very widespread misconception propagated by American politicians that the Americans are the key force on the commission. Actually it's the Europeans against the developing countries, is the main axis.

And this is a blatant rigged election, as so many U.N. elections are. And it's rather ironic to me that one of the things that will happen in the commission this year, before American takes its seat, is that they will adopt some kind of denunciation of Zimbabwe for a possibly rigged election.

ROTH: All right, Afsane, more on human rights...

BASSIR POUR: Yes.

ROTH: ... the human rights commissioner, what is her status?

(CROSSTALK)

BASSIR POUR: That's right.

ROTH: Mary Robinson.

BASSIR POUR: She was here a few weeks ago and she asked the secretary-general for another term. Now the Americans have openly said that they don't want to give her another term. And now we can bet that the secretary-general will probably not give her one, the question is who will get it, and we should find out that pretty soon.

ROTH: And one late word is despite talk by the U.N. that things were moving ahead on Congo despite faltering peace talks, late Friday the French announced that there...

BASSIR POUR: That's right...

ROTH: ... was a...

BASSIR POUR: ... a major, major offensive by Rwanda in eastern Congo in the middle of the peace talks, and this is -- and this when the Security Council announced that they're sending a mission to the Congo. This is really major. Over 10,000 Rwanda troops in Katanga.

ROTH: And the day before the U.N. peacekeeping director, before the Security Council said the situation was encouraging. Well...

BASSIR POUR: He did, yes.

ROTH: ... we're going to have to leave it there. Afsane Bassir Pour of "Le Monde," we hope to see you next week. James Bone, as always, thank you.

That is DIPLOMATIC LICENSE.

A special note to DIPLOMATIC LICENSE viewers on Time Warner cable in New York City, Saturday morning at 8:30 a.m. Due to cable channel switches and new programming, it's highly possible that next week if you can't find us on the usual channel, try channel 80. That's for our loyal viewers and followers of the 8:30 time slot.

I'm Richard Roth. The latest CNN news is next.

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CNN

**SHOW:** CNN WOLF BLITZER REPORTS 17:00

**March** 8, 2002 Friday

Transcript # 030800CN.V67

**SECTION:** News; International

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**HEADLINE:** Operation Anaconda Eases Up; Are Israelis, Palestinians Past the Point of No Return?; Rosie O'Donnell Comes Out of Closet

**GUESTS:** Alon Pinkas, **Nasser Al-Kidwa**, John Leo, Richard Sipe, Adel Al- Jubeir, Adam Buckman

**BYLINE:** Wolf Blitzer, Martin Savidge, David Grange, Major Garrett, Sheila MacVicar, Lou Dobbs

**HIGHLIGHT:**

A weather-bound Operation Anaconda eases up, but there is no sign the enemy is giving up. Then, with dozens more dead, are Israelis and Palestinians past the brink of no return? Finally, one of Hollywood's worst kept secrets becomes official: Rosie O'Donnell admits she is gay -- and she has a new book out.

**BODY:**

THIS IS A RUSH TRANSCRIPT. THIS COPY MAY NOT BE IN ITS FINAL FORM AND MAY BE UPDATED.

WOLF BLITZER, HOST: Now on WOLF BLITZER REPORTS: One-on-one with the Pentagon's top man.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

You still don't have a clue where Osama bin Laden is?

DONALD RUMSFELD, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE: I didn't say that.

BLITZER: You do have a clue?

RUMSFELD: No, I didn't say that either.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: A weather-bound Operation Anaconda eases up, but there is no sign the enemy is giving up.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

RUMSFELD: These are dead-enders. These are hard-line types.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: In a rare show of emotion, President Bush lets his guard down. What touched him in Florida?

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

GEORGE W. BUSH, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: Your son and your brother died for a noble and just cause.

(APPLAUSE)

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: An all-out escalation in the Middle East. With dozens more dead, are Israelis and Palestinians past the brink of no return? I'll ask a Saudi insider about the Kingdom's peace initiative.

And her show may be closing down, but she's starting to open up. We'll look behind "People"'s cover story on Rosie O'Donnell.

Hello, I'm Wolf Blitzer in Washington. Topping our news alert: al Qaeda fights to the death,



and more of them are dying.

This latest Defense Department video shows U.S. warplanes strike against al Qaeda targets in the mountains of eastern Afghanistan. According to Pentagon officials, Operation Anaconda has wiped out all but some 200 al Qaeda fighters. We'll have much more on this in a moment.

Six American soldiers wounded in action in Afghanistan were awarded the purple heart today. The men were wounded in an assault on al Qaeda stronghold on the second day of Operation Anaconda. Five of the soldiers are with the 10th mountain division, the sixth with the 101st airborne division.

A close call today for two Navy crewmembers of an F-14 warplane. The attack jet crashed into the Arabian Sea while trying to land on the aircraft carrier USS John C. Stennis. Both aviators were rescued and neither was seriously injured. The plane was returning from a bombing mission over Afghanistan.

In the Middle East, dozens of Palestinians and Israelis are killed in the deadliest day of violence in 18 months. In a major policy shift, the Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon now says he is willing to discuss a cease-fire. He had been demanding at least seven days of calm before the two sides implement a truce.

Now back to our top story, Operation Anaconda, the week-long ground battle in eastern Afghanistan. Earlier today I went to the Pentagon to interview the Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld. He showed some grudging respect for the al Qaeda fighters holed up in those caves, although he insisted it was only a matter of time before they would be crushed. He refused to speculate how much longer it will take.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

RUMSFELD: They are not predictable, really. There are still any number of al Qaeda and probably Taliban located in those caves and tunnels, and in very well-entrenched positions, dug in. They've got a lot of ammunition. The weather is terrible.

BLITZER (voice-over): That bad weather has seriously complicated the military campaign. For one thing, U.S. combat forces on the ground can't automatically assume they'll be able to call in low-flying protective air cover. At the same time though, the weather complicates what the al Qaeda fighters can do.

RUMSFELD: To the extent people try to get in or out of that area where they're contained, we're dealing with them. And we're still continuing to bomb, and there's some groundfire coming out from the al Qaeda, but it's relatively modest at the moment.

BLITZER: Still, Rumsfeld says the al Qaeda fighters have plenty of food, water and ammunition.

RUMSFELD: They're well-supplied and well-disciplined. These are very well trained fighters. These are hard, dead-enders. These are hard-line types.

BLITZER: "Dead-enders" is military speak for troops prepared to fight to the death.

RUMSFELD: We'd be happy to have them to surrender, but we haven't seen anyone coming

in and surrendering.

BLITZER: Rumsfeld refuses to speculate whether Osama bin Laden and his top lieutenant, Ayman al-Zawahiri, may be among those holed up in the caves and tunnels of eastern Afghanistan, where Operation Anaconda is unfolding.

BLITZER (on camera): You still don't have a clue where Osama bin Laden is?

RUMSFELD: I didn't say that.

BLITZER: You do have a clue?

RUMSFELD: No, I didn't say that either. I'm not going to talk about whether we have good intelligence or bad intelligence on that subject. We're looking for him. We're ultimately going to find him. Wherever he is, he is not happy

(END VIDEOTAPE)

BLITZER: And the defense secretary went on to insist that bin Laden can no longer effectively run a safe haven in Afghanistan. And that, Rumsfeld says, suggests the initial U.S. goal in the war against terrorism has been accomplished.

Meanwhile, Pentagon officials say that while about 200 of the enemy are still dug into those caves, at least 450 have been killed during Operation Anaconda. CNN's Martin Savidge is near the front lines with more details now on the battle.

MARTIN SAVIDGE, CNN CORRESPONDENT: Wolf, weather has been a problem for coalition forces battling in eastern Afghanistan, part of Operation Anaconda today. However, that weather forecast now expected to improve, and improve faster than they originally thought. Already they're trying to see if helicopters can get back in the region. Air support, obviously vital to that operation, despite the large number of troops on the ground.

Military officials here say that they hold a lot of high country there, and they also say that they believe they have now destroyed over 50 percent of the Taliban and al Qaeda forces they were up against. They do note that they, however, have seen the infiltration of small numbers of al Qaeda and Taliban forces coming up from the south, to try to get involved in the fight. Small numbers, they say, obviously because if they came in large numbers, they would clearly be identified and then targeted by U.S. aircraft in the region.

Something else that should be pointed out. Colonel Joe Smith, he is the chief of staff. He was talking this morning about this pocket of resistance. It is now clear to military officials here that this was the pocket they were looking for, the so-called "hard core of hard core." I asked him why he was pleased that they were found, and this was his response.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

COL. JOE SMITH, CHIEF OF STAFF: This hardened enemy are the same type of people that executed the events of 11 September. It's obviously, from the documentation that we're getting, they're not just peasants. Again, these are highly-trained military soldiers. And I couldn't imagine how long it would take if we tried to track them down one at a time. And so here we didn't have to. They came together, and I think they underestimated us.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

SAVIDGE: Coalition forces report that there has only been light fighting in the northern part of the battle area, or the box, as they refer to it, and heavier fighting in the south. And that's pretty much the way it has gone. They say that they hope to have things wrapped up soon. They don't give a specific timetable -- Wolf.

BLITZER: Marty Savidge, thank you very much. He's on the front lines in Afghanistan.

Joining us with some assessment of the latest developments, our military analyst, Retired Brigadier General David Grange. From your vantage point, General Grange, where is Operation Anaconda right now, and where is it heading?

BRIG. GEN. DAVID GRANGE, MILITARY ANALYST, U.S. ARMY (RET): Well, I think we have a little bit more time left. I'm glad the secretary of defense did not put a time limit on the operation. There's a little fighting in the northern part of the box that may well be because we don't know exactly what's there yet.

And you may have enemy units that are hiding, you may have reinforcements that slip in. There's infiltration routes that probably are still successful, although I know that the coalition's watching them carefully. So it's hard to tell. The situation will continue to be developed every day.

BLITZER: We spoke, when I interviewed the defense secretary, we spoke at length about the bad weather that's having an impact on both sides in this battle. But there's another factor other military officials citing now: land mines. When special operations forces, whether members of the 101st airborne division or the 10th mountain division, they go in there. How serious of a problem would land mines be for them right now?

GRANGE: Well, a land mine is one of the weapons of choice -- land mines and booby trap -- of this enemy force. I'm actually surprised that we haven't had any casualties from land mines. But psychologically, they have great impact on your operations, the force. I personally have been wounded by a land mine once -- don't like them at all. And I'm really surprised that we haven't seen more of it. I'm sure they're in certain locations, but I haven't heard of any being found yet.

BLITZER: In the early parts of this war, as you well remember, General Grange, the division of labor was, the U.S. did the airstrikes, the Afghan forces allied with the United States did the heavy lifting. They went in on the ground and cleared out some of those areas, including Kabul, Mazar-i-Sharif and elsewhere. But most of the ground action is not with U.S. military personnel. That's changed now, at least with Operation Anaconda -- why?

GRANGE: I think we learned that a lot of the enemy did slip away. Either they broke out from an encirclement, or deals were cut because of different tribal loyalties. This area right here is very Taliban supportive, as you know. It's also not really in line with Karzai, the governmental head of Afghanistan. So, it's very easy for the locals to support this enemy force.

So it's advantageous to us to put a coalition force in there so we don't have a breakout, we don't have any deals made. And we can ensure the destruction of this enemy's area, here in the 60 square-mile objective area.

BLITZER: General Grange, thanks for that insight. Appreciate it very much.

Meanwhile, in Florida, President Bush was momentarily overcome with emotion today. It happened when he met with the families of two American soldiers killed in action Monday in Afghanistan. Our White House correspondent, Major Garrett, joins us with more -- Major.

MAJOR GARRETT, CNN WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENT: Wolf, the two soldiers are Army specialists Marc Anderson and Army Sergeant Brad Crose. And both of their fathers served in the U.S. military. And as the president talked to an audience in St. Petersburg, Florida, about the ongoing mission in Afghanistan, the emotional impact of meeting with these soldiers' families was there for all to see.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BUSH: We found a bunch of al Qaeda killers recently, bunched up in Afghanistan. And our military went after them. And we're making good progress.

(APPLAUSE)

BUSH: It is a sign of what's going to happen for a while. And my fellow Americans must understand that, that we'll be relentless and determined to do what is right. And we will take loss of life, and I'm sad for loss of life. And today we've got the mom and dad of a brave soldier who lost his life. And a brother -- God bless you.

(APPLAUSE)

BUSH: Thank you all for coming.

(APPLAUSE)

BUSH: Thank you. I know your heart aches and we ache for you, but your son and your brother died for a noble and just cause.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

GARRETT: Wolf, White House officials say not only the anniversary, the six-month anniversary of 9-11 is weighing on the president's mind -- there will be a very big ceremony here at the White House Monday to mark that very depressing and sad day in American history. But as the president deals with casualties in the Afghan theater, his emotions get away from him there, as well -- Wolf.

BLITZER: Unfortunately, Major, that probably won't be the last time we'll see the president choked up like that. Thanks, Major Garrett, at the White House.

You can see my full interview with the Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld at 7:00 Eastern tonight in the "CNN WAR ROOM." Join me then. You can also read about my interview with him on-line. Go to [cnn.com/wolf](http://cnn.com/wolf) and find my daily on-line column.

Turning now to the Middle East. This has been the deadliest day since the Palestinian uprising began 18 months ago. At least 50 Palestinians were killed. And since yesterday, at least six Israelis have died. All this, as President Bush's special envoy, Anthony Zinni, prepares to go back to the region next week. CNN senior international correspondent, Sheila MacVicar, is in

Jerusalem with more.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

SHEILA MACVICAR, CNN CORRESPONDENT (voice-over): If General Zinni were here on his peace mission today, this is what he would find: Israeli tanks in the West Bank, heading for Bethlehem. Helicopter gunships searching for targets.

(GUNFIRE)

MACVICAR: A firefight in a Palestinian refugee camp in the Gaza Strip. Israeli commanders say they can, and will, go anywhere. Palestinian militants say they will continue their attacks, even if negotiations resume. As Israel's prime minister pursues this war with increasing ferocity, the toll of dead and wounded mounts by the hour.

On Thursday night, Israeli forces killed a senior Palestinian security chief. He bled to death after being shot in his car. The Palestinians say this death was an assassination. The Israelis claim they had not intended to hit the general.

Israel's military strategy is costing civilian lives, too. In the West Bank city of Tulkarem, Israeli forces have used their tanks to surround the city, trapping gunmen and civilians. A 10-year-old boy died in this town, hit by an Israeli tank shell. The fighting is reported to be fierce.

And the violence and death caused by Palestinians during the past 24 hours includes this: a lone gunman, a Hamas militant, cut a hole in the fence of a Jewish settlement in Gaza on Thursday night, walked to a brightly-lit study hall and opened fire. He had an automatic weapon and grenades. Five young Israeli settlers died, more than 20 were wounded.

Ten others were wounded by a suicide bomber in a settlement on the West Bank. And there could have been more deaths, this time in Jerusalem, had a waiter not noticed a would-be suicide bomber wearing a heavy jacket on a hot day.

(on camera): Another night, another day. No place, no people need a peacemaker more than these. But General Zinni has been frustrated before, and that was before people here talked about a war. Sheila MacVicar, CNN, Jerusalem.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

BLITZER: Joining us with their take on this crisis in the Middle East, Nasser al-Kidwa. He's the Palestinian representative to the United Nations and Alon Pinkas. He's the Israeli consul general in New York.

Gentlemen, thanks for joining us. Ambassador Pinkas, first to you. We are now hearing overt public criticism from the Bush administration on the prime minister. The Secretary of State Colin Powell saying that Prime Minister Sharon must stop this heavy retaliation.

ALON PINKAS, CONSUL GENERAL OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORK: All right. Look, the retaliation, Wolf, is not an escalation. It's not a conscious escalation, but a message that needs to be made unequivocally clear. And that is, that a level of terrorism is not an immutable law of nature that we have to live with. That we have to accept, that we have to tolerate.

Now, American criticism for fear of escalation is something that we live with. It's something that we understand, it's something we are attentive to. But today my understanding is that Prime Minister Sharon spoke with President Bush, and perhaps with other senior administration officials, and told them that he had decided to unilaterally agree to a cease-fire on the eve of General Zinni's -- envoy General Zinni's mission to the Middle East. And by thus, proclaiming, basically waived the condition that we had said before, for seven days of total peace and quiet.

BLITZER: What about that, Ambassador Al-Kidwa, the gesture from Sharon, no longer demanding seven days of peace and quiet before accepting a cease-fire. Will the Palestinians respond to that?

**NASSER AL-KIDWA**, PALESTINIAN REP. TO THE U.N.: Let me say first say that what the Israelis are doing is not a retaliation. It's actually a campaign, a vicious campaign, against the Palestinian people. And the prime minister made it public that he wants to beat the Palestinians, kill the Palestinians, until he drives them into submission.

Now, with regard to the change referred to dropping a condition which was impossible to meet, that is something positive. And I believe that it will facilitate the job of General Zinni, because that condition meant, effectively, a block against any implementation of Mitchell Report, and the plan of Mr. Tenet as well.

BLITZER: Ambassador Pinkas, a lot of Americans simply don't understand this deteriorating violence between the Israelis and the Palestinians. Why not have Prime Minister Sharon sit down with the Palestinian Authority president, Yasser Arafat, and try to end this once and for all?

PINKAS: Well, first of all, Wolf, he is sitting down with other representatives of the Palestinian leadership. But apparently this bankruptcy of leadership that characterizes the Palestinian Authority permeates down from Arafat and then bottoms up again. We have sat down with Arafat, most remarkably at Camp David a year and a half ago. And we laid down the plan, and President Clinton laid down the plan.

And he refused. And he initiated -- first he condoned, then he actively initiated a wave of violence in a campaign.

(CROSSTALK)

BLITZER: Ambassador, the situation has clearly deteriorated. Look how many people are dying over these past few days. Why not make that kind of gesture and take a dramatic gesture, and meet with Arafat and try to end it?

PINKAS: Look, the president of Israel, who is visiting the U.S. at the time, right now, Foreign Minister Peres, the chief of military intelligence, and many other politicians, have met repeatedly with Palestinian leaders, including Mr. Arafat. Peres met with Arafat twice or three times in the last year -- to no avail.

This man is becoming a burden on the entire Middle East. He is inflicting, or self-inflicting, tragedies on his people and the entire region. It is time for us to look straight in the mirror at ourselves, straight at you, and to admit that whatever it is that we are trying to accomplish with this man may, unfortunately, tragically, may not succeed. He's not up to the challenge.



BLITZER: Let me bring Ambassador al-Kidwa back in. You've heard the criticism, not only from the Israelis, but from the Bush administration, Ambassador al-Kidwa, as well -- that Chairman Arafat is not doing enough to stop the suicide attacks, the bombers against Israel.

AL-KIDWA: Well, simply, it's not being done because of the continuation of the Israeli aggression, that's No. 1. And No. 2, because of lack of any political dimension. Mr. Pinkas referred to some meetings which took place. I can refer to many meetings which were prevented by Mr. Sharon. And I think the real problem is Mr. Sharon himself, and the bankruptcy of his policy, as it's being declared by the U.S. administration, and by all leaders all over the world.

Anyway, we are ready to begin seriously at any moment. Now I think there is a proposal before the Security Council to invite both Mr. Sharon and Mr. Arafat to come to the Security Council and address the Council. And we think that this is a positive idea that could represent a way out of the current deadlock. So let's get serious, and let's sit down and negotiate, on the basis of the implementation of Mitchell Report, and on the basis of dealing with the political dimension, including finding a final settlement of the conflict.

BLITZER: Very briefly, Ambassador Pinkas, are they ready to come to the U.N. Security Council, Sharon and Arafat, and work this out?

PINKAS: I don't know if the Security Council is the forum. I don't know if the meeting is going to solve it. Look, Sharon is the problem. And Barak was a problem. And Netanyahu was a problem. And Peres was a problem, otherwise we wouldn't have had a wave of terrorism in 1996.

And Rabin was a problem. And Bill Clinton...

(CROSSTALK)

PINKAS: Excuse me, Mr. al-Kidwa...

AL-KIDWA: That is not true.

PINKAS: And Bill Clinton was the problem.

(CROSSTALK)

BLITZER: All right.

PINKAS: Everyone is a problem, except for this great, liberal Democrat called Yasser Arafat.

BLITZER: Unfortunately, gentlemen, we have to leave it right there. Thanks to both of you for joining us today.

AL-KIDWA: Thank you.

PINKAS: Thank you.

BLITZER: Thank you. And a country that had sat on the sidelines in the Middle East crisis is hoping to broker a peace agreement. I'll talk with a man critical to that compromise later in this program.

But now, our question of the day. Who is in the best position to bring the Israelis and the



Palestinians to the negotiating table? Is Saudi Arabia, Egypt, the United Nations or the United States? You can weigh in. Go to my Web page, [cnn.com/wolf](http://cnn.com/wolf). I'll have the results for you later in the show.

When we come back, a Catholic bishop has a stunning confession. His crime, and the consequence.

And later: Rosie's coming out. But those close to her say she never had anything to hide.

And, Anna Nicole Smith wins some of her late husband's money. Why the judge thinks she deserved it.

First, our news quiz. Besides Anna Nicole Smith's court victory of \$88 million, what else has a similar price tag? Is it Bill Gates' house? A Denver radio station? The Boston Red Sox or the British royal art collection? The answer, coming up.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: A Roman Catholic bishop has resigned after admitting he sexually abused a teenage student at a seminary more than a quarter-century ago. Anthony O'Connell, from the diocese of Palm Beach in Florida, is the highest-ranking clergyman brought down in the priest abuse scandal that began in Boston. Today, he spoke out at a news conference.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BISHOP ANTHONY O'CONNELL, PALM BEACH, FLORIDA: It always hung over me. I don't think I've ever preached without being conscious of it, and especially in these recent times. I certainly have been powerfully motivated in my preaching and in my spirituality, for having been so stupid and so foolish at the time.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: Joining us now from New York is John Leo. He's a columnist for "U.S. News & World Report." And from San Diego, Richard Sipe. He's a former priest and a psychotherapist. Gentlemen, thanks for joining us.

First to you, John. What is going on in the Catholic Church right now? Give us some perspective on this problem.

JOHN LEO, "U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT": Well, I think they have a very grave and broad problem. The main problem is how did they let it fester for so long? They really knew, from the mid-'80s, that they had a sizable problem, and that pedophilia among priests was really untreatable. And yet nothing substantially was done.

So you're going to see weeks, I think, of headlines and spreading stories, as more and more victims and perpetrators hit the newspapers.

BLITZER: Richard Sipe, give us your perspective on this problem, because there seems to be a case like this springing up almost every week.

RICHARD SIPE, FORMER PRIEST: Well, what's happened since the Boston deluge is absolutely monumental. There are waves all over the country -- tidal waves. And I agree with

John Leo, that this is not the last. And this is probably not the highest-rank person who is going to be caught in this. It's reached a new phase.

Actually, this is the third phase. The first phase was the focus on the perpetrator. This bad man has done all these bad things. The "Boston Globe" brought it to a second phase, and that is there's a system that supports this. And the third phase is now that this travels very high, that this doesn't stop with the priests.

BLITZER: Let me interrupt for a second. Mr. Sipe, how high do you believe this will go?

SIPE: Well, I said in 1991 -- I had finished a 25-year study of celibacy. I published it in 1990, and I said that pedophilia was the tip of the iceberg, and if we followed along, it would lead to the highest corridors of the Vatican.

BLITZER: That's pretty high. John Leo, what should the Catholic Church be doing right now to deal with this problem? You've written they've sort of swept it under the carpet over recent years.

LEO: I think they just couldn't bring themselves to face it. I think they have to now. I think they have to make a clean breast of it, and take it to the American people and say, here's the scope of the problem. Their moral authority is shot now. It's going to be years before they get anything like the amount they had before.

And I agree with Richard Sipe, that we're going to see more and more high-ranking people. I think it's very unlikely this is the last bishop who's going to be involved in this. So they need a response. The only response so far from the Vatican is maybe we shouldn't be ordaining homosexuals -- which is a wholly different issue, it has nothing to do with pedophilia. And it's a way of deflecting, or talking about something else, than this problem at hand.

BLITZER: Mr. Sipe, how do you specifically take the steps, though, to deal with what's emerging as a crisis in the Catholic Church?

SIPE: Well, the code of secrecy has been broken. You cannot have accountability and secrecy. I gave all my data, my 25-year study, to the bishops in 1986. I sent a summary of it. And before I published my book, I laid it out before the -- in Washington, D.C., before this group of bishops and lawyers and so on, from the Catholic conference.

They have not done anything, and I think that they've been afraid. They have to now come forward. This is a reformation. This is as profound as the Protestant reformation. When the Council of Trent, in 1546, was called by the pope to reform the church, that pope was living with a 15-year-old boy as a companion.

BLITZER: Let me bring back John Leo, and ask him this question, in fairness to the Catholic Church. The Catholic religious leaders are not the only ones who have been engaged in these kinds of abuses, sexual abuses. What is different, if anything, from the Catholic Church, as opposed to Protestants or Jews or Muslims in that particular case?

LEO: I think the answer, Wolf, is, we don't know yet. We don't know the scope of this. Obviously, as Richard Sipe says, there's a culture of secrecy. But, also, there is a culture of

authority, where the person in charge will defend the troops against charges.

And I think the fear of scandal has dominated everything else. Honesty has gone by the board. It's, "Let's protect the image of the church." And I don't think that's particularly cynical. I think that's the way that generation of leaders was brought up: to think that the image of the church is all important, forgetting that the image is dependent on the behavior of the people who represent the church.

BLITZER: All right, John Leo and Richard Sipe, a difficult, painful subject to discuss, but one that obviously we must address.

Thanks to both of you for joining us.

SIPE: You're welcome.

LEO: Thank you.

BLITZER: And time now to check our "Justice Files": A key witness for the prosecution in the Andrea Yates trial today returned to the stand. Psychiatrist Park Dietz responded to defense witnesses who said mental illness led Yates to believe she was saving her children by killing them. Dietz said that, if that were the case, you would expect her to comfort the children by telling them they would be with God. He said she did not do that.

The Texas woman accused of hitting a homeless man with her car and leaving him stuck in the windshield to die has been charged with murder. Police say Chante Mallard has admitted hitting Gregory Biggs last year, then going home instead of getting help. Authorities say Biggs, who was still alive, pleaded for help, but was ignored. He bled to death over the next two or three days in Mallard's garage. Mallard's attorney says she is not the animal or monster police are portraying her to be.

In just a moment: Will Saudi Arabia support the U.S. in the war against Iraq? I will ask a man in the country's inner circle. Also, a famous politician not seeking reelection. And later: Why is Jesse Ventura shutting down the governor's mansion? And Rosie's secret is out. But friends tell "People" magazine she never really kept quiet.

Stay with us.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Welcome back.

The crisis between the Israelis and the Palestinians seems to be intensifying with each passing day. Earlier today, I spoke with the defense secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, about the situation and how it may tie into possible U.S. action against Iraq.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

DONALD RUMSFELD, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE: My whole adult lifetime there has been problems between Israel and the Arabs and the Palestinians in that region. It is something that has gone on decade after decade after decade. In the intervening period, we've had a number of wars, and I don't know that that is the determinant.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: Earlier today, I also spoke with Adel Al-Jubeir. He's the chief foreign policy adviser to Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

BLITZER: Adel Al-Jubeir, welcome back to our program.

You heard what Secretary Rumsfeld said about not necessarily allowing the tension between the Israelis and the Palestinians to dictate what the U.S. can do, should do against Iraq.

Will Saudi Arabia work with the United States, support the United States if it goes after Saddam Hussein?

ADEL AL-JUBEIR, SAUDI FOREIGN POLICY ADVISER: I think there has been a lot of speculation in the media about the Iraq situation. I think that the policy is still being put together. It's still being finalized. I think that we are still looking at United Nations. I think we are still looking at trying to get the inspectors back into Iraq. I don't know that it as developed as you read about in the press. And so let's see what happens as we move forward on this.

BLITZER: What happens if Saddam Hussein and the Iraqi government refuse to allow those U.N. weapons inspectors back in?

AL-JUBEIR: I think we would have to cross that bridge when we get to it. The U.N. resolutions are very clear. There are negotiations currently under way at the United Nations to bring the inspectors back in and to lift the economic sanctions on Iraq in exchange for an inspections regime that is effective and credible.

Those are ongoing. And we will see how far they progress. I wouldn't want to speculate before we reach that point.

BLITZER: Do you see a linkage between what's happening between the Israelis and the Palestinians and how far Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, other moderate Arab states, might be willing to go in cooperating with the U.S. in the war on terror?

AL-JUBEIR: I think we already are fully cooperating with the U.S. in the war on terror. I don't see -- I think that you can deal with multiple issues and problems at the same time. I do not believe that the Iraq situation is linked to the war on terror. Iraq is an arms-control matter, not a terrorism matter.

BLITZER: But the United States regards the Iraqis as a regime that supports international terrorism.

AL-JUBEIR: What I believe the American policy has been, as I understand it, is that Saddam Hussein is not in compliance with the U.N. resolutions with regards to the weapons of mass destruction. Nor is he in compliance with the agreements he signed at the end of Gulf War. And the issue is an issue of bringing him into compliance with those resolutions and with those agreements.

BLITZER: Since we spoke the last time, President Bush has decided to change his policy and

dispatch General Anthony Zinni, his special Middle East envoy, back to the region. What do you anticipate that Zinni can do right now that obviously has not yet been done to stop the fighting?

AL-JUBEIR: I believe that, to begin with, the administration should receive a lot of credit for getting involved at this time. I believe that, historically, when you look at the peace process, it has only moved forward when there was a lot of intervention from outside and particularly by the United States.

There are always risks involved with stepping into the situation between the Israelis and Palestinians. The U.S. administration has shown that it is willing to take that risk. It is a very brave and very daring move. And I believe that, hopefully, it will lead to success.

BLITZER: And it comes on the heels of Crown Prince Abdullah's peace initiative: an Israeli withdrawal to the '67 lines in exchange for full normalization of relations.

When I interviewed President Mubarak of Egypt earlier this week, he reported that he had a conversation with Prime Minister Sharon. Sharon asked him to call the crown prince and seek a secret meeting between Sharon and Abdullah. And Crown Prince Abdullah said, presumably, not until after there is peace in the region.

If Crown Prince Abdullah could meet with Sharon, what would he tell him?

AL-JUBEIR: Well, that would be hypothetical.

But I can tell you for a fact that the proper address for Sharon would be President Arafat in Ramallah and the president of Syria in Damascus, and Beirut, Lebanon. Those are the parties that he should be negotiating with directly.

I believe that his attempt to divert the issue by saying, "I want to meet with Saudis" shows that he is not credible and that he is not serious. It is interesting that, of all the major leaders who have supported this initiative, the one that is glaring by not supporting it -- in fact opposing it -- is Prime Minister Sharon.

BLITZER: On that note, I've got to leave it. Thank you very much, Adel Al-Jubeir.

AL-JUBEIR: Thank you.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

BLITZER: And she married an 89-year-old when she was 26. Now a judge makes it worth more than \$88 million: the Playmate vs. the millionaire's heirs.

Plus, one of Hollywood's worst kept secrets becomes official: Rosie O'Donnell admits she is gay. And she has a new book. The talk show host takes on the best-seller list -- coming up.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Earlier we asked: "Besides Anna Nicole Smith's court victory of \$88 million, what else has a similar price tag?" Is it: Bill Gate's house, a Denver radio station, the Boston Red Sox, or the British Royal Art Collection? Denver radio station KALC is being sold to Entercom Communications for \$88 million.

Now checking these stories on today's "Newswire": Anna Nicole Smith just won the most recent court battle with her late husband's heirs. A judge said she is entitled to \$88 million of Howard Marshall's estate because his son, E. Pierce Marshall, took malicious and fraudulent steps to deny Smith the money she was promised. Marshall says he will appeal.

Another Republican senator is announcing plans to step down at the end of his term. Fred Thompson of Tennessee released a statement today that said -- quote -- "I simply don't have the heart for another six-year term." Aides say Thompson has been deeply affected by his daughter's recent death. Incidentally, Al Gore says he is not, repeat, not interested in running for Thompson's seat.

A fiscal battle between Minnesota lawmakers and Governor Jesse Ventura is starting to hit home. After seeing his budget cut by 15 percent, Ventura surprised lawmakers by announcing he will close the governor's mansion. Unlike his predecessors, Ventura does not live there, but the mansion is used for entertainment purposes.

She has a television show, a magazine and is a mother of three adopted children. And now Rosie O'Donnell admits she is gay. Is it a newfound honesty or a publicity stunt to sell books?

Plus:

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: It took trees and cows away. I never thought I would see a cow get picked up in the air, spun around.

UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: You saw that?

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Yes, and spun the cow around and flipped him down.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: And a suspected twister touchdown with a twist -- that's all coming up.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Welcome back.

A star of daytime talk is taking a new tack when it comes to her professional and personal life. Rosie O'Donnell is putting her homosexuality out in the open for the first time publicly. Her decision and what prompted it is explained in the next edition of "People" magazine.

Adam Buckman is a TV columnist for "The New York Post." He joins us now from New York to talk a little bit more about Rosie O'Donnell's decision to come out.

What do you make of this decision, Adam?

ADAM BUCKMAN, TV COLUMNIST, "NEW YORK POST": Well, let's remember that it was Ellen DeGeneres who is the true Jackie Robinson of lesbians. And she came out six years ago. And it had certain effects on her career, on her then ABC sitcom. And she came out in a big way on the cover of "TIME" magazine and in an ABC interview, which is what Rosie will be doing next week with Diane Sawyer.

It looks -- cynically, I want to say, well, it looks like Rosie is at the time of her life where she wants to kind of be more honest with the public, but also sell a book about her private life. And this particular tidbit, this particular aspect of her private life is being kind of offered as the bait to come and buy the book.

On the other hand, she is very honorably framing this coming-out in the context of an adoption fight in Florida. It is going to be reported on the ABC News show that Rosie is gay because -- and she is getting involved in a situation in Florida which does not allow gays to adopt children. And she would like to do that in the state of Florida. So, that's the context for this right now.

BLITZER: And, as we put up a picture of Rosie O'Donnell and her longtime partner, I want to ask you how you think this is going to impact on her TV career.

BUCKMAN: It is an interesting question. And I have pondered that a lot lately. And it has been difficult for me, unusually so, to come up with some sort of judgment on that.

After all, I live in New York City. In fact, I live in Greenwich Village. You know, lesbians are no big deal to me. I have a hard time judging how the rest of the country reacts to lesbians. Certainly they are not unacquainted with lesbians. There are lesbians, I assume, in every neighborhood and in every small town and city.

So it could be that, nowadays, people are somewhat sophisticated. They have been raised for the last half-a-dozen years on a diet of daytime television shows where all kinds of homosexuality and other behaviors are talked about openly. So, I don't know if it is that shocking. Rosie has a great deal of goodwill with her fans. They like her. She could be like the sort of the heavyset women who lives down the street who maybe some people privately suspect was a lesbian, but maybe they don't really care.

BLITZER: Adam, Rosie O'Donnell, Ellen DeGeneres, will this decision by Rosie O'Donnell, do you think, convince other lesbians, prominent lesbians out there, and gay men, to come out of the closet openly?

BUCKMAN: I think there is no question that that's an ongoing dilemma for, particularly, performers and entertainers who are, I guess, what they call still closeted.

I think they ponder this all the time. What will be the effect on the business that they are in? I mean, you know, there is a risk for it. I think they have to judge whether the majority of the country cares whether or not a very good-looking, handsome, leading- man-type of movie star who plays viral heterosexual roles in movies would be acceptable in those roles if he came out as a homosexual? I think it is really up to the individual.

And Rosie is leaving television soon. Perhaps she felt that this would really have no effect on her future career. And she can continue to play various character roles in movies and run her magazines and live happily with her adopted children.

BLITZER: Adam Buckman of "The New York Post" in New York, thanks, as always, for joining us.



BUCKMAN: Thank you.

BLITZER: I appreciate it very much. Sorry we had to interrupt the interview the other day, but we had some breaking news with the president of the United States and the president of Egypt.

Adam Buckman, thanks again.

And we have heard a lot about ABC's decision to court David Letterman at the expense of Ted Koppel. Ironically, the newsman outpolled the popular comic in a new Gallup Poll. The respondents were asked this: "If you personally were watching television late at night after the local news, which would you prefer to watch?" Thirty- five percent said Letterman's "Late Show," compared to 50 percent who preferred Koppel's "Nightline."

And, true to form, March has come in like a lion: some dramatic damage in the wake of a suspected tornado touchdown in California. And at the beach, some beachcombers are taking off their sandals and putting on their snowshoes. We will explain when we come back.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Body shops in the Seattle area should have plenty of work in the near future. A rare snowstorm caused so many car accidents, police say they couldn't keep track of them all. There were no reports of serious injuries, but at least one baby was born on Interstate 405 because his mother couldn't make it to the hospital.

Further south, the snow made for quite a surreal setting along the beaches of Oregon. Residents in the Portland area woke up seeing white as well. Like Seattle, this storm also affected traffic. Schools were delayed and buses had to be rerouted.

And, in California, residents of a small town south of Sacramento are recovering from a storm that may have produced a tornado. People in Lockeford described a funnel cloud that picked up a cow, knocked over oak trees and downed power lines. No injuries are reported.

Let's go to New York now and get a preview of "LOU DOBBS MONEYLINE." That, of course, begins right at the top of the hour -- Lou.

LOU DOBBS, "LOU DOBBS MONEYLINE": Wolf, thank you very much.

Dozens of people have been killed today in the latest Middle East fighting, the bloodiest day of the intifada to date. Former U.S. ambassador to Israel Martin Indyk will be here to tell us what the United States can do to stop the carnage. And the United States continues to step up its attacks in Afghanistan. CNN military analyst General David Grange will be with us. And the Senate today passes a bill to stimulate the economy a day after Fed Chairman Greenspan says we are in recovery. And a falling unemployment rate lifts stock prices today.

We will have all of that and a lot more for you at the top of the hour. Please join us -- now back to you, Wolf.

BLITZER: Thank you very much, Lou.

And who is in the best position to bring the Israelis and the Palestinians to the negotiating

table? The results of our "Question of the day" next. And a viewer has a complaint about my online column. That's coming up as well.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Now the results of our "Question of the Day": "Who is in the best position to bring the Israelis and the Palestinians to the negotiating table?" So far -- look at these results -- 45 percent of you say the U.S. The United Nations came in second. A reminder: This poll is not scientific.

Time now to hear from you. Ken writes this: "Iraq seeks weapons of mass destruction. I suspect most states are seeking nuclear weapons. I think it is a folly to assume we can stop their proliferation."

Jane criticizes the column I wrote yesterday: "You've lost your mind completely. An article on the brave reporters? How about an article on the brave soldiers? As hard as it may be for you to believe, you're not the story."

But Catherine writes this: "The danger these reporters face is very real. I, for one, am eternally grateful for their work. My boyfriend is a specialist in the 101st Airborne Division. These reporters provide information without which I could never begin to understand what he is going through."

And I will be back in one hour here in the CNN "War Room" with more of my interview with the defense secretary, Donald Rumsfeld. Until then, thanks very much for watching. I'm Wolf Blitzer in Washington. "LOU DOBBS MONEYLINE" begins right now.

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CNN INTERNATIONAL

**SHOW:** Q&A WITH JIM CLANCY 03:30 PM Eastern Standard Time

**January** 8, 2002 Tuesday

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**SECTION:** NEWS; INTERNATIONAL

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**HEADLINE:** Will Weapons Boat Sink Middle East Peace Process?

**GUESTS:** Nasser Al-Kidwa, Alan Pinkus, Gal Luft, Charles Duelfor

**BYLINE:** Jim Clancy, Jerrold Kessel

**HIGHLIGHT:**

Could a boat containing arms which was seized by Israel sink the Middle East peace process?

**BODY:**

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(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Katyusha rockets with a range of over 20 kilometers, 2.5 tons of most advanced explosives, as well as other offensive weapons. This would have changed the strategic balance, putting Israel in an impossible situation.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: We want these four parties, the UN, the United States, Russia and EU to participate in the investigation concerning this ship incident. We don't have anything to hide.

JIM CLANCY, CNN ANCHOR (voice-over): Charge and counter-charge over a ship containing tons of weapons seized by Israeli forces.

Israel says it was bound for Gaza, the munitions purchased by the Palestinian Authority to be used against Israeli targets.

The Palestinian leadership denies any involvement in the incident and says it wants a full-scale investigation.

But in it's wake, Israel's army chief calls for a reassessment of Israel's approach to Palestinian Yasser Arafat.

On this edition of Q&A: Can this ship sink the Middle East peace process?

(END VIDEO CLIP)

CLANCY: Hello and welcome to Q&A. I'm Jim Clancy.

Well, for anyone wanting peace in the Middle East, it's just what they didn't need: tons of munitions discovered on a ship in the Red Sea. A man claiming to be the captain of the boat quick to say that he was in the employ of the Palestinian Authority.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

OMAR AKAWI, BOAT CAPTAIN: I am taking my salary and I am an employee of the Palestinian Authority. My boss is (UNINTELLIGIBLE). He is the deputy commander of the Palestinian Navy.

They told me to obey somebody. His name is Abid (ph). At one time, I asked him why do you do this. He told me, I am doing it for Palestine.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

CLANCY: Soon after the captain's statements, Israel displayed what was found onboard that

ship. As Jerrold Kessel reports, the discovery has sent shockwaves through the peace process.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

JERROLD KESSEL, CNN CORRESPONDENT (voice-over): Israel says it seized the vessel, loaded with 50 tons of armament that were bound for the Palestinian Authority in Gaza. An array of Israel's top political and military leaders paraded the weapons in front of diplomats and military attaches, who heard Prime Minister Ariel Sharon say the arms cache operation shows Yasser Arafat has made himself Israel's bitter enemy.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: ... was led by Arafat. It was his initiative. He instructed to pay the money. He sent the people and he is fully responsible.

KESSEL: Now, Israel's army chief of staff, General Shaul Mofaz, is calling for an overall reassessment of Israel's approach to Mr. Arafat's authority, suggesting it is no longer possible for Israel to keep on talking to him, even about security coordination.

Whereas in the past, Mr. Sharon has chided his army commander for such political statements, this time the prime minister says his government will soon engage in such a strategic reappraisal.

The Palestinian leadership, denying any involvement whatsoever in the boat incident, says Mr. Sharon is simply intent on sidelining the U.S. effort to secure an effective cease fire.

In Cairo, Israeli parliamentary opposition leaders met with top Egyptian officials, reportedly agreeing that Mr. Sharon seems to be shying away from new political negotiations. But a senior aide of President Mubarak said that the boat affair could potentially be a major complication for renewed peace efforts.

OSAMA EL BAZ, SENIOR MUBARAK ADVISOR: If it is proven beyond a doubt that this was done by Palestinians or linked to the Palestinian Authority, or with the knowledge of the Palestinian Authority, or any Palestinian, I believe, it will be very detrimental. It can be a blow to the peace.

KESSEL: Israeli officials insist they provided the United States with what they called cast-iron evidence of the Palestinian Authority's involvement in the arms boat incident.

Jerrold Kessel, CNN, Jerusalem.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

CLANCY: There are many questions here and for some of the answers let's go first to Dr. **Nasser Al-Kidwa**. He's the Palestinian representative to the United Nations.

Sir, you're assessment of just how much damage this is going to do. Now, we've heard that there's going to be an investigation. Still, the captain himself admitting to be in the employ of the Palestinian Authority, it doesn't look good, does it?

DR. **NASSER AL-KIDWA**, PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UN: The find was very bad, but let me say that the Israeli story defies logic and any common sense, frankly. It's very hard to believe that anyone could take the chances of trying to smuggle all this amount

of weapons through the complete Israeli control of Gaza beaches. And even then, what would have been done with this kind of weaponry? The (UNINTELLIGIBLE) in the Middle East is just a ludicrous assumption.

In addition, of course, to the nature of the relationship between the Palestinian Authority and Iran, which does not allow for any kind of such cooperation, that is military cooperation.

As such, of course, this story raises serious question marks about the Israeli intentions and about reasons behind the whole thing.

CLANCY: So, what you're saying is that this is some kind of a conspiracy, a plot to entrap the Palestinians? To make them look guilty?

AL-KIDWA: Well, I'm not sure whether it is conspiracy or not. But I am saying that any normal human being with common sense can't in fact believe the Israeli story. It might be something in which the political issue only is involved. It might be something in which only some security people are involved. I'm not sure.

Now, at the same time, I recognize the fact that there was a Palestinian captain of the ship and that's why the Palestinian side decided to establish this committee of investigation, to reach to the bottom of this story. Although even the gentleman with his overeagerness to speak out and be interviewed faces very serious questions as well.

CLANCY: Well, now, you talk about an investigation. You listed those people that the Palestinian Authority would like to be a part of that investigation. What's been the response, right there at the United Nations?

Mr. Robbo (ph) has mentioned that the United Nations might be involved. Are people eager to get involved in this investigation?

AL-KIDWA: Well, we welcome any involvement of the United Nations. We also called for involvement by the United States, Russia, European Union and any other impartial party.

Let me also indicate that the position taken by the United States until now, at least on two occasions, appear to undermine the Israeli story. First, when the United States said that this shipment most probably was heading to Hezbollah in Lebanon.

And secondly, and I think more importantly, when the United States also indicated that in checking reports that this ship might have been loaded in Dubai, actually.

If this is true, then at least half of the Israeli story becomes a lie, a clear lie. And more importantly, I think, the whole story of the captain becomes a lie as well.

We are ready on our part to cooperate with anybody who is serious in trying to reach to the truth...

CLANCY: OK. Reach to the truth. But has anybody...

AL-KIDWA: ... that by the way includes Israel itself.

CLANCY: Has anybody said they'd cooperate with you? Flat out said they would do it, in the investigation. The U.S.? The UN?

AL-KIDWA: Could you repeat that again? The sound is very bad, I'm sorry.

CLANCY: Has anyone actually said, yes, we'll join in that investigation with you?

AL-KIDWA: Well, if I hear you well, we are ready, as I said, to share whatever we know with the United States and we welcome any information provided by the United States in the interest of the knowledge of the truth.

CLANCY: All right, when you look at this on its face, this could cost, perhaps, the role of Yasser Arafat in any negotiations; the role of the Palestinian Authority. Obviously, this deal was put together months and months ago. It's simply too big. And it goes back to the relationship between Iran and the Palestinians. Whether it's the Palestinian or whether it's groups like Hamas, Islamic Jihad, some of the other active groups in Gaza and the West Bank.

AL-KIDWA: Well, as you said, that's true that if something like this did take place, it would have been started a long time ago.

Nevertheless, again, the magnitude of the story, the nature of the weapons, the way it was uncovered by the Israeli side, the nature of the relationship to Iran -- even at that time, all these factors make the story unbelievable. These kind of James Bond stories, frankly, don't stand up to any serious examination by anyone.

CLANCY: Do you, sir, have any knowledge about any of this, in terms of who might have been involved? There was a representative of the PLO in Greece that was named. Are any of these individuals, have they been talking?

AL-KIDWA: Again, please notice that I'm not sure that I'm hearing you well. But from the little bit I am hearing, let me say that obviously there have been some Palestinians involved, and that includes the captain of the ship. I understand also there might be two other persons on the ship. As such, there is no denial that there is a Palestinian element.

Nevertheless, we need to know what kind of involvement, whom these people were actually working for, what they were exactly doing. Was this something as we hear by the Israelis or something maybe totally different.

I mean, there are big questions, big question marks, which need to be answered, and definitely...

CLANCY: All right. Dr. Nasser Al-Kidwa...

(CROSSTALK)

AL-KIDWA: ... government does not help.

CLANCY: Dr. Nasser Al-Kidwa, I want to leave it there with you. I thank you for being with us and I apologize for the problems. We have had some technical problems with your audio. I apologize for that.

AL-KIDWA: Thank you.

CLANCY: All right. OK. Let's go now to Alan Pinkus, he's the U.S. Council General for Israel in New York City.

Alan Pinkus, we've been listening there. A little bit of incredulity on the part of the Palestinian side. The deal is almost too big -- too good to be true, if you will. Even for a militant, trying to smuggle that amount of arms through an area well-known to be completely under the control of Israeli naval forces.

ALAN PINKUS, ISRAELI COUNCIL GENERAL: It's not under the control of the Israeli naval forces. This was caught in international waters.

CLANCY: No, but the plan was to drop them off in floating packages off the coast of Gaza. There have been similar finds in the past in barrels, haven't there?

PINKUS: Well, yes. First of all, there have been findings like this in the past. They have done so in the past. And I'm sorry, I'm probably not the right person to ask or to explain the stupidity and how gullible it was, this attempt.

But nevertheless, there are no question marks here. Actually, only exclamation points.

The ship was purchased by the Palestinian Authority. It was captained by the Palestinian Authority. It was in route to Gaza or to Egypt and then to somehow transfer the weapons to Gaza. It stopped in the Isle of Kish (ph). It stopped again in Yemen. Surely, neither you nor your viewers nor Mr. Al-Kidwa, who seems to think this is a James Bond story, none of you think this was meant to be shipped to the Swedish Girl Scouts.

I think the incriminating evidence is supported and well- substantiated.

CLANCY: All right. The question does come up -- the Palestinians have been involved in a violent uprising against the occupation now for more than a year. Things were beginning to change. Obviously, when you look at this on its face, as I noted with Dr. Al-Kidwa, this was planned months and months in advance. This was underway perhaps as much as a year ago.

PINKUS: Well, I don't know that for a fact, Jim. This is an operation that can be done within a matter of weeks, perhaps a few short months.

The weapons were made available by Iran to the Palestinians, as are many weapons made available by Iran to Hezbollah in Lebanon. I mean, Iran's place in this and Iran's role in this should not be overlooked.

CLANCY: Well, certainly...

PINKUS: The ship was bought through a Greek/Palestinian middleman and the makeshift crew was hired several short weeks before we intercepted the ship.

So, we're not necessarily talking about years here.

CLANCY: All right...

PINKUS: And if I may, Jim, just to beg to differ with the premise of what you just said, the Palestinians have been engaged in a violent conflict or in a violent attack against Israel, not against occupation. Because occupation was supposed to have been terminated at the Camp David summit in July of 2000. I'm sorry we need to remind that all the time.

CLANCY: All right. Well, now wait a minute. Come on. There are still army tanks on the



West Bank. There have been, ever since Oslo. They have been there in one location or another, armed troops. It is an occupation. And I don't want to get into this argument, here, because I want to focus more on the ship.

Now, we're talking about an individual in Greece that coordinated all of this. What knowledge do we have, or do you have, of who he is and what role he had with the Palestinian Authority or with the Palestinian cause?

PINKUS: His name is Abdul Awadella (ph) and he is one of the PLO representatives in Greece and he has been a money middleman for Palestinian Authority arms procurements for several years now.

We know that. But it's a free market out there, and there was very little we could have done in the last several years, although we know who he was and what he was involved in.

And there is absolutely no way around it, Jim. There is irrefutable evidence linking this to the Palestinian Authority. If this or that individual, Mr. Al-Kidwa included, did not know of this, this does not exonerate the Palestinian Authority from its responsibility.

And that leads to a different question that you may have wanted to ask: why do they need these weapons? Why do they need 2,200 kilos of explosives? Why do they need 64 Katyusha rocket launchers if they are indeed intent on pursuing a peace process?

CLANCY: All right. When we look at the questions that are coming in by e-mail, one of them asks, "So what if the boat was destined for Palestine? Doesn't every nation have the right to defend itself against an aggressor"?

This is part of the reason, I think, part of the frustration that Ariel Sharon and the Israeli government have, is that people in the outside world who are looking at this, saying no surprise.

PINKUS: OK. Well, let me try and give you and provide two answers for that. First of all, if it was intended for the Palestinian Authority, then that incriminates them. Then we know who it was intended for.

But since it was a question from a viewer, let me answer the second part. First of all, they are prohibited from procuring these weapons and shipping them and importing them by every agreement that has been signed between Israel and the Palestinian Authority. This goes back to the 1993 Oslo accords, to the Kyar (ph) agreement, to the Oslo II accords, and all subsequent agreements.

Number two, this is not against an aggressor. Israel is not an aggressor here. Israel has been engaged in a genuine peace process with the Palestinians, yet they failed, I'm sorry...

CLANCY: What happens to that process now?

PINKUS: ... to live up to the expectations of letter and spirit. I'm sorry?

CLANCY: What happens to that process now? You know, we heard the Israelis saying, we can't deal with Arafat anymore.

PINKUS: Well, it certainly raises one huge question mark, even larger than the ones we have

had about Mr. Arafat's complicity in this.

This gentleman failed to show up at Camp David. He failed to make any decision pertaining to the peace process in the last several years. He failed to sign any agreement -- he violated every agreement and failed to sign new agreements.

We certainly have a problem with him as a viable and credible political interlocutor. To the point and to the extent that there are people in Israel, and they are not from the right-wing and they are not from the left-wing, this is the consensus cutting across and cutting through party lines in Israel, that perhaps with this Palestinian leadership, for their failure to become statesmen, for their failure to act as responsible statesmen, perhaps we cannot reach a viable, credible, durable agreement with this leadership and we're going to have to wait for an alternative leadership.

I don't know that, but this ship certainly doesn't add to his credibility and seriousness.

CLANCY: Alan Pinkus, our thanks to you for being with us. We're going to have to take a short break right here. We'll be back in a moment, and look at who may be behind the weapons.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

CLANCY: Welcome back to Q&A.

Discovery of a cache of weapons in the Middle East threatening tentative moves towards a cease fire. A ship filled with tons of rockets and mortars discovered by Israeli forces. Now Israel says it may not be able to do business with this Palestinian Authority and its leader, Yasser Arafat.

Joining us for more on this is Gal Luft. He's a military expert at Johns Hopkins University. He is also with the Washington Institute on Near East Policy and a former Israeli military officer.

Also with us, Charles Duelfor, a political and military analyst at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. He is also the former deputy director of the UN weapons inspection team in Iraq.

Gal Luft, I want to begin with you and just ask you the questions. How unusual would it be for this quantity of arms, this type of arms, which is better than anything anybody has ever seen in the hands of the Palestinian Authority, to suddenly be shipped there, an attempt under the Israeli's noses?

GAL LUFT, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY: Well, it has been done. That's a fact. I think that what we've seen this week is only a link in the chain of a very long attempt to smuggle weapons into the Palestinian Authority.

In fact, these attempts started from the very first days of the Palestinian Authority in 1994. And Arafat himself brought in weapons in the car, the very same car that brought him into Gaza in 1994.

So, we've had numerous attempts to bring in weapons, but what makes this attempt very different is the kind of weapons that we have seen are just to an extent (ph) strategic weapons. Weapons that in the geography of Israel can reach 12 miles and threaten every single locality

between Ashkelon in the south and Gadara in the north. This is meaningful.

CLANCY: All right. Charles Duelfor, your view of who is behind this and what this strategy could possibly be. If it is Iran that furnished the weapons, is there someone there that wants trouble in the Middle East?

CHARLES DUELFOR, CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES: That's a key question that you've raised. There's the supply side and the demand side. We've been addressing the demand side, but the supply side is also very interesting.

It's almost as though someone wanted to torpedo the peace process by bringing in these weapons which, you know, don't make sense in many ways. They are escalatory. And if it is Iran, and if it is a part of the irresponsible government of Iran, then that raises a very, very serious issue. We've got to investigate and look at the trail on the supply side as well.

CLANCY: When you look at the value of these, Gal Luft, and let's be honest here, I mean, compared to what is in the hands of Israel -- compared more over to what this government has used against the Palestinians in terms of Apache gunships, F-16's, all of the other weaponry that have been used by the Israelis, it's not that much, is it?

LUFT: Well, in a way it is. I mean, the Palestinian Authority has signed in good faith the Oslo Agreement that puts a cap on the number and the kind of weapons that they are allowed to have. And this is not a good sign and certainly an escalatory move on the side of the Palestinians.

CLANCY: Charles Duelfor, the Palestinian representative seemed to be saying, look, this could be an incredible ruse, somebody brought into all of this, perhaps as a money-making scheme, that it all could have been a setup. Your view of that.

DUELFOR: I share the question of the logic of this. I mean, the Palestinians, you know, can't really use these weapons logically. They're not going to win a war with Israel. They're not going to be able to take out tanks. If they use these long-range Katyusha rockets, you know, the Israeli reaction would be extreme.

So, it really does bring in to question, you know, what is going on here. Is someone trying to upset the applecart, recognizing that there are a lot of other issues going on in the Middle East. There's Iraq, there's Iran. There's a vulnerability that the United States itself has in the Palestinian/Israeli issue.

CLANCY: All right, gentlemen. Because we've gone long here and I want to get it down to one final question. That is: why hasn't anyone said to the Palestinians, let's join in your investigation? Let's look at it and get to the bottom of it. Why is everybody holding back -- Charles?

DUELFOR: Well, I think it's politically a very risky point at this point, because if you say we're going to help the Palestinian side, it's almost like your taking a position.

I think people want to sit back, examine the facts first before they sign up on a political statement.

CLANCY: Gal Luft?

LUFT: The fingerprints of the Palestinian Authority are all over the map. I think it will be an insult to one's intelligence to even question something that is so undeniable as what we've seen.

CLANCY: But nobody is going to take just the Israeli side of this investigation, are they, Charles?

DUELFOR: No, and I think the facts will come to the fore. This shipment came through one of the most heavily surveilled parts of the ocean in the world. The American fleet is constantly watching the Gulf to see if there is smuggling from Iraq, from Iran. So, I think eventually a lot of these questions will be answered, but we'll have to wait for some time to pass.

CLANCY: All right, and we're going to have to call time right here, now. We've run out of it.

Charles Duelfor and Gal Luft, thanks to both of you for lending your expertise and helping us understand some of the complexities of this story.

DUELFOR: Thank you, Jim.

LUFT: Thank you.

CLANCY: That is Q&A for this day. I'm Jim Clancy. The news now continues on CNN.

If you have a question about any of the topics that we have on this program, send us an e-mail at [q&a@cnn.com](mailto:q&a@cnn.com).

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CNN

**SHOW:** CNN LATE EDITION WITH WOLF BLITZER 12:00

**November** 25, 2001 Sunday

Transcript # 112500CN.V47

**SECTION:** News; International

**LENGTH:** 24241 words

**HEADLINE:** O'Neill Talks About Reviving Economy; Durbin, Lugar Debate Human Cloning Issues; Slater, Buirnley Discuss Terrorism's Impact on Travel

**GUESTS:** Michael West, Paul O'Neill, Richard Durbin, Richard Lugar, Rodney Slater, James Buirnley, Alon Pinkas, **Nasser Al-Kidwa**, Marc Gellman, Tom Hartman, Muzammil Siddiqi, Kelly McCann, Catharine Bertini

**BYLINE:** Wolf Blitzer, Steve Roberts, Susan Page, Rich Lowry, Bruce Morton, Wesley Clark, Don Shepperd

**HIGHLIGHT:**

Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill talks about the Bush administration's plans for reviving the economy. Then, Democrat Dick Durbin of Illinois and Republican Richard Lugar of Indiana debate human cloning issues and discuss the latest action in Afghanistan. Finally, former Transportation Secretaries Rodney Slater, James Buirney address terrorism's impact on travel

**BODY:**

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WOLF BLITZER, HOST: It's noon in Washington and New York; 9:00 a.m. in Los Angeles; 9:30 p.m. in Kabul, Afghanistan; and 10:00 p.m. in Islamabad, Pakistan. Wherever you're watching from around the world, thanks for joining us for this special three-hour LATE EDITION.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Welcome back.

While Israeli and Palestinian leaders have expressed support for the United States in the war on terrorism, tensions between the two sides remain very high. Since September 11, there's been no let up in the violence between Israelis and Palestinians.

Joining us now from New York to talk about the prospects for Middle East peace are two guests: Alon Pinkas is Israel's consul general in New York; and Nasser Al-Kidwa is the Palestinian permanent observer to the United Nations.

Thanks to both of you for joining us.

And, Ambassador Al-Kidwa, let me begin with you and play for you an excerpt from Secretary of State Colin Powell's speech on the Middle East earlier this week, specifically his admonition to the Palestinians. Listen to this.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

COLIN POWELL, U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE: Palestinians must eliminate any doubt once for all that they accept the legitimacy of Israel as a Jewish state. They must make clear that their objective is a Palestinian state alongside Israel, not in place of Israel, and which takes full account of Israel's security needs. The Palestinian leadership must end violence, stop incitement and prepare their people for the hard compromises ahead.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: Do the Palestinians accept his recommendations?

NASSER AL-KIDWA, PERMANENT OBSERVER FOR PALESTINE TO U.N.: We do, and we also believe that the statement made by the secretary was a balanced one. He reiterated

the vision based on two-state solution, Israel and Palestine. He spoke of many important things such as solution to Jerusalem, solution of Palestinian refugees. Reiteration for the need of ending Israeli occupation, cessation of settlement activities. All these things.

And comprehensively we do accept his statement, and I would say also that the atmosphere was very positive after the statement.

Unfortunately, the Israeli government went into a campaign of additional killing since that statement, killing actually 15 Palestinians including at least seven children, five of whom were blown up into pieces as a result of planted explosive device put by Israeli soldiers in an area which is usually used by Palestinian civilians. Two days ago the Israelis committed another extra judiciary execution, killing three Palestinians.

Thus leading to the poisoning of the atmosphere and making the mission of the two U.S. envoys much more harder than it was envisioned immediately after the statement of the secretary.

BLITZER: All right. I'm going to give Ambassador Pinkas a chance to respond to that, but I also want you to listen first, Ambassador Pinkas, to the admonition to Israel from the secretary of state, Colin Powell.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

POWELL: Israel must be willing to end its occupation consistent with the principles embodied in Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and accept a viable Palestinian state in which Palestinians can determine their own future on their own land and live in dignity and security.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: Do you accept that recommendation, Ambassador Pinkas?

AMBASSADOR ALON PINKAS, ISRAELI CONSUL GENERAL: Yes, absolutely. We've accepted that since 1967. We've accepted that in the 1970s. We've accepted that in the '80s and the '90s and, most noticeably, last year at Camp David. In fact, the solution that the secretary of state in his speech made, the solution that he proposed rather, is a solution that was on the table in 1937 with the Peel Commission; in 1947, the U.N. Partition Plan; again in the '50s; again after 1967; and of course last year at Camp David.

So from our point of view, the two-state solution is not something that is new to us, is not something that we need to debate or deliberate. It is just something that, when proposed to the Palestinians, have always found an excuse to reject rather than endorse, to ask for more things rather than accept reality as it is.

BLITZER: The secretary also said, Ambassador Pinkas, that Israel has to stop its settlement activity. And what Palestinians note is that the settlements in and of themselves create such anger within the Palestinian community that the tensions, of course, inevitably develop.

Why does Israel need to continue to, for example, maintain settlements in Gaza in the midst of all those Palestinians?

PINKAS: Well, first of all, the building of new settlements and the expansion of existing settlements has been stopped as part of the government's basic guidelines when the government was formed last March.

And in terms of the settlement issue itself, that's been resolved -- that's been discussed thoroughly and resolved at Camp David to the mutual satisfaction of Israelis and Palestinians, mediated by Americans, by then-President Bill Clinton. That's...

BLITZER: Well, let me ask Ambassador Al-Kidwa.

Has it been resolved, as far as the Palestinians are concerned?

AL-KIDWA: What I'm hearing is really amazing, because everybody knows that settlement activities continue. Actually, the Israeli prime minister publicly rejected the idea of stopping settlement activities.

Nevertheless, I am happy to hear an Israeli voice saying, yes, we are ready to stop settlement activities, and, yes, it was solved, although it was not.

But if he is ready to accept complete cessation of settlement activities as a first step to removing those settlements, unless there is a mutual agreement on any adjustment of borders, that's great, and let's go for that.

BLITZER: Ambassador Pinkas, you heard Ambassador Al-Kidwa say that Israel deliberately killed those five Palestinian boys in Gaza the other day by leaving a bomb there, in effect, that would kill these youngsters. Is that true?

PINKAS: No, absolutely not. And we have apologized for this awful tragedy.

What seems to have happened -- and I qualify what I say by saying "what seems to have happened," because we are investigating this tragedy -- is that the idea of the Israeli defense forces was, after a group of Palestinians who have been repeatedly shooting mortar bombs from within Palestinian-controlled areas into Israel proper. And in that area, apparently a side bomb has been planted that was not supposed to have been there, that was not supposed to have been detonated, but it did happen.

And we have profusely apologized for it, and I am apologizing for it right now.

It's an awful tragedy, but you have to remember the context. The context is that, from that area, from the immediate vicinity of Palestinian schools and where Palestinian children go to school, en route to their schools and kindergartens Palestinians stand and shoot mortar bombs at Israeli civilian towns, and that has to stop.

BLITZER: All right.

PINKAS: And in trying to stop that, this awful mistake has happened, and we apologize for it. And we will investigate it thoroughly.

BLITZER: Ambassador Al-Kidwa, let's move on and talk about the new U.S. mediatory effort. Secretary Powell announcing two special envoys will be traveling to the region, former Marine Corps General Anthony Zinni and Assistant Secretary of State William Burns.



But he does say in a new issue of Newsweek magazine that's just out today, Secretary Powell told Newsweek magazine this, and I'll put it up on our screen: "I am sure the Palestinians would like to start again at that deal," referring to the Camp David agreement that President Clinton tried to get off the ground -- "and try to go further. But that deal went off the table when President Clinton left office."

Is that acceptable to the Palestinian side, that the concessions which Israel offered at Camp David are no longer applicable?

AL-KIDWA: Well, the important thing here is what the secretary has reiterated, namely that the Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 remain the basis for any settlement, for any final settlement to be reached by the two sides. And this is exactly our position.

By virtue of these two resolutions, Israel has to end its occupation and withdraw its forces and its settlements from the territory it occupied in 1967. We remain committed to this solution.

What happened in Camp David and later on through the initiative made by President Clinton, and later on through the negotiations between the two sides in Taba (ph), there was some progress made towards reaching agreement on the implementation of 242.

If these are taken into consideration, it will facilitate the work of the two sides. If not, we again remain committed to 242, and this is the only acceptable basis for the settlement between the two sides.

BLITZER: Ambassador Pinkas, are you convinced that your prime minister, Ariel Sharon, is prepared to make the kind of concessions in this new round of negotiations that the Bush administration would like to see and, certainly, the Palestinians would like to see?

PINKAS: Well, I'm confident that he's intent on pursuing a peace process, and I'm confident that he will make the necessary compromises and concessions, as he himself admitted on many occasions.

What I'm not confident is that he will find a credible partner on the other side. And while I really don't want to degenerate this into a blaming game -- you know, there's a wonderful book by Fuad Ajami (ph) called "The Dream Palace of the Arabs."

And it's about time, Ambassador Al-Kidwa, that you get out of this dream palace, that you become realistic, you become responsible, you express statesmanship and be accountable to your own actions. Enough is enough with blaming Israel, blaming America, blaming the entire world for that matter, on all your self-inflicted political mistakes.

Stand up, make a decision, stop being indecisive. It's costing you, it's costing us. It's getting on the world's nerves. Make a decision.

AL-KIDWA: Can I say something here?

Actually, you hear nice words which are not reflective of the official Israeli position, because the prime minister went publicly, repeatedly, and said, "I don't want a final settlement, I want only a partial agreement on non-belligerency." He said that repeatedly.

He said also that he doesn't accept any cessation of settlement activities. He said that he

would continue with extrajudiciary killings, he said that he will continue with all measures taken by the Israeli army against the Palestinian people.

And now we are being lectured by a nice guy who speaks perfect English.

But this is not the issue. The issue is the need for two sides to comply with the agreed basis of the final settlement; implemented 242; establish a Palestinian state in the territory which was occupied by Israel in 1967, with Jerusalem as its capital; find a reasonable and just solution for the problem of Palestinian refugees. And I assure you that we are ready to proceed in a fantastic relationship with our neighbors, the Israelis.

BLITZER: All right, on that optimistic note, I'm going to have to leave it. Unfortunately, we are all out of time.

Ambassador Pinkas, Ambassador Al-Kidwa, thanks for joining us. And we hope to have you back, both of you, soon. We appreciate it.

AL-KIDWA: Thank you.

BLITZER: Thank you.

And when we return, since September 11, millions of people in America have sought comfort in their religious faiths. How could religion and spirituality sustain the American spirit during a time of war? We'll get perspective from three religious leaders when LATE EDITION continues.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BUSH: I appreciate your support of our objectives in the campaign terrorism. Tonight that campaign continues in Afghanistan so that the people of Afghanistan will soon know peace. The terrorists have no home in any faith. Evil has no holy days.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: Welcome back to LATE EDITION.

President Bush speaking to Muslim leaders this past week at a White House dinner in observance of the Muslim holy month of Ramadan.

Joining us now from New York to discuss spirituality during this time of war: Rabbi Marc Gellman of Temple Beth Torah on Long Island, Monsignor Tom Hartman of the Diocese of Rockville Center, also on Long Island. They're affectionately known as The God Squad. And in Los Angeles, Imam Muzammil Siddiqi, he's the president of the Islamic Society of North America.

Welcome, all of you, to LATE EDITION.

IMAN MUZAMMIL SIDDIQI, ISLAMIC SOCIETY OF NORTH AMERICA: Vice president.

BLITZER: Thank you. And let me -- vice president, excuse me. We'll fix that.

Let me ask you, first of all, Monsignor Hartman, is there a renewed spirituality that you sense

developing in the United States in the aftermath of September 11?

MONSIGNOR TOM HARTMAN, ROCKVILLE CENTER DIOCESE: Well, more people are coming to church. More people are asking questions about good and evil. They're questioning their lifestyle, trying to make it more simplified. And they recognize that, as adults, we have to give hope to children who are afraid. And in the midst of that, that hope comes from prayer, it comes from a belief that we're not alone, that God is with us in the midst of this struggle.

BLITZER: Imam Siddiqi, do you sense that there is greater spirituality among Muslims that you're involved with?

SIDDIQI: Very much, especially now we are in month of Ramadan. Always in the month of Ramadan, people become much more religious, observance of religion increases.

But now, especially at this time, after the tragedy of September 11, there is much more turning to God, more observance of religion and understanding.

Of course, what happened, I must emphasize, was not religious thing. It had nothing to do with religion. But some people misuse the name of religion, so that's why there is a great understanding in trying see that we understand our own religion and also introduce the basic principles and values of Islam to other people.

BLITZER: And then, Imam Siddiqi, just to be precise on this matter, there's no doubt that you and your supporters, your followers, completely condemn Osama bin Laden and the form of Islam that he practices?

SIDDIQI: We, of course, we condemn fully the terrorism, the tragedy, that criminal act that took place on September 11 in New York and Washington. All of this is was unanimously condemned by all Muslims.

BLITZER: Rabbi Gellman, are members of your congregation becoming more or less observant or religious, if you will, in aftermath of the terrorist attacks?

RABBI MARC GELLMAN, TEMPLE BETH TORAH: It's an overwhelming response, I think, Wolf, to the sense of inner chaos and panic that occurs, particularly here on the East Coast, and then, particularly, in the New York area. I think it's, of course, not quite as severe in communities that have not been as deeply affected, but here it's enormous.

And, you know, particularly, in communities that aren't normally active in religious life, in the 20-somethings, in kids, many of whom lost their dear friends in this catastrophe. And we did memorial services right after the event for several of these young people, and it was really heartbreaking to see kids in their 20s who have no natural way of relating to death -- that's something that has to do with grandma and grandpa -- to see them turning to religion, as a source of their hope. It's both terrifying but also inspiring.

BLITZER: Monsignor Hartman, during this period of Thanksgiving here in the United States, we just celebrated the Thanksgiving holiday, some Americans find there's a lot less to be thankful right now, if they're losing their jobs, they're worried about their security, there's an

anthrax scare out there. What do you say to these people?

HARTMAN: Well, it's a bittersweet time if you've lost somebody through death or if your family is frightened or you've lost a job or your income has gone down because of the stock market or whatever. It's a time of sadness and grieving and recollecting yourself and trying to keep a center.

On the other instance, the sweet part of it is that we really believe that, in order to jump-start ourselves again, to get back in the arena, that we need to be thankful -- thankful for little things, thankful for family we have, thankful for the faith that's there, the friends that we have, the acts of love that are in our lives.

And we like to encourage people to go back to the basics and recognize that God is always there to answer our prayers and to hear our prayers.

BLITZER: Imam Siddiqi, how worried are you and members of your of your mosques about these latest efforts on the part of U.S. law enforcement authorities to question Muslims out there, Arab-Americans, visitors to this country, the whole notion profiling of Muslims or Arabs in the United States?

SIDDIQI: Well, I understand the concern for the security, and this is our concern and we would very much like to see that our country be safe, and we cooperate fully in that matter.

But at the same time, singling out any group of people, any race, any religion, this is not an American way, and I hope for people will not (UNINTELLIGIBLE) this thing and try to treat as the people.

Muslims in America, 6 or 7 million Muslims in America, they're law-abiding people. They love this country, and they are like any other Americans. We share the same values, we share the law of the country, and would like that we should be treated with respect and honor. I much appreciate that.

Many of our neighbors, they understand that. Our Jewish friends, our Christian friends, many of them are supporting us, and there is a great understanding among the people. Whenever we have open house, thousands of people coming in different Islamic centers and communities.

We would like to have this dialogue, the understanding among the people of faith -- among all people.

And I see that, that there is a greater opening now for people to understand. The sales of the Koran have increased. Many people are reading the Koran, American people. Many people reading Islamic books. They are contacting us and asking us to explain our religion.

So we like to see that people have better understanding. We would like to see that Islam understood as part of the country. And this is what we're all about.

BLITZER: All right, Imam, Rabbi and Monsignor, stand by. We have to take a quick break.

When we return, we'll be taking your phone calls for our panel of religious leaders. LATE EDITION will be right back.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Welcome back. We're continuing our discussion with Rabbi Marc Gellman, Monsignor Tom Hartman and Imam Muzammil Siddiqi.

And, Monsignor Hartman, what do you say to Catholics out there right now who are angry at Muslims in general for what happened on September 11?

HARTMAN: Well, the first thing in I say to them is that Muslims are law-abiding citizens. They pray five times a day. They give to charity. They go to the mosque as we go to the church.

And the Muslim faith, as such, does not teach the value of killing another person. It says if you kill one person, you kill everybody. And it not for suicide. If you take your life, it doesn't belong to you, it belongs to God.

What we see is a perversion of religion. And right now the challenge that the Muslim faith has is to stand up and say, as the Imam has said, "We are not behind this terroristic activity. We don't support it. And we will be with those who are trying to rout it out of our society.

BLITZER: As far as you know, Rabbi Gellman, is there any serious dialogue under way between the American Jewish community and American Muslims to try to overcome some of the differences that have developed over the years?

GELLMAN: Well, there are places where dialogue occurs, and those are wonderful and glorious examples.

I think what Tommy and I experienced, now almost 15 years ago, when we met, is that the progress in inter-faith dialogue does not come when one institution calls up another institution. It happens when one human being finds a friend in another human being who is from a different faith or a different culture.

And that is the kind of transformation that we pray for, that there should be millions and millions of "God Squads" and people should find each other before these events so that they have Muslim friends already, and they can call them up and say, "Is there something I can do for you, and are you in danger? And is there a way for us to find each other?" That's the future, is in individual friendships mushrooming across the country.

But in this era of fear and panic when it is clear to everyone with a mind that not all Muslims are terrorists, but in fact all the terrorists are Muslims, that there is an anger that has to be quelled. And unfortunately, it cannot be quelled and it cannot be reduced by rabbis or priests telling their community, "This is not what Islam teaches." We do that, but it isn't enough and it isn't effective. It has to come from the Muslim community itself.

Islam must spit these people out. Islam must condemn them in massive acts of demonstration that make it clear to everyone. And that is the way that things have to change.

BLITZER: What about that, Imam Siddiqi, what do you say to what Rabbi Gellman just said?

SIDDIQI: Well, I agree with that, that this is not Islam. But at the same time, I must say that not all terrorists are Muslims. This is not right to say that, that all terrorists are Muslims.

Terrorists exist in all religions and all cultures and all nationalities.

So there are some, very unfortunate to have. But no true Muslim could be a terrorist; no terrorist could be a true Muslim. Those who are doing this kind of acts they are against the teachings of their -- of Islam, against the teachings of their religion.

We would like to have good relations. We would like to have dialogue, with understanding, tolerance, living in the pluralistic society. Actually the whole world is becoming pluralistic. We are living in the global village. And we appreciate very much the good relations with our Jewish community, with our Christian community, Catholic community.

Here in Los Angeles, we have an Academy for Christian and Islamic Studies, and we do dialogue with our Jewish friends, Christian friends. And we like to promote that.

Actually we worked on a book called "Abrahamic Connections." There are so many things in common in our traditions, and we would like to emphasize the commonalities. We believe in the same God. Unlike what Franklin Graham said, we believe in the same God. And our religion is not religion of evil or the religion of wickedness, as Mr. Graham said. And I'm glad that many Christian ministers, they came out and they spoke against that.

So it is important that the religion should not be demonized. People should understand the religion. And our books are open. We are open to anybody who would to visit our Islamic centers, we welcome them.

BLITZER: Imam, I want to thank you very much, Iman Siddiqi, Monsignor Hartman, Rabbi Gellman, all three of you, for joining us on this Thanksgiving weekend here in the United States.

And just ahead, with the U.S. military campaign in Afghanistan appearing to be successful, at least so far, what should the Bush administration's next steps be in the war against terrorism?

We'll go 'round the table with Steve Roberts, Susan Page and Rich Lowry when LATE EDITION returns.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Welcome back.

Time now for our LATE EDITION roundtable. Joining me: Susan Page, Washington bureau chief for USA Today; Steve Roberts, contributing editor for U.S. News and World Report; and Rich Lowry, the editor of the National Review.

Thanks to all of you for joining us.

CBS News Transcripts

**SHOW:** THE SATURDAY EARLY SHOW (7:00 AM ET)

**April** 21, 2001, Saturday

**TYPE:** Analysis

**LENGTH:** 1030 words

**HEADLINE:** NEW VIOLENCE OVERNIGHT BETWEEN PALESTINIAN AND ISRAELI FORCES IN THE GAZA STRIP

**ANCHORS:** RUSS MITCHELL

**BODY:**

RUSS MITCHELL, co-host:

The White House is urging calm in the wake of renewed violence in the Middle East. This morning, Israeli tanks rumbled into a Palestinian-controlled area of the Gaza Strip, destroying a Palestinian police post. Clashes erupted yesterday in Jerusalem's Old City. Several dozen Palestinians threw stones at Israeli police as worshipers were leaving a mosque compound.

Which side will eventually control the compound remains one of the most sensitive issues in the conflict. Yesterday, I spoke with **Nasser al-Kidwa**, the Palestinian observer to the UN, and Yehuda Lancry, Israeli ambassador to the UN, for some perspective on the standoff.

Thank you both very much for joining us.

Ambassador YEHUDA LANCRY (Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations): Thank you.

Ambassador **NASSER al-KIDWA** (Palestinian Observer to the United Nations): Thank you.

MITCHELL: Ambassador al-Kidwa, I'll begin with you. It seems like the violence never ends. In your mind, what will it take to get the peace process moving again?

Amb. al-KIDWA: Well, it takes an indication that the Israeli side wants to end the occupation of the Palestinian territory and want to resume the peace process on the agreed bases, leading to a comprehensive settlement which would include--cover all--all issues, such as Jerusalem, Palestinian refugees and things like that.

MITCHELL: Ambassador Lancry, what's response to that? What's it going to take?

Amb. LANCRY: It is very simple from our point of view, that while the Palestinian leadership--who started this uprising, this violence and this terrorist campaign--so once they decide to stop it, to cease it, we can resume very quickly, and in a conducive way, the negotiations.



MITCHELL: You're saying its up to the Palestinians?

Amb. LANCERY: I--that is my position.

MITCHELL: Ambassador al-Kidwa, what's your response to that?

Amb. al-KIDWA: Well, let--let--let's recall that we are talking about an occupation which lasted for the last 33 years. Let's--let's--let's recall that we are talking about the strongest army in the Middle East, army which is using tanks, helicopter gunships and all kind of heavy weaponry against a whole population. So it's--it's--it's an unfair, completely distorted picture to speak about the Palestinian violence.

MITCHELL: Ambassador Lantry, there are some who wonder why Israel does not take the first step to break this, to--to--to--to make the peace process wide open again. Some say that if the Pali--if the Palestinians then continue their violence, Israelis would have more credibility when it comes to the stance of--on cracking down. What's your response to that?

Amb. LANCERY: It is impossible for us to conduct negotiations under fire, under terrorism, under violence. We have to resume with the spirit and the logic of the Oslo agreement. After all, we accepted in 1993 to start negotiations with Chairman Arafat under his commitments, his clear-cut commitments, to have a mutual recognition with Israel and to renounce to--terror and violence as--as a strategic tool for acquisition of political objectives. And that is clearly a departure from this commitment.

MITCHELL: Other big question here, Ambassador al-Kidwa: Why doesn't Yasir Arafat call to an end to the fighting?

Amb. al-KIDWA: Well, actually just today, he again proposed some kind of a mutual--mutual statement by both leaders calling for end to violence. And unfortunately, Prime Minister Sharon once more turned it down. So again, let's--let's remember here who--who's being killed, who's being injured. It's--I mean, we are talking here about Palestinian casualties. We are talking about Israeli occupation. Nevertheless, we are ready. We'll be always ready.

Amb. LANCERY: And Israeli casualties, also.

Amb. al-KIDWA: Absolutely...

Amb. LANCERY: Yes.

Amb. al-KIDWA: ...but with--with big difference, with big difference. We are talking about at least 10 times casualties on the Palestinian side based on the existence of occupation and based on the existence of an occupying army.

MITCHELL: Any response to that, Ambassador Lantry?

Amb. LANCERY: My--my response is always, we are quite ready to resume the negotiations, but that is a mistaken policy from the Palestinian side. They have to commit themselves to what has been agreed in the Oslo agreements.

MITCHELL: On Monday, the Palestinians began using mortar fire against Israeli settlements in and around the Gaza Strip. Pretty extreme there, some say. Why use mortar fire?

Amb. al-KIDWA: I mean, when you talk about mortar fire, some people would--would think that this is serious, this is real. We are talking here about homemade, primitive things which are used by some groups, And we are trying our best to prevent these groups from--from using them. But again, these are absolutely not the real thing of mortar fire.

MITCHELL: Dr. Lancry, Israel responded by shelling one member, in fact, of--of Arafat's security forces. On Tuesday, the US criticized this as excessive. In--in hindsight, has Israel's response been too aggressive?

MITCHELL: I would like to call into question all this notion of excessive use of force. Your question is not implying, I hope, that, for example, a Palestinian sniper who delibera--deliberately kills a 10-month baby girl is acting in a moderate way of the use of force. I think that a single bullet is also ex--excessive use of force. We have to reach a situation where there--there is no more violence, there is no more terrorism, where there is a zero-degree of violence in order to get back to the table of negotiations and to renew the spirit and the logic of the Oslo agreement.

MITCHELL: We could obviously talk about this all day. Unfortunately, we are out of time right now. And, Dr. Yehuda Yan--Lancry, ambassador of Israel to the UN, and Dr. Nasser al-Kidwa, Palestinian observer to the UN, thank you both for joining us. We appreciate it.

Amb. al-KIDWA: Thank you.

Amb. LANCRY: Thank you.

THALIA ASSURAS (Co-host): We certainly did appreciate it, and--perspectives from both sides.

MITCHELL: That's right.

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NEWS FORUM

**SHOW:** NEWS FORUM (7:30 AM ET)

**January** 14, 2001, Sunday

**LENGTH:** 2819 words

**HEADLINE:** UN PALESTINIAN AMBASSADOR **NASSER AL-KIDWA** AND REPRESENTATIVE GARY ACKERMAN OF NEW YORK DISCUSS THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS

**ANCHORS:** GABE PRESSMAN

**BODY:**

Announcer: This is a presentation of News Channel 4, NEWS FORUM with Gabe Pressman.

GABE PRESSMAN, host:

President Clinton has devoted a (technical difficulties) of his presidency to the Mideast peace process even as the turbulence in Israel and on the West Bank seems to erupt every few days. But Clinton's most recent proposal has engendered fear and anger on both sides. Tens of thousands of Israelis demonstrated last week against any division of Jerusalem, a key element in the Clinton plan. And many Palestinians say they cannot give up their right to return to Israel, where their families had thrived for generations before the creation of Israel in 1948.

Ambassador Nasser al-Kidwa, the Palestinian representative to the United Nations, has accused Israel of war crimes since the onset of this latest conflict. Congressman Gary Ackerman spoke passionately at a recent solidarity rally for Israel, saying Jews would not participate in their own self-destruction.

Welcome Ambassador al-Kidwa and Congressman Ackerman, and good morning.

Representative GARY ACKERMAN (Democrat, New York): Good morning, Gabe.

Ambassador NASSER AL-KIDWA (Palestinian Representative to the United Nations): Good morning.

PRESSMAN: The peace process begun in Oslo with so much promise, is it still alive? Is it dying? Is it dead? Ambassador al-Kidwa.

Amb. AL-KIDWA: Well, I hope that it's still alive. From--from our point of view, hope is still there and we have to continue trying to reach final agreement between the two sides; hopefully, very soon.

PRESSMAN: What about you, Congressman?

Rep. ACKERMAN: Well, if it's alive, it's on life support right now. And I think everybody would like to see some kind of a--a peace, but it has to be a--a peace that--that does two things: that presents a form of justice to the Palestinian people, and presents security for the people of Israel. Those are the--those are the two elements that are--that are needed. And it seems to have broken down completely at this point because--whether or not the president, in the very few waning days of his administration, can breathe new life into the patient.

PRESSMAN: The backtruck--backdrop of the Middle East conflict right now is the election in Israel. Ariel Sharon, the leader of the right-wing Likud Party, began his campaign by saying, 'There is not one camp that is a peace camp and another that does not yearn for peace and does not reach it.' Is that true, Congressman?

Rep. ACKERMAN: I think everybody wants peace, but everybody defines it as a different kind of peace and puts demands on the--on the process as to what they need out of it in order to reach a compromise. The Israelis in Oslo seemed to have made some great steps, as did the Palestinians. But after the--the recent Camp David Accord, many thought that the offer of Prime Minister Barak far exceeded what the Israeli people would tolerate. But nonetheless, he made the offer, which was rejected by the Palestinian side as not going far enough. And after that, all

hell broke loose.

PRESSMAN: Ambassador al-Kidwa, Sharon says that the Camp David peace talks last July he now considers null and void. What's your reaction to that?

Amb. AL-KIDWA: Well, first, I--I hope that he's not going to be elected. I--I think that this would--would be harmful to the prospects of reaching an agreement and then reaching a permanent and lasting peace in the whole region. We--we do support the--the candidate of--of the Israeli left, any candidate, whether it was Mr. Barak or anyone else. Of course, we will be dealing with whoever the Israeli people might--might choose. But it's, again, my hope that--that this will not be the position.

I think, also, that he is mistaken when--when he says that anything is--is canceled. He--for instance, a few days ago, he said that he considers Oslo agreements are--are dead. That's also--that's also a mistake. But these are not surprises, frankly, coming from--from Mr. Sharon. And probably it will be the job of--of the Israeli people, of--of the Palestinian people and others, as well, maybe Americans--American administration, to try to--to probably convince Mr. Sharon to--to be more reasonable in his position if elected.

PRESSMAN: Do you agree with that?

Rep. ACKERMAN: Well, no, I--I don't agree with the premise. First of all, I have no dog in the race as far as who becomes prime minister of--of Israel. This is up to the Israeli people who are entitled to vote there. As a matter of fact, in the--in the election in which Mr. Peres tried to succeed Mr. Rabin and was beaten by Bibi Netanyahu, had the Palestinians who were citizens of Israel exercised their right to vote, then Peres would have been elected. But they refused to participate even in the process when they were--when they were accorded that.

PRESSMAN: You're talking about the Israeli-Palestinians.

Rep. ACKERMAN: The--the--the Israeli--yes. But the--the election--the--the--the election that was held in Israel, Palestinians can vote, the--the Palestinian-Israelis. They have members of the Knesset. They have the same rights as any other Israeli. But they refused to vote in the election, and Netanyahu got elected. So they could have affected that one way or the other.

As--as far as General Ariel Sharon, he is--he's tough, but sometimes tough is--is what you need for negotiation. They thought Rabin was tough when he got elected. They accused him of being a--a terrorist. And it showed that a--a--a strong military man can reach out and make peace. I mean, we--we've seen that.

PRESSMAN: Mr. al-Kidwa just said that--that he wants anybody but Sharon to win. Would you like Sharon to win the--or are you completely neutral?

Rep. ACKERMAN: I--I--I have no--I--I know all the players. I have strong opinions as far as their electability. It is inappropriate for me as an American, and I think it's appropriate for anybody else who's not a citizen of Israel, to decide or pontificate as to who--who should be elected prime minister of--of Israel.

Amb. AL-KIDWA: That's ...(unintelligible).

Rep. ACKERMAN: Nonethe--none--nonetheless, Sharon is a player. If one were to be a betting person, one should put \$ 2 on Sharon based on the--the polling that's taking--taking place. The no--the--the question you asked, though, Gabe...

PRESSMAN: Yes?

Rep. ACKERMAN: ...is--is the peace process is dead because Sharon said it was over. I--I think that part of Oslo--if I'm not mistaken, and maybe the ambassador could corr--correct me if I am--Oslo said that violence should not be used as a negotiating tool. And what happened is when the Palestinians get frustrated and don't like the way things are going, they take to the streets. And then Chairman Arafat...

PRESSMAN: OK. Well...

Rep. ACKERMAN: ...cannot control that when he says he can.

PRESSMAN: OK. Well, Mr. Ambassador, why don't you comment on that and you--you wanted to say something earlier on--in reference to what the...

Amb. AL-KIDWA: Yes. Well, yes. It--it's true that no--no person who is not an Israeli can interfere in the election. That's--that's true.

PRESSMAN: Right.

Amb. AL-KIDWA: And that's why I said we would respect the--the--the will of the--the Israeli people and--and deal--try to deal peace with--with whoever is elected. However, clearly we have preference. Clearly, I at least personally, hope that Mr. Sharon is not going to be elected, given his history and--and given his political position. It's not a matter of being tough. Barak is tough. I mean, we have many problems with Mr. Barak. We had many problems with Mr. Rabin. But there are basic differences between--between these type of men on--on one hand and--and Mr. Shami--Mr. Sharon on the other hand.

Now when--when it comes to--to violence--you know, I have probably serious problems with the notion that the--the Palestinian people like to be killed, that we--we take to the streets in order for the Israeli army to shoot at us and kill our sons. And this is--this is something, of course, which cannot be solved by--by killing. There have been more than 330 Palestinians killed, more than 10,000 Palestinians injured; at least 2,000 or 3,000 of them, seriously, who--who have been maimed and incapacitated for the rest of their lives. And that is something which--which--which is happening because of what the--the Israeli soldiers are--are--are doing. It's true that the Palestinian people are demonstrating. It's true that they are trying to express their rejection of--of the Israeli occupation. But to suggest that the--the people are doing that intentionally so that they can achieve political--political gains, this--is this is something...

PRESSMAN: Is it--is it a fact that a--that some of the Palestinian children, the 12-year-olds that have been killed, were actually allowed to be in the cross fire between Israeli troops and the Palestinians?

Amb. AL-KIDWA: You know, it--it's--it's sometime--it--it's sometime even badly funny to--to--to suggest things like that since people don't know the situation. These children belong to

poor families. They spend most of their time in the streets. They don't have kindergarten to--to go. They don't--they don't have play--play dates. These represent the--the poverty, the--the Palestinian poverty and the Palestinian--Palestinian suffering. So no one send them anywhere. It's, again, the--the atmosphere, the frustration, the--the pain which is being widely felt by the Palestinian people who are exposing all this kind of--of...

Rep. ACKERMAN: We have a divergence of views on--on--on this issue. Ambassador al-Kidwa is a--is a diplomat and a man of peace. And if everybody in the region were--were similarly as he is, this--this problem would be much easier to solve. But the truth of the matter is he is right. There is a frustration among the Palestinian people; so many of them who were born into abject poverty and--and see no way out.

However, when people go on television to incite this kind of thing, to--to give rewards to the parents of children who are killed--if your children are killed--have mothers interviewed on--on television to say, 'I would give all of my children's lives for this,' and then to give them money when the kids are killed basically encourages this thing to go on.

PRESSMAN: Let's discuss this further after this message.

(Announcements)

PRESSMAN: We're back here with Congressman Ackerman and Palestinian Ambassador al-Kidwa.

Congressman Ackerman, you're saying that there's a deliberate effort to create martyrs among young children?

Rep. ACKERMAN: Oh, it--it's--it's very unfortunate and very regrettable, but the reality is that when you provide rewards to families whose children are killed and keep referring to them as--as martyrs and glorifying the fact that they're going to go straight to Allah because they've died in the cause just creates a climate in which more of this takes place.

PRESSMAN: True or false, Ambassador?

Amb. AL-KIDWA: Absolutely false. We don't reward the families. We try to compensate a little bit. We try to support them, try to help them to go through their--their agony and--and to sustain their loss. That is--that is the--that's the whole thing.

The--the origin of the whole thing remains that we have a situation of foreign occupation, an ugly occupation, and that the promise of peace does not succeed to change the conditions of the population. That is the issue.

PRESSMAN: One Israeli diplomat, just today, said to me that, 'We've said, "Yes," Y-E-S. What--what do they think "Yes" means?' Meaning you.

Amb. AL-KIDWA: Well, I--I don't think that they--they--they said--they said yes. Let me give you one example. For instance, the--the proposals of the--of President Clinton recently. You have the Israeli prime minister, Mr. Barak, saying, 'We accept those ideas as the basis for negotiation.' And next day, they--he--he al--also said that, 'I don't intend to sign any document which would transfer sovereignty over Haram el-Sharif to the Palestinian side.' So there is--there

is inherent...

PRESSMAN: And who said that?

Amb. AL-KIDWA: Mr. Barak. So there is inherent...

PRESSMAN: Contradiction.

Amb. AL-KIDWA: ...inherent contradiction, and--and--and...

Rep. ACKERMAN: Because this is--this is the world of diplomacy. There's a--there's a difference between control and sovereignty. And--and somewhere in between will allow those who are doing the negotiations to come up, hopefully, with some kind of sage resolution to--to the problem. But the Israelis saying that they accept it with reservations should have presented the opportunity to the Palestinians to say same thing and to get back to the table.

PRESSMAN: But this--this Israeli diplomat, Ambassador, said, 'We're giving away the store. What more do they want?'

Amb. AL-KIDWA: Again, the--Clinton's proposal specifically speaks about sovereignty. It does--they don't speak about...

Rep. ACKERMAN: No, he nev--Clinton--with--with all due respect, Ambassador, the president never said sovereignty. He said--he said the Israelis should have control over the Jewish holy sites and the Palestinians should have likewise under the Muslim holy sites.

Amb. AL-KIDWA: I have the text, by the way.

Rep. ACKERMAN: Nobody, by the way, mentioned--I have the text too. And--and I was there, as a matter of fact, when he said it. I was in the room when he--when he said it.

Amb. AL-KIDWA: You are talking about his public statement last week. I am talking about the text which was presented orally to both sides in a meeting at the White House. That was the most official form of Clinton's--Clinton's proposal.

PRESSMAN: Do you--do you believe, Mr. Ambassador, that Israel and the Palestinian states should share authority over Jerusalem?

Amb. AL-KIDWA: Absolutely.

PRESSMAN: And what about the--the heart of Jerusalem, that is Sharm el Sheik--not Sharm el Sheik, the...

Amb. AL-KIDWA: The Haram el-Sharif.

PRESSMAN: ...the--the Temp--the Temple Mount area and the Western Wall? Wouldn't you give the Israelis, the Jews, control of the Western Wall?

Amb. AL-KIDWA: We also indicated that the--the--the part which is being considered holy to Jews and--and that--that they--they are praying at is--is--is--is a part which--that could remain under the--the Israeli--Israeli control. We have no problem with that. We...

PRESSMAN: What about Israeli sovereignty?



Amb. AL-KIDWA: Probably this is something, also, which could be--which could be agreed upon. The only thing that--of course, I cannot negotiate...

PRESSMAN: No.

Amb. AL-KIDWA: ...I cannot negotiate here. But our positive--our positive attitude in this regard is--is--is clear and obvious. We have never denied the Israeli side their religious feelings or the--their religious beliefs. This is their business. What we want to--to--to achieve is to find a formula which would preserve the status quo and respect the--the rights of both sides.

PRESSMAN: Do you see any hope in the fact that the Israelis have just dismantled roadblocks and allowed freer access to Israel from Gaze and the West Bank?

Amb. AL-KIDWA: Well, recently, there have been some positive signs, absolutely. And we are, frankly, satisfied with--with those signals. We hope that they will continue and we hope that they will lead to a different situation on the ground. There are, also, some--some talks about possible last--last-minute document, declaration, agreement, what--whatsoever. It's probably not that likely, but we have to keep trying until the last minute of--of the mandate given to President Clinton.

PRESSMAN: Are you--are you concerned that under President Bush, the new president, there may be less available for the Palestinians and Israelis?

Amb. AL-KIDWA: I'm not sure whether President-elect Bush would--would be willing to give the same time and energy to the Middle East. But I also think that the Middle East remains one of the places where the United States has strategic interest, and I think the--the engagement of that administration, the new administration, will--will go on.

PRESSMAN: Congressman Ackerman?

Rep. ACKERMAN: Well, it--it's--it's unfortunate President Clinton's administration is--is coming to an end, and very possibly Prime Minister Barak's, as well. There were great offers on the table. Abba Eban, the Israeli ambassador to the UN, once said that the Palestinians never missed an opportunity to miss an opportunity. They had one here. The place was on sale. The sale is about to end. And everything that the Israelis could possibly offer, more so than most Israelis would probably want to offer, has been offered. It's been rejected. And after it's rejected, the Palestinians take to the streets and conduct violence. The Israelis respond with force, and sometimes...

PRESSMAN: You're shaking your head. You st...

Rep. ACKERMAN: ...sometimes more force. And the Palestinians complain that the Israelis hit them back too hard.

PRESSMAN: We're almost out of time. Do you still think there's hope?

Amb. AL-KIDWA: I still think there is hope. And let's put stereotypes aside. And I'm sure that the congress--congressman is very--is very smart and very knowledgeable. And if we have enough time, probably we can reach agreement among ourselves...

Rep. ACKERMAN: We can.

Amb. AL-KIDWA: ...as an indication that others could--could agree to the...

Rep. ACKERMAN: You and I can, with--with Gabe--with Gabe as the mediator.

PRESSMAN: Thank you, Ambassador al-Kidwa and Congressman Ackerman, for joining us this morning, and appreciate you being here.

Now stay tuned for more of "Sunday Today in New York."

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CNN

**SHOW:** CNN WORLDVIEW 18:00

**January** 7, 2001; Sunday

Transcript # 01010705V18

**SECTION:** News; International

**LENGTH:** 1513 words

**HEADLINE:** Middle East Peace Looks Out of Clinton's Reach

**GUESTS:** Alon Pinkas, Dr. **Nasser Al-Kidwa**

**BYLINE:** Brian Nelson, Kelly Wallace

**HIGHLIGHT:**

The waning days of Bill Clinton's presidency are seeing no slowdown in the effort to reach a U.S.-brokered agreement between the Israelis and the Palestinians. A senior U.S. official acknowledged achieving an accord over the next 13 days would be difficult, and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright hinted today that the best hope may be a road map for the incoming Bush team.

**BODY:**

THIS IS A RUSH TRANSCRIPT. THIS COPY MAY NOT BE IN ITS FINAL FORM AND MAY BE UPDATED.

BRIAN NELSON, CNN ANCHOR: The waning days of Bill Clinton's presidency are seeing no slowdown in the effort to reach a U.S.- brokered agreement between the Israelis and the

Palestinians.

Here with more now is CNN's Kelly Wallace.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

KELLY WALLACE, CNN WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENT (voice-over): As he heads to New York, President Clinton signals he still holds out hope for a peace deal on his watch, sending Dennis Ross, his Middle East envoy to the region to meet separately with the Israeli and Palestinian leaders.

Meantime, his secretary of state rejects any notion the president's last-ditch efforts are to shore up a legacy.

MADELEINE ALBRIGHT, U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE: I could end my career as secretary of state with a barnyard expletive, but I will not do that. What is true, is that he is called upon to fulfill this role; he is working very hard.

WALLACE: A senior U.S. official acknowledges achieving an accord over the next 13 days would be difficult. And the secretary of state hints the best hope may be a road map for the incoming Bush team.

ALBRIGHT: I think it's very important for the president to do what he can do while he has the ability to do it; and we're going to keep working on trying to develop some way to get them to agree on some basic principles because I think it's useful to the next administration.

WALLACE: The Bush administration publicly and privately backs the Clinton team, saying there is only one president until January 20. But some Middle East analysts suggest, if Mr. Clinton's 11th hour appeal fails, the president-elect could inherit an even more volatile situation.

JOHN ALTERMAN, U.S. INSTITUTE OF PEACE: It's unclear how people would respond if negotiations were broken off. That could either lead to a lot of cynicism about negotiations; it could lead to more violence. The most important thing is figuring out some way to resurrect security cooperation between both sides.

WALLACE: CIA Director George Tenet is in Cairo, where he was to meet with Israeli and Palestinian security officials.

(on camera): And so now the president will wait to see what comes out of Dennis Ross's meetings to determine if there is still hope for an agreement or if it is time to give up and leave the Middle East peace process to his successor.

Kelly Wallace, CNN, New York.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

NELSON: And with more on the Middle East negotiations, I spoke about a half hour ago with Dr. Nasser Al-Kidwa, the Palestinian representative to the United States and Ambassador Alon Pinkas, the Israeli council general in New York.

I began by asking them, with the clock tickling at the end of Mr. Clinton's term, is any agreement better than no agreement?

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

ALON PINKAS, ISRAELI COUNCIL GENERAL TO NEW YORK: Well, Brian, absolutely -- there is absolutely enough time to reach an agreement, and I don't think that we should at any point, now or ever, set a deadline after which an agreement is impossible.

But in order to reach an agreement, there are several things that need to be done, and several decisions, hard decisions, need to be made, especially by the Palestinians, which I think the lack of which has so far caused this agreement not to take place or not to be reached.

NELSON: OK, Dr. Al-Kidwa, what is your feeling on this?

DR. NASSER AL-KIDWA, PALESTINIAN REP. TO U.S.: I guess you're asking whether it would be possible to reach an agreement by the 20th, and frankly it looks increasingly unlikely that this might be the case. However, we have to continue trying. And I believe that we need a good agreement.

I don't agree that any agreement is better than lack of it. I guess that we need a good one that will sustain the difficulties of the future and will remain intact, keeping the goals, which are the achievement of the general peace in the region intact as well.

NELSON: Well there are some major issues that are stumbling blocks, Jerusalem being the big one. Ambassador Pinkas, I mean, given this, are you willing to reach any agreement to perhaps ease the political situation that your prime minister is in right now?

PINKAS: Well, I don't think that an agreement is about domestic politics in Israel, and I don't think it's about easing or supporting or for that matter not supporting the prime minister's political problems or predicaments.

We have said yes to all the proposals that have been presented on the table at Camp Davis. We have said yes to everything that's been proposed since then, and that includes some kind of a workable and manageable solution that would be satisfactory to both sides on the issue of Jerusalem.

What seems to be the problem about Jerusalem is an unwillingness on the part of the Palestinian leadership to actually understand the concept of compromise.

NELSON: Well I think from the sounds of it both sides are having trouble with compromise. The Palestinians are having trouble swallowing the notion that Palestinian refugees cannot return to Israel, and Israel seems to have trouble swallowing the notion that it will give up some sort of sovereignty to the Dome of the Rock.

AL-KIDWA: Our problem basically is with the some sort of sovereignty. I guess the proposals made by the president were not clear enough, and that, in our opinion, ensured problems later down the road.

We think also that the Israeli response was not -- was not clear. On one hand, the Israeli side said, yes, we would go along with these proposals. On the other hand, we hear the prime minister saying, I will not accept Palestinian sovereignty over Harim Sharif.

So there is obviously clear contradictions in the Israeli position, and unfortunately these

contradictions are linked with the Israeli elections and the election needs of the prime minister.

NELSON: Dr. Al-Kidwa, are you -- or are the Palestinians really concerned, anxious, maybe even afraid of the fact that Ariel Sharon is leading in the polls and may become Israel's next prime minister?

AL-KIDWA: Well, I personally hope that Mr. Sharon will not be the next prime minister of Israel. We have our problems with Mr. Barak. However, we hope that the candidate of the left, of the Israeli left will win this election.

NELSON: Are you -- are the Palestinians willing to help Mr. Barak out by perhaps easing your opposition to this notion of refugees returning?

AL-KIDWA: Well, I think we have been trying our best to help our partners in Israel, including Mr. Barak. When it comes to the rights of the Palestinian refugees, I believe that it cannot be either white or black. It cannot be either we give up on the right to return and other rights or we have everything. This is an issue which should be subject to negotiations on both sides, and I believe workable solutions, workable compromises, which would take into consideration the rights of those refugees are possible.

NELSON: Ambassador Pinkas, do you believe that Secretary of State Albright was correct when she was saying maybe all we'll get out of this is perhaps to push the ball a little forward and to sort of set the stage for the next administration to tackle this issue?

PINKAS: Yes, I do agree with Secretary Albright, and I think it will inevitably be part of the next administration's agenda. However, it's going to be ultimately and inevitably up to both sides to agree to reach a deal.

And if I may, Brian, get back to a question that you had asked a minute ago, on the issue of Jerusalem there was nothing contradicting and nothing discrepant about everything we have said since Camp David. We have said yes to the proposals set forth at Camp David, and frankly and truthfully I don't know what part of yes the Palestinians don't understand.

As for the right of return, I think it's about time we set the record straight. In 1947, the Palestinians said no to the U.N. partition plan. In 1948, they said yes to a war. In 1967, they said yes to a war. And all of a sudden we are supposed to, or assumed to, have been responsible for a refugee problem to which we bear no legal responsibility, no political responsibility, no moral responsibility.

NELSON: All right...

PINKAS: And I think that if the right of return is a prerequisite...

AL-KIDWA: (OFF-MIKE) rhetoric which is frankly...

NELSON: OK, gentlemen, I'm afraid...

AL-KIDWA: (OFF-MIKE)

NELSON: ... Gentlemen, I'm afraid we just hit an issue that I think could take us a while, and I'm afraid we've run out of time.

I'm going to have to thank you both for joining us...

AL-KIDWA: Thank you, Brian.

NELSON: ... Dr. Nasser Al-Kidwa, the Palestinian representative to the United States, and Ambassador Alon Pinkas, the Israeli council general to New York.

Thank you, gentlemen.

PINKAS: Thank you, Brian.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

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CNN

**SHOW:** CNN WORLDVIEW 18:00

**November** 4, 2000; Saturday

Transcript # 00110402V18

**SECTION:** News; International

**LENGTH:** 1107 words

**HEADLINE:** Will Arafat's and Barak's Visits to Washington Help Bring Peace to the Middle East?

**GUESTS:** Yoram Peri, Nasser al-Kidwa

**BYLINE:** Frank Sesno

**HIGHLIGHT:**

Nasser al-Kidwa, the Palestinian observer to the United Nations, and Yoram Peri, adviser to slain Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, discuss the outlook for Middle East peace.

**BODY:**

THIS IS A RUSH TRANSCRIPT. THIS COPY MAY NOT BE IN ITS FINAL FORM AND MAY BE UPDATED.

FRANK SESNO, CNN ANCHOR: To discuss the prospect for Middle East peace, we turn to Nasser al-Kidwa, the Palestinian observer to the United Nations, he is New York; and Yoram Peri, he was an adviser to slain Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. He's here in Washington

and author of a book, "The Assassination of Yitzhak Rabin."

Let meet turn to you both for assessment, please, of the comments and the news now that these leaders from both sides will be traveling to Washington.

Mr. Peri, you first.

YORAM PERI, FORMER RABIN ADVISER: I believe that originally the position, or the plan, of Yasser Arafat was to play brinksmanship. That was always his way, and he's using balance during playing brinksmanship. He thought that he has still two months until the end of the term of President Clinton, and, therefore, he might try to get a better deal in the next few days or weeks.

SESNO: But do you believe that the peace, or at least negotiating process, is moving back center stage, or is this more brinksmanship to mask more violence?

PERI: I think that he will try to do something, because it is clear that without negotiating he will gain nothing. What we can learn from the story and the legacy of Rabin is that with putting violence and using terrorism will not change the position of Israel.

Mr. Al-Kidwa, we just heard from Mr. Peri on what he sees and how he translates Mr. Arafat's words and motives and actions. Your take on the Israeli side?

**NASSER AL-KIDWA**, PALESTINIAN OBSERVER TO U.N.: Obviously there is no limit to absurdity on the Israeli side. It is the Palestinian people who are being killed by the Israeli soldiers. More than 150 Palestinians died, and there are thousands who were injured by the same soldiers, many of whom are dangerously injured. So it is the Palestinian people who are being suffered -- suffering here, and it is the Israeli army who are the aggressors. It is the Israeli political leadership who is responsible for the tragedy and this bloodshed.

And anyway...

SESNO: Mister...

AL-KIDWA: ... we are ready to give it try as indicated. The president, President Arafat will be visiting Washington, hopefully Thursday, and there we want to see, frankly, one, end of this Israeli aggression. Two, we want to see the committee to investigate what has happened. And, three, we want to look very seriously in the possibilities of reaching a final and comprehensive settlement, including, of course, the settlement on Jerusalem as well as settlement on the issue of Palestinian refugees.

SESNO: Well, Mr. Al-Kidwa, are you saying then that Yasser Arafat's travel to Washington, as far as the Palestinians are concerned, is meant to put a direct negotiating peace process back on track?

AL-KIDWA: No, I said first it's meant to end the killing by the Israeli soldiers of the Palestinians civilians, and it's also meant to create a mechanism which will investigate what has happened with the aim of not repeating what has happened again...

SESNO: Is this...



AL-KIDWA: ... And, three, if this happened, of course, we hope that this will pave the way for a resumption of peace talks leading to a comprehensive settlement, including a solution for Jerusalem and the refugees.

SESNO: Is this trip a turning point?

Mr. Peri, go ahead.

PERI: I hope so. At the end of the Camp David, there was a proposal that was put forward by the Israeli position and no answer by the Palestinian position, no reaction by the Palestinian position. The only reaction to that proposal was violence, violence in the streets. Therefore, I don't think it will be very fruitful to continue now to talk about investigating how it started and all that. The fact that more people are killed on one side doesn't mean those who are more killed have more justice than the other side.

SESNO: But if I may, Mr. Barak committed, Prime Minister Barak committed to some sort of investigation in Sharm el-Sheikh.

PERI: That's true. And besides that, you could see that in spite of the fact that so many Israelis are disappointed from the whole process, they are still demanding to continue with the peace process.

SESNO: Mr. al-Kidwa, this upcoming trip a turning point?

AL-KIDWA: It is -- you know, it is sad what he is saying, that so many people are not that important as many (OFF-MIKE)

PERI: I didn't say that -- sorry. I didn't say that -- very, very important.

AL-KIDWA: Almost, almost, almost, almost.

PERI: But it doesn't mean that those who are killed have more justice.

AL-KIDWA: Can I -- can I -- can I...

SESNO: Gentlemen, if I may, we have to have one person speaking at a time or we lose you both.

Mr. al-Kidwa.

AL-KIDWA: Well, again, I said it is sad what he was saying, but we will be trying. And we are coming to Washington with an open mind and with the determination to give it another serious try.

Now what comes -- when it comes to Camp David, there was a lot of misinformation. We don't understand clearly what was put forward in Camp David. However, the yardstick is clear. It is Security Council resolution 242, the need for Israel to withdraw from the occupied Palestinian territory, solution for Jerusalem and Palestine refugees.

SESNO: Mr. al-Kidwa, let me do -- let me ask you this. Has or will the order go out for Palestinian youth and people to stay off the streets, to tone down the violence?

AL-KIDWA: You know, over the history we haven't heard of a population, a whole people,

who gets ordered, but we will try our best to calm the whole people. However, while the killing continues, it of course makes it almost impossible to do that.

SESNO: And, Mr. Peri, very briefly, do you believe that Mr. Barak comes to Washington, will come to Washington, prepared to make further compromises, if you will, to pull back and to achieve some respite to this violence?

PERI: Oh, that's for sure, because he was even willing to give more, to go ahead and have some more concessions before the latest wave of violence started, when he was asked by the U.S. president to do so. So the question of the readiness of the Israeli prime minister is really not a question. The question is whether there will be some real devotion to the peace process by the other side.

So, gentlemen thanks, to you both, a pivotal week upcoming for the region.

AL-KIDWA: Thank you.

PERI: Thank you.

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CNN

**SHOW:** CNN WORLDVIEW 18:00

**October** 15, 2000; Sunday

Transcript # 00101503V18

**SECTION:** News; International

**LENGTH:** 1069 words

**HEADLINE:** What Will Tomorrow's Middle East Peace Summit Accomplish?

**GUESTS:** Oded Eran, **Nasser al-Kidwa**

**BYLINE:** Joie Chen

**HIGHLIGHT:**

The major objective to tomorrow's Mideast summit is to see an end to the deadly and unrelenting wave of violence between Israelis and Palestinians that has taken place over the last 18 days. But can tomorrow's one-day meeting actually make a difference?

**BODY:**

THIS IS A RUSH TRANSCRIPT. THIS COPY MAY NOT BE IN ITS FINAL FORM AND MAY BE UPDATED.

JOIE CHEN, CNN ANCHOR: The major objective to tomorrow's summit is an end, of course, to the deadly and unrelenting wave of violence between Israelis and Palestinians that has taken place over the last 18 days. But can tomorrow's one-day meeting actually make a difference?

Joining us now from New York with a preview of all this, Senior Israeli adviser, Oded Eran, and Nasser al-Kidwa, who is the Palestinian observer from the United Nations.

I want to point out to you both that, like the conference in Sharm-el-Sheikh, we have very little time and very big issues. So I'm going to ask you to try to narrow your comments. And I know that we're still talking about a great deal of anger on both sides of the equation.

But, Nasser al-Kidwa, let's start with you. What do you need to hear from the Israeli side, not only in terms of specific action, but in terms of how you're going to trust the other side?

NASSER AL-KIDWA, PALESTINIAN OBSERVER TO U.N.: I think, objectively, the summit has to achieve three major things: one, the immediate cessation of violence and the use of force; two, the immediate reversal of all actions and arrangements taken since September 28 -- that's to go back to the situation before these tragic events -- and three, the establishment of the international committee of inquiry and the full implementation of Security Council resolution 30 and 32.

These are objective -- objective goals for the interests of all sides in the region. And I hope very much that the summit will succeed in achieving these three goals.

CHEN: But what can you do to trust the other side? There is already some suspicion and so much anger, what do you have to hear to trust the other side?

AL-KIDWA: If we are to succeed in reaching agreement on these three things, and if we are to see implementation of these things on the ground, starting, for instance, with the withdrawal of Israeli army from the vicinity of the Palestinian cities and the Palestinian villages, and things of that sort, I believe that will lead to gradual change in the atmosphere, and probably will enable both of us to go back to a better atmosphere, and maybe some trust -- some mutual trust between the two sides.

CHEN: Mr. Eran, to you then: Are these things possible? Do you see these things as being able to be accomplished within the context of this one-day meeting?

ODED ERAN, ISRAELI NEGOTIATOR: I think that agenda should be slightly different. The agenda should include, obviously, the call for the end of the use of force. That is acceptable. But I think that that should be accompanied by specific measures which the Palestinian side has to take in order to ensure that the violence is indeed stopped.

For example: the collection of arms which are held by other forces than the police -- only the

police is allowed to use and to carry arms -- the arrest -- the rearrest of the Hamas people. The security organization of the Palestinians for months looked for the Hamas terrorists. And then within one-minute decision, Chairman Arafat released all of them.

CHEN: Now, you're talking about hundreds of people here

ERAN: And they are going to -- they're not going to just read the Bible. They are going to go back to what they were doing before. And that's a danger in itself, both to Israel and to the PA, the Palestinian Authority.

CHEN: Dr. al-Kidwa, answer those specific points that...

AL-KIDWA: I have been -- I have been trying to be objective, frankly. I have been trying to be positive and propose things, the implementation of which will be again useful for everybody. These things are must-do things. I can -- I can of course (UNINTELLIGIBLE) many things on the attack against the Israelis, including the same things about stopping killing the Palestinians, including about stopping injuring Palestinians, inflicting the great pain and damage on them, withdrawal of tanks, the cessation of the use of heavy weaponry.

CHEN: But...

AL-KIDWA: It's a -- but this is not the point. The points is that...

CHEN: But then, on those specific things.

AL-KIDWA: ... we have to try to do -- to do good things.

ERAN: The point is to take measures which will put an end. You just cannot speak in generalities. You have to do things in which -- by which you can go back to an atmosphere of calm, in which you can create an environment which -- by then you can start renegotiating. The point is not just to end the violence.

(CROSSTALK)

CHEN: Dr. al-Kidwa, can you answer that? I mean, can you say that

(CROSSTALK)

AL-KIDWA: Of course, that why I proposed the immediate reversal of all actions and arrangements taken since September 28.

ERAN: I did not hear any -- I did not one measure of which is imposed on the Palestinian Authority.

AL-KIDWA: Come one. What about -- what about the almost- military invasion? What about the tanks? What about the choppers? What about the excessive use of force?

(CROSSTALK)

CHEN: But on your own side, Dr. al-Kidwa, could you, for example, rearrest these individuals that Mr. Eran is talking about? These would be hundreds of individuals that were released.

AL-KIDWA: I think steps have already been taken in that direction. I have to point out to the

fact that this compound, the police compound, was a potential target of the Israeli chopper. And that was among the reasons why it was evacuated.

(CROSSTALK)

ERAN: The only thing that has done is for Arafat to sign this agreement.

AL-KIDWA: What agreement?

ERAN: For the -- the Paris agreement, which was initiated...

AL-KIDWA: Why the prime minister didn't go to Sharm-el-Sheikh?

ERAN: Well, we went to Paris. And the only thing that was there to do is to sign the agreement. If we can find this agreement in Sharm-el-Sheikh, if we can create the environment and the PA, the Palestinian Authority, has to take measure. It's not only what the Israelis should be doing.

(CROSSTALK)

CHEN: Gentlemen, unfortunately, we are going to have to break it off is there. As I noted, it is a very short time that you will have at Sharm-el-Sheikh as well, but we appreciate your insight at this hour.

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CNN

**SHOW:** CNN BREAKING NEWS 10:19

**October** 12, 2000; Thursday

Transcript # 00101220V00

**SECTION:** News; International

**LENGTH:** 1031 words

**HEADLINE:** Palestinian Observer to U.N. **Nasser Al-Kidwa** Discusses Escalating Mideast Tensions

**GUESTS:** **Nasser Al-Kidwa**

**BYLINE:** Daryn Kagan, Bill Hemmer

**HIGHLIGHT:**

**Nasser Al-Kidwa**, the Palestinian observer to the U.N., discusses the escalating tensions in the

Middle East today after a Palestinian mob kills two Israeli soldiers and Israel retaliates by bombing targets in Ramallah.

**BODY:**

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DARYN KAGAN, CNN ANCHOR: And now we go back to the situation in the Mideast, what is happening in the town of Ramallah and also Gaza.

To get a Palestinian perspective on what is happening with the tensions escalating. We bring in Nasser Al-Kidwa, who is joining us from the United Nations. He is the Palestinian observer.

Mr. Kidwa, thank you for joining us here today.

NASSER AL-KIDWA, PALESTINIAN OBSERVER TO U.N.: Thank you.

KAGAN: What can the Palestinian do here? I know this is a very tense, emotional situation, but what can the Palestinians do to help ease tensions and get back to more peaceful and safe situations for the folks who are living there?

AL-KIDWA: I think it's the Israeli side who has to do a lot. What the Israeli government did just now is tantamount to declaring an all-out war against the Palestinian population, which is already under occupation. The Israeli government is, effectively, destroying any possibility of bringing the situation back under control, which -- taking the whole situation to a new level.

I mean, and this might even prove what we have been saying all along about the intentions of the Israeli government.

KAGAN: Clearly, the Israelis do have to do a lot, but to borrow from an American expression, it does take two to tango. And, for the safety of the Palestinian people, don't you think that the Palestinians need to do something to help bring the situation under control, citing what happened earlier today, when you have a mob situation ending in the death of two Israeli soldiers?

AL-KIDWA: I'm not aware of the details of what happened today. However, I can tell you this. In spite of our pain and anger, including the anger as a result of the additional four Palestinians who were killed yesterday in spite of the relative calm; nevertheless, I can say that killing prisoners is not reflective of the Palestinian values and the Palestinian tradition.

However, before we tango with the Israelis, we have to at least be alive. The Israelis have to stop killing us so we can remain alive, we can stand and maybe then we can tango with the Israeli side. KAGAN: And I didn't mean to make light of what is a very serious situation, of course.

Talking about Yasser Arafat, there's been some who have questioned his authority at this point. Do you think he has credibility among the Palestinian people? Are they listening to him, or have the emotions and the bitterness escalated to a point where they wouldn't even listen to

him if he called for calm and peace?

AL-KIDWA: Of course he has the authority. However, the matter is not the authority per se. The Palestinian people are not (SPEAKING IN ARABIC) -- I mean, they don't start doing something at orders; they don't stop doing something at orders, especially when this something is in reaction to a huge use of lethal power, of killing, of injuring by a huge army in front of them.

So what we need to see is the different Israeli behavior. We are seeing the opposite now, unfortunately. If the Israeli change drastically; if they stop shooting at the Palestinian people; if they stop injuring and killing, then it will be possible for the Palestinian leadership and possible for President Arafat to make a difference.

KAGAN: Mr. Arafat's status in the way he's seen in this country has changed quite a bit over the last 10 years; 10 years ago he was seen by many as simply a terrorist, now he has the status of a statesman. Much of that has happened through the work and through the relationship he has with President Clinton.

Some have suggested that Mr. Arafat owes Mr. Clinton the courtesy, and that he owes him the phone call and the acceptance and to work with him.

Do you think that he's doing enough out of respect of that relationship?

AL-KIDWA: If we are talking about the past, some, as you said, maybe have considered Mr. Arafat as a terrorist. The overwhelming majority of the people of the world, though, considered him as the leader of the Palestinian people who is fighting for its freedom.

Now, when it comes to the relationship with President Clinton, the whole Palestinian people respect the efforts of the president with regard to trying to reach a peace settlement in the Middle East. However, I don't think it's a matter of owing anything, one to the other. I think it's a matter of mutual respect among the leaders and it's a matter of working together in order to achieve the necessary steps towards peace in the Middle East.

KAGAN: And, from the actions that we've seen today that have happened in Ramallah and Gaza, do you fear that this has escalated to a point of no return?

AL-KIDWA: We were responding positively to the American efforts and the efforts of the secretary-general of the United Nations, as well as other international dignitaries. It has been the Israeli side who took the extremely dangerous step today. As I told you earlier, this is tantamount to declaring war -- over all war against the whole Palestinian population, and they have immediately to rescind this kind of action before we can go further.

KAGAN: Nasser Al-Kidwa, Palestinian observer to the United Nations. Thank you for your time, sir -- Bill.

AL-KIDWA: Thank you.

BILL HEMMER, CNN ANCHOR: Daryn, one story in the exterior of all this happens to be the world markets. They react in times like these; and no where is there a bigger player in the world than the U.S. market and the Dow Jones industrial average.

Right now, as this is happening overseas, we're seeing a major dip in the Dow Jones



industrial average, upper-left-hand corner there, next to the INDU: now down over 300 points to 307. Now 305 to 10,106.

On the Nasdaq market, not quite as severe. Down 57 points on the tech-heavy Nasdaq. We will certainly watch this and see the fallout that remains from reaction from around the world and especially here in the U.S. as it relates to world markets.